CULTURAL HORIZONS OF INDIA VOLUME IV

LOKESH CHANDRA

Royal preceptor from Bengal p. 218

Nalanda copper plate 230

CULTURAL HORIZONS OF INDIA

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Translated, annotated and critically evaluated by
specialists of the East and the West

Founded by
Prof. RAGHU VIRA *M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. et Phil.*
Continued by
LOKESH CHANDRA

आचार्य–रघुवीर–समुपक्रान्तं

जम्बुद्वीप–राष्ट्राणां
(भारत–नेपाल–गान्धार–शूलिक–तुरुष्क–पारस–ताजक–भोट–चीन–मोंगोल–मञ्जु–
उदयवर्ष–सिंहल–सुवर्णभू–श्याम–कम्बुज–चम्पा–द्वीपान्तरादीनां)

एकैकेषां समस्रोतसां संस्कृति–साहित्य–समुच्चय–
सरितां सागरभूतं

शतपिटकम्

CULTURAL HORIZONS OF INDIA

VOLUME 4

Studies in Tantra and Buddhism, art and archaeology, language and literature

Prof. LOKESH CHANDRA

INTERNATIONAL ACADEMY OF INDIAN CULTURE
and ADITYA PRAKASHAN, NEW DELHI

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PREFACE

This volume is devoted to the art, history and literature; inscriptions, statues and thought; maṇḍalas, epics and legends of Classical Indonesia, out of her long silence and magnificent resilience, that have triumphed over time. The energy of her culture is prompted by dynamic imagination. Its evidence is written on her rocks, her palmleaves, her bronzes, in eternal sculptures, on constellations of architecture, and in live wayang wong performances. The pure landscapes of her soul dream in the ensuing undernotes to awakening tones.

The very first topic, Sanskrit studies in Indonesia, deals with Kṛtabhāṣā genre, which are fragments of Sanskrit works, but of significance in preserving versions more ancient than the available texts. They shed light on the origins of the prose and poesy of Classical Indonesia.

The second paper on the contacts of Abhayagiri of Srilanka with Indonesia shows the role of Srilanka in the spṛead of Vajrayāna. The Tantric texts translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra were also procured from Srilanka.

The next there papers detail the manifestations of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in the very architecture of the Sevu and Borobudur temples, Pavon as a sanctuary of homa rites, the Mendut as the architectural expression of the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala.

The bronzes from Ñañjuk and Surocolo pertain to the maṇḍalas of Vajradhātu, Vajrasattva and 16-armed Hevajra. The article of N.J. Krom on the Ñañjuk hoard has been translated from Dutch into English and appended for its detailed descriptions. Mantrayāna had Vairocana in the Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu-maṇḍalas, and Vajrasattva is the main deity of the Nayasūtra which is recited thrice a day in Japan. As a scripture of daily recitation, its maṇḍala is crucial. The paper points out the centrality of Vajrasattva which had eluded earlier scholars and identifies the bronzes of his maṇḍala. The remaining statuettes of Surocolo are from the 17-deity maṇḍala of Hevajra.

The Jaka Dolog inscription of King Kṛtanagara has been re-interpreted, and the related passages of the Nāgarakṛtāgama are translated afresh. The image of Śiva in Candi Jajava as described in the Nāgarakṛtāgama had an Akṣobhya in the crown; it prompts a new rendering of the verses of the chronicle.

The goddesses at Chandi Plaosan Lor have led to the exploration of the extant dhāraṇī-maṇḍala at Alchi.

The copperplate inscription of Hārīti has been translated anew in its functional context. Recently we have discovered this dhāraṇī in Japan written in the Siddham script as well as transcribed into Chinese characters by Amoghavajra.

The eternal Yogīśvara is a perceptive peep into the landscape of his spirit.

Notes on Kuñjarakarṇa bring to light the evolution of Rocana into Vairocana and thence into Mahāvairocana, the prominence of Pratisarā among the Five Protective Goddesses, and the meaning of vihāra as a philosophical term.

Nyai Lara Kidul, the Goddess of the Southern Seas, still venerated by the Sultans of Yogyakarta, symbolises and sustains the State.

The Śailendras of Java re-examines the Ligor Stele, and leads to the conclusion that Śrīvijaya and Śailendras were separate political entities.

Bima Buṅkus is a lakon story in Kawi muda in Javanese metres.

Illustrations of Balinese mudrās, sketched for my father Prof. RaghuVira in 1951 by two artists in Bali, have been reproduced for a correct comprehension of ritual.

The Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan has been translated and annotated extensively. It is a compendium of initiation rites and philosophical thought. It is explicitly structured in four stages of mahāmārga, paramamārga, mahāguhya, and paramaguhya. The SHK has been analysed and interpreted in the light of Chinese and Tibetan texts, which give the whole a coherence of thought and incisiveness of life. The translation of the OJ text is not literal, but a general rendering.

It is my pleasure to thank my sister Dr. Mrs. Sudarshana Devi Singhal for collaboration in the identification of the Ṅañjuk and Surocolo finds, the Jaka Dolog inscription, the goddesses in the dhāraṇī-maṇḍala at Alchi. Finally, my gratitude to Shri Pradeep Goel for the computer composition of this complex volume. He has spared no pains to make it free from errors.

Lokesh Chandra

1. SANSKRIT STUDIES IN CLASSICAL INDONESIA

In March 1972 the Balinese scholar Tjokorda Rai Sudharta came to New Delhi to attend the International Sanskrit Conference convened by the Government of India. He presented a paper on «Sanskrit in Bali», wherein he cited the so-called Sanskrit chrestomathy Svara-saṁhitā as an example. This manuscript was copied for the Arts Faculty of Udayana University, Denpasar (Bali) in 1885 Śaka (1963 AD). It consists of 98 palm leaves (lontar) written on both sides. Each page carries four lines with approximately 32 to 34 Sanskrit words and their meanings.

«*Kṣatra* ṅa saṅ ratu (the king), *anvayah* ṅa vka-vkanira (his sons), *paṅktiratha* ṅa saṅ Daśaratha (king Daśaratha), *abhidhānaḥ* ṅa yavakani ṅaranira (is called his ownself), *bharttā* ṅa ratunya (his king), *bhuvoḥ* ṅa lmahnya (his earth), *bhanudinah* ṅa hyaṅ Āditya (the god Sun), *prabhāvaḥ* ṅa vīryya (dignity), *akhaṇḍa* ṅa tanpiyak (indivisible), *wanoh* ṅa kāhaṅkāranira (his selfishness), *manujeśvarāṇām* ṅa saṅ ratur (the king), *mānyah* ṅa pinujanira (worshipped by him), *manojñai ṅa* konaṅunaṅ (happiness), *guṇajñeḥ* ṅa kasaktyan (power), *guṇajñaḥ* ṅa pujajnanati, *cakāra* ṅa gave, etc. (ṅa means is)»[1].

Evidently it is not a «vocabulary», but a fine specimen of an ornate Sanskrit kāvya. Reading through the ensuing folios it became clear that it is a kāvya of Rāma, recalling the mellifluous stanzas of the Jānakīharaṇa. Eagerly glancing through the Jānakīharaṇa, it turned out to be the second half of the twelfth stanza and the first half of the 13th.

kṣatrānvayaḥ paṅkti-rathābhidhāno bhartā bhuvo bhānu-nibhaḥ
prabhāvaiḥ //12//
akhaṇḍa-māno manujeśvarāṇāṁ mānyo manojñaiḥ guṇajaiḥ guṇajñaḥ /

To our great joy and amazement here, at last, was the discovery of a Sanskrit kāvya on Indonesian soil, whose faded memories lingered on in fragments in the Svarasaṁhitā, an eclectic collection of stray bits of grammar, kāvya, bīja-mantras, synonyms and the like. The first eleven and a half stanzas were missing in the Balinese lontar. We started a search for these lost stanzas in the Kṛtabhāṣā lontars kept at the Leiden University. Cod. Or. 5089 began: *avighnam astu* // 0 // *asitya* dadi / *davanyam* lmah/ *mati* atiśaya/ etc. So here we were in the beginning of the *Jānakīharaṇa.* Cod. Or. 5089 is a cakĕpan, 45 cm in length, 11 folia, written in two lines, with interlinear translation[2]. It stems from the Lombok

[1] *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture,* New Delhi, 1973, vol. 2.217 ff.

[2] H.H. JUYNBOLL, *Supplement op den Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek,* Leiden, 1911, 2.211.

collection, which is distinguished by the degree of accuracy of its lontars as well as their unique contents. The Lombok codex unfortunately ends abruptly in the middle of the 28th stanza of the first canto. The text of the Jānakīharaṇa from the Lombok codex is reproduced at the end.

Interlinear Sanskrit and Kawi texts were used by aspirants for proficiency in Sanskrit to improve their Kawi diction. This has been the tradition in Indonesia down to our times when men of culture studied Daśanāma and allied lexica on synonymy to better their knowledge of Kawi. When Rabindranath Tagore visited Indonesia, his host the Sultan astonished the poet by reciting several synonyms for a river, while they were driving past a river: two hearts reincarnating a common cultural milieu. In the study of modern Indian languages as well, the learning of Sanskrit is a must for elegance of style and for the creation of words for new ideas. It was an established practice not so long ago that «the Jānakīharaṇa, was one of the texts studied by those in Ceylon who desired to obtain a proficiency in the Sanskrit language. This is indicated by the fact that a word for word paraphrase (*sanne*) in Sinhalese, was produced about the twelfth century, by an unknown scholar, for the whole poem. Manuscripts of this Sinhalese *sanne* of the Jānakīharaṇa, though incomplete, are still extant»[3]. We may conclude that in Indonesia of the Classical period the Jānakīharaṇa served a similar function of enriching the Kawi poet's repertoire of literary refinement.

The Classical curriculum of a poet's training comprised grammar, metrics, dramaturgy, lexicography, and poetics. This tradition of five subjects has been preserved in Tibet and they are known as the «Five Minor Sciences»: Tib: *sgra-rig-pa* (*vyākaraṇa,* grammar), *sdeb-sbyor* (*chandas,* metrics), *zlos-gar* (*nāṭaka,* dramaturgy), *mṅon-brjod* (*abhidhāna,* lexicography i.e. for synonyms), *sñan-ṅag* (*kāvya,* poetics for *alaṅkāra*)[4].

Does Indonesia still preserve texts pertaining to these Literary Arts? Yes, it does. The Chinese pilgrim-scholar I-tsing attests the study of Sanskrit grammar in Indonesia: «Before sailing twenty days the ship reached Śrīvijaya, where I landed and stayed six months, gradually learning the *śabdavidyā* (Sanskrit grammar)»[5]. Dr. Shashibala of the International Academy of Indian Culture, who worked on Sanskrit grammatical texts from Indonesia, has discovered to the great surprise of the scholarly world, that major systems of Sanskrit grammar like Pāṇini, Sārasvata, Vararuci, Kāśakṛtsna and Kātantra

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[3] S. Paranavitana, C.E. Godakumbura, *The Jānakīharaṇa of Kumāradāsa*, Colombo, 1967, introd. p. 51.

[4] J. Terjek, *Tibetan Compendia Written for Csoma de Körös by the Lamas of Zaṅs-dkar,* New Delhi (International Academy of Indian Culture), 1976, introd. p. 21.

[5] J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (AD 671-695) by I-tsing, Oxford, 1896, introd. p.30.

are represented in Indonesia, mostly their sections on sandhi, nominal compounds (samāsa) and some declensions and conjugations. The kārikās of Kātantra on the cases are known under the title of Kāraka-saṅgraha[6]. Its purpose is stated at the end to be the authoritative interpretation and appropriate comprehension of the metaphysical or spiritual precepts of the guru:

Parātma-tattvaṁ saṁyujya yuktitaś cintyam ātmasāt /
pramāṇī-kṛtya vākyāni gurūktāni manīṣiṇā //

Bali has preserved to this day two different commentaries on the Kārakasaṅgraha, one from the grammatical and the other from the philosophical view-point.

Sanskrit lexicography is richly represented by the Amaramālā, Daśanāma, Adiśvara, Ekalavya, Samūha-vacana, lists of mono-syllabic words, and several other texts without titles. The main purpose was to extend the dimensions of vocabulary by providing large number of synonyms.

Alaṅkāra or literary embellishment is known so far from a solitary text which commences with the words: *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ* ikaṅ kayu. *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ tiṣṭhati* lagi ya di. *tat kānanam* ikaṅ alas. *kusumitam* makambaniya. *tasmin kānane kusumite* naṅkana lagi ya. *sā latā* ikaṅ udvad. *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ* ikaṅ kayu. *taṁ vṛkṣaṁ sā latā saṁśritā* an parāśraya ya. How do we know that it is a text pertaining to alaṅkāra-śāstra? During a visit to Indonesia in 1976, I had the pleasure of consulting its lontar whose cover palmleaf had the word *Lěṅkṛta,* inscribed insignificantly in a corner which could easily escape notice. It is significant that such a title does not appear in any of the catalogues of the collections at Leiden[7] and Singaraja (Bali)[8]. This text represents a faithful record of the oral teaching on *ars poetica,* with the constant repetition of the phrases, as if it were a live tape recording of a class-room lesson. It is an interesting document of ancient pedagogics. In India too a teacher sitting under a tree would commence his lessons in alaṅkāra-śāstra with the «tree» itself, for it was the immediate environment of the taught. There is a traditional anecdote about the Sanskrit writer Bāṇa, who is renowned for his classic prose-kāvya entitled Kādambarī. He had hardly reached halfway in this work, when he felt that his days were at end. He summoned both sons to his bedside to find out the one who could complete it in all brilliance of descriptions, vivid similes, and resplendent phraseology. He asked his learned grammarian son to put in words: «here is the tree». He put it in terse and grammaticised exactitude: *vṛkṣas tiṣṭhaty agre* «the tree stands in front»; hard and stiff with every word in the brace of sandhi. The second son trained in

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[6] Sylvain Lévi, *Sanskrit Texts from Bali,* Baroda, 1933, p. 88.

[7] Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java: catalogue raisonné of Javanese MSS in the Library of the University of Leiden...,* Leiden, 1970, volume III.

[8] *Mededeelingen van de Kirtya Liefrinck-van der Tuuk,* Singaradja-Solo, 1929 ff., Aff. 1 ff.

flowing and rhythmical prose expressed it as: *tarur iha vilasati puratah* abjuring harsh sandhis and syllables, each word gracefully flowing into the next. Bāṇa decided that his second son Bhūṣaṇa-bhaṭṭa would complete the remainder of Kādambarī. Such is the legend from the vast traditions of India's literary heritage, still recounted by a teacher to his disciples. One fact stands out that the motif of the «tree» was a starting-point and index-mark in alaṅkāra studies and Indonesia portrays in her lontars a fragment of this vanished oral tradition in vivid detail.

In the domain of metrics, we have the Chandaḥ-kiraṇa[9] which is the earliest known chrestomathy giving metres, synonyms of the Amara-mālā and homonyms. It belongs to the genre of literary textbooks or reference-works which were studied by aspiring writers as well as consulted by accomplished authors. Another text is the Vṛtta-sañcaya[10] by Mpu Tanakung. These works were not merely theoretical expositions but they provided standards for metres extensively employed in kakawins. The exemplification of these metres could be seen in Sanskrit kāvyas like the Jānakī-haraṇa and Rāvaṇa-vadha *alias* Bhaṭṭikāvya which were prevalent in Indonesia.

The Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin and its relationship with the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya deserves a detailed analysis. The opening verse of the Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin can be compared to the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya thus:

hana sira ratu dibya rĕnön,
abhūt nṛpaḥ vibudha sakhaḥ
praśāsta riṅ rāt, musuhnira praṇata,
paran-tapaḥ
jaya, paṇḍita riṅ aji kabeh
śrutānvitaḥ
saṅ Daśaratha nāma tā molī //
Daśaratha ity udāhṛtaḥ

We can see that the Sanskrit text has been reproduced in Kawi, word by word:

abhūn nṛpo vibudha-sakhaḥ paran-tapaḥ
śrutānvito Daśaratha ity udāhṛtaḥ /

The Kawi author was a genius who could transcreate each and every word with a minimum of addition and subtraction, in amazing simplicity of structure and limpid flow of words in Kawi, as compared to the elaborate recondite style of Bhaṭṭi. The Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin has the refinement of austerity of words, like a Zen painting where the empty white spaces are beauty (*śūnyatā rūpam*), in contradistinction to Bhaṭṭi's academic exul-

[9] H.KERN, VG. 9.273-282.

[10] H.KERN (ed.), *Wṛtta-sañcaya, Oudjav. leerdicht over versbouw*, Kawi-tekst en Nederlandsche vertaling, Leiden 1875 (VG. 9.67-190).

tation in grammar and figures of speech providing joy of erudition to his commentators. In the Kawi stanza, there are two clauses which are not found in the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya: *praśāsta riṅ rāt* «renowned throughout the world», *jaya* «victorious». *Jaya* can be a clarification of the preceding *musuhnira praṇata* «his enemies were subdued». The two additions can also be an echo in the poet's mind of Jānakīharaṇa 1.12-25 which is prolix in its eulogy of the virtues and glory of king Daśaratha, specifically 1.14cd *jigīṣur abhyasta-samasta-śāstra-jñān-oparuddh-endriya-vegaḥ*. Here it may be recalled that several Rāmāyaṇa texts were prevalent in Indonesia and even the Sanskrit alphabet was taught through this epic. The Jānakīkāvya[11] in 51 stanzas was meant for this purpose and each stanza containing one letter of the alphabet must have been accompanied by illustrations in ancient times to allure the young students, as the Rāmāyaṇa comics in Bahasa Indonesia published by the Tan Kun Sri Bookshop at Kediri are a delight for the Indonesian children today. The Caritra Rāmāyaṇa[12] is another example of a Rāmāyaṇa text used to teach nominal compounds. In India too, creative writing was taught in an integral manner combining grammatical rules, figures of speech, metres, vocabulary, and cultural imagery of Classical myths and legends. This integrative approach can be discovered in the Bhaṭṭikāvya where all these elements are abundantly illustrated in a refined and elaborate art. For example the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya has been explained from the standpoint of different systems of Sanskrit grammar, namely, those of Kalāpa, Mugdhabodha and Pāṇini in Gurunatha Vidyanidhi Bhattacharya's edition published from Calcutta in 1893. While a kāvya was aesthetic joy in its lucid charm, it was a holistic system of education embracing at once the five basic disciplines mentioned earlier.

Indonesian lontars have conserved some early versions of Sanskrit texts, for instance, Cod. Or. 5110[13] in the Leiden University Library has the earliest known version of Bhartṛhari's work, with the captions *lokayātrā, saṁsāra-nindā, viṣaya-heyatā*. It is a *cakĕpan* in 20 folios which are 46 cm long. It is from the Lombok collection which continued ancient traditions.

In conclusion, we can say that the Indonesian literati had access to all branches of Sanskrit learning and they put these disciplines to the best of use in the emergence of

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[11] Edited by SYLVAIN LÉVI, *Sanskrit Texts from Bali*, Baroda, 1933, pp. 89-93 as *Kavi-Jānakī*. Sylvain Lévi omitted all Kawi prefixes and suffixes, and in this process *ka-an* of *kakavin* was eliminated, and a ghost-word *kavi* was created. *Kakavin Jānakī* would be *Jānakī-kāvya* in Sanskrit syntactic order. Prof. Lévi also failed to discern that every stanza contained a letter of the alphabet: this could have avoided wrong allocation of lines and it could also lead to a better text. The last stanza should commence with the last letter of the alphabet, namely, *ha*. In Lévi it begins *ātta-śatru-mahendrāṇi*. It has to be emended to *hata-śatrur mahendra-bhih* «he had vanquished his enemies and was a terror even to Mahendra».

[12] SYLVAIN LÉVI 1933: 93-107.

[13] H.H. JUYNBOLL 2.215 no. 5110.

their own creative literature, as it happened in later centuries in India when Sanskrit provided models for modern Indian languages both of the north and the south. The adventure of new discoveries of the Classical world and Sanskrit texts in Indonesia awaits fresh and keen minds.

JĀNAKĪ-HARAṆA FROM INDONESIA*

1.1 *Āsīt* dadi. *avanyāṁ* (*davanyāṁ*)[1] lmah. *ati (mati)* atiśaya. *bhoga* bhinukti. *bhārāt* bvat makveh. *divo (dvivoḥ)* viśeṣa. *sam* sira. *'vatīrṇnā* manura [*na*]*garī* kaḍatvan. *iva* kadi. *divyā* rahayu. *kṣatra* saṅ ratu. *anala (nala)* apuy. *sthāna* uṅgvan. *śamī* rampada. *samṛddhyā* kavṛddhyan. *taḥ* ika. *purām* pura. *nidharana* pagĕh. (*m*) *ayoddhyā* ṅayoddhyā. *iti* maṅkana. *purī* kaḍatvan. *parārddhyā* lĕvih.

1.2 *Yat*[2] nyan maṅkana. *syām*[2] riṅkana muvah sira vtu. *saudha* prasāda. *śṛṅga* puñcak. *agra* tuṅtuṅ. *sarojarāga* maṇik padmarāga. *ratna*[3] maṇi. *nāṁ*[4] ika. *prabhā* teja. *ya* ika. *cchuritaḥ* cinihnan. *śaśāṅkaḥ* vulan. *jagāma* kalivali. *roṣāt* glaṅ. *iva* (*diva*) paḍanya. *lohita* abāṅ. *an* ika. *tatvam* bhāvaḥ[4] dadi. *sya paurāṅganā* strī. *nāṁ* ika. *vaktraiḥ* mukhanya. *kṛta* ginave. *avamānaḥ* kasampayanira.

1.3 *kṛtvā* an gave. *api* muvah. *sarvva* kabeh. *sya* muvah. *mudaṁ*. bhāvasya dadi ika. *samṛddhyā* hetu kavṛddhyan. *harṣāya* mukha. *nābhūd abhisārikāṇāṁ* vinilañji. *niṣāsu* kana vṅi. *kāñcana* mās. *toraṇastha* pagĕr. *ratnāṁśubhiḥ* maṇik. *bhinnatamisra* binlah ptaṅ. *ni* ika. *nāṁ* ikaṅ. *rāśiḥ* samūha.

1.4 *cīna* deśa riṅ cīna. *'ṁśukaiḥ* vahavṛddhi. *abhra* dodot. *abhralihāṁ* megha. *udagra (muda)*. *śṛṅga* puñcaknya. *'gra* tuṅtuṅnya. *sya* muvah. *bhāga* ekadeśanya. *upahitair* kaglaranya. *gṛhāṇāṁ* umah. *viṭaṅka* nya layaṅ-layaṅan tuṅtuṅ. *koṭiskhali(ta)* kasandun. *indu* hyaṅ vulan. *nā sṛṣṭa* limpasakĕn. *nirmoka* kalambi. *paṭṭair iva* blablahnya paḍanya. *yā* ika. *babhāse (vabhaṣe)* mahalĕp.

1.5 *didṛkṣuḥ* ranta. *draṣṭum icchuḥ (dṛṣṭumiñjuḥ)* mahyun kavulatanya. *sarasīm* talaga i jro dalĕm. *alaṅghyam* tan vnaṅ linaṅghyanan. *yat* (yyatka) puryyām. *khātahaṁsaḥ* (*tehhaṁsaḥ*) baṅak. *samudīkṣya* anton. *bapraṁ* bapra. *sasmāra* (*saṁsmara*) aṅĕnaṅĕn. *nūnaṁ* maṅkana tarkka niṅhulun. *dṛḍha* tĕguh. *kauñca* gunuṅ kokoñja. *kuñja* pārśvanya. *bhāga* avaknya. *cchido (citdoh)* tinugĕl. *bhārggava* saṅ Rāmaparaśu. *mārggaṇasya* varayaṅ nira.

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* Edited from the palmleaf manuscript in the Leiden University Library, Cod. Or. 5089, described in Juynboll 2.211.

[1] Readings of the manuscript are given in parantheses. The Svara-saṁhitā 22a-28a (Balinese palmleaf ms.) was not accessible and its variants could not be recorded.

[2] *yat syām* (= yasyām) = *yat* in the Sanskrit text.

[3] *ratnā nāṁ* = ratnānāṁ.

[4] *Lohita tatvaṁ bhāvaḥ*, here *bhāvaḥ* is from a commentary.

1.6 *vimbaṁ svaṁ* vayaṅvayaṅan. *ālokya* (*mālokya*) avulati. *tataṁ* kahatur. *(n) gṛhāṇāṁ* umah. *ādarśa (mādarśśe)* crĕmin. *bhittau (bhito) nayuktaḥ tavam. kṛtaṁ vandhyaṁ* turuṅ ya vkasan ginave ya pūrvvaka. *ghātāḥ* sinimbat. *rathyāsu* avaṅegöṅ. *yasyāṁ* puryyāṁ. *radinaḥ* liman. *pramāṇaṁ* pinakapaṅavruh. *(ñ)cakruḥ* an gave. *madāmodaṁ* moda amběknya. *ari-dvipānāṁ* (*aradvipanāṁ*) liman musuh.

1.7 *lagna (lagnai)* tumaněm. *ekabhāgaṁ* avaknya savaneh. *sita* maputih. *harmya (hamya)* prasāda. *śṛṅge* puñcaknya. *vikṛṣya* mamatĕk. *mandena* alon. *samīraṇe* hyaṅ aṅin. *na* samaṅkana. *dīrgghīkṛta* pinahadavā. *bāla* hanvam. *mṛṇāla* iva sulur. *śubhraṁ* maputih. *karoti* an gave. *yatra* kana puryyāṁ. *dhvaja* yukti. *sya kṛtyaṁ* kagavaya. *abhram (mabhram)* megha.

1.8 *pravāla* vulvānvam. *śīrṣā* gluṅan. *vadanaṁ* mukha. *suvarṇṇam* rahayu. *muktā* hilaṅ. *mayāṅga* lara. *'vayavāḥ* avayavanya. *vahantyah* vata. *yasyāṁ puryyāṁ* kana. *yuvatyah* vini. *vihitāḥ* kadi ginave. saḥ *vidhātrā* hyaṅ Brahmā. *ratnair (ratne)* maṇik. *iva* (*riva*) paḍanya. *āpuḥ (adhuḥ)* dhāraṇa. *vapuṣaḥ (bapuḥṣaḥ)* avak. *prakarṣaṁ* hayunya.

1.9 *āliṅgya* kolakĕn. *tuṅgaṁ* mavan. *vvalabhī-viṭaṅka(ṁ)* layaṅ-layaṅan vinehakĕnya denya. *vviśrāṇitātma-dhvani* śabda. *puṣkareṣu* kana tatabuyan. *vavre* malaku. *sitaṁ* aputih. *śāradaṁ* lahru. *abhra (mabhra)* megha. *vṛndaṁ* samūhanya. *yatsaudha* prasāda. *kāntiḥ* tejanya. *iva* paḍa. *savibhāgaṁ* kadumanya.

1.10 *tatāna* pahavṛddhi. *toṣaṁ* sukhanya. *śikhināṁ* mĕrāk. *(m)udagram (m)āsanna* maparö. *jīmūta* samūhanya. baṅ *ghaṭāsu* megha. *yasyāṁ* puryyāṁ. *vidyun* kana kilat. *nibhā* paḍa. *kāñcana* mās. *iva* kadi. *piñjarāsu* aṅāṅ. *kṣipraṁ* kṣighra. *patākāsu* kana tuṅgul. *tatā* kahatur. *vivṛttiḥ.*

1.11 *raktāśmani* maṇik padmarāga. *nīlopala* maṇik indranīla. *toraṇāni* pagĕr. *nārī* strī. *janasya* samūhanya. *bhramato* maputran. *niśāsu* vṅi. *krodha* glĕṅnya. *pramodau* sukha. *vidadhuḥ* glarakĕn. *vibhābhiḥ* śiṣṭa lĕvih teja. *yatra* kana puryyāṁ. *kṣato* inilaṅakĕn. *tāmasāni* tāmasānām vṛndaṁ.

1.12 *tatra* kana puryyāṁ. *abhavat (bhava)* dadi. *bibhrat (dvibhrat)* dhāraṇa. *(d) alaṅghya* tan vnaṅ linaṅghyakĕn. *anyatkṣmānātha* saṅ ratu len. *mānaṁ* kāhaṅkāranya. *jayamānaṁ* sorakĕn. *ojaḥ kṣatra* saṅ ratu. *anvayaḥ* vkavkanira. *paṅktiratha* saṅ Daśaratha. *abhidhānaḥ* yavakaṅaranira. *bhṛttā* ratunya. *bhuvo* lmahnya. *bhānunibhaḥ* hyaṅ āditya. *prabhāvaiḥ* vīrya.

1.13 *akhaṇḍa* tan apiyak. *māno (vanoḥ)* kāhaṅkāranira. *manujeśvarāṇāṁ* saṅ ratu. *mānyo* pinūjanira. *manojñaiḥ* konaṅunaṅ. *guṇajaiḥ* kaśaktyan. *guṇajñaḥ* pujajnanati. *cakāra* gave. *rājā. rajata* kadi pirak. *'vadātāḥ* śuddha. *diśo* deśa. *yaśobhiḥ* hetu yaśa göṅ. *śaradi* lahru. *abhra* megha. *śubhraiḥ* aputih.

1.14 *ājau* palagan. *(v)ajayyān* tan alah. *ajanandano* saṅ Daśaratha. *asau pūrvaṁ* tambayan. *[ṣa]dante nam dviṣato vijigye* kana sorakĕn. *jigīṣu* kalahanya mahyun. *'bhyasta* inabhyāsa denira. *samasta (samanta)* kabeh. *śāstra* aji. *jñāno* sakavruhnya. *uparuddhe* tinahĕnan. *'ndriya* cakṣurādi. *vāji* kuda. *vegaḥ* drĕsnya.

1.15 *bali* śaktinya. *nṛpāṇāṁ* saṅ ratu. *pratāpāpaha-vikrameṇa* katrivikrama. *trailokya* triloka. saṅ śūra kaniṣṭha-maddhyamottama. *durlaṅghya* pinakevĕh. *sudarśśanena* kotonanira paḍa-paḍa nira. *nānta* tan pahiṅan. *bhoga* bhinukti. *śrayituṁ* parāśraya. *api* nihan maṅkana. *tene* an pahavṛddhi. *tenālasatvaṁ. puruṣottamena* hyaṅ Viṣṇu saṅ Daśaratha.

1.16 *Daṇḍaḥ* vadva. *tataḥ* nira. *tasya* Daśarathasya. *bhuvaṁ* bhūḥ. *jigīṣoḥ (ñjigiśuḥ)* jetum icchuḥ mahyun malahakna. *kampaṁ* calani. *vitanvan* [pahavṛddhi]. *vanvayyaṅga nvihita* [ginlarakĕn]. *tāpaikasya* panas niṅ vanvayaṅga. *hetuḥ* nimittanya. *tridaśādhipasya* saṅ hyaṅ Indra. *diśaṁ* jvaras lara. *tīvra* atyartha. *iva* kadi. *āviveśa (viśeṣa)* kĕndat.

1.17 *samudraṁ* sāgara. *ullaṅghya* laṅghyane. *gataḥ* kalivat. *tadīyas* Daśarathasya. *tejo 'bhidhānaḥ* kaśaktin eva. *gurur. agni* apuy. *rāśiḥ* samūhanya. *nitānta* atiśaya. *santāpita* pinanasan. *pūrva* vetan. *kāṣṭhaḥ* deśa riṅ *protsvedayāmāsa* (*prochedayāmāsa*) an panasi. *nṛpaṁ* saṅ ratu. *kaḍāhe* deśa riṅ Kaḍāha.

1.18 *bhujaṅgaiḥ* ula. *samprārthita (samprasita)* pinunagyakĕn. *sevya* sinevita. *velā* tambin. *kāñcī* lvah si kāñcī. *guṇa* hayu. *ākarṣita* vinatĕk. *sārttha* sambanyagapur saṅ sugih pag. *lokā* samūhanya. *dig dakṣiṇā* kidul. *karkaśayatnena* atiśaya. *bhogyā* bhinukti. *veśyeva* vinilañji ika kadi. *bhuktā* bhinukti. *nṛvareṇa* saṅ Daśaratha. *tena* de.

1.19 *labdhvā* paṅguh ya. *asura* daitya. *'supraghasa* inarasnya. *āyudhasya* śabda ta nira. *ghātaṁ* panimbat. *śareṇa* de hrunya. *'sya* Daśarathasya. *vinirjita* (vinirjito) alah byakta ya. *api* hihan. *ātmānaṁ* avak. *anyaiḥ* nṛpaiḥ de len. *(r)asamāna-mānaṁ* tanpinaḍan. *mene* aṅhiḍĕp. *manasvī* asthi. *yudhi* kana. *yāvanendraḥ* saṅ ratu.

1.20 *teja* dilah. *cchalena* yāvaknya. *hutāśanena* kāraṇa apuy. *śrīvāsa-ramyaṁ* saḥ Daśaratha. *dahan* gsĕṅi. *Turuṣkam* deśa riṅ Turuṣka riṅ Malaya. *dhūpair* asĕp. *iva* kāraṇa. *āsakta* lana. *gataiḥ* kalivat. *yaśobhiḥ āśīyam antaṁ* deśa. *surabhīcakāra* an pahavaṅi.

1.21 *para* musuh. *iṣu* nāṅ hrunya. *vātyā* haṅin. *parivṛṅhito* pinakavṛddhi. *tasya* Daśarathasya. *krodha* galak. *'bhidhāno* ya ta kapaṅguhanya. *yudhi citrabhānuḥ* apuy nira. *anāyi* nvava. *śāntiṁ* paḍam. *ripu* śatru. *kāminīnāṁ* strīnya. *ātāmra-netra. cyuta* bhyuh. *vāri* vvai. *varṣaiḥ* kaharanudana.

1.22 *tasya* de Daśarathasya. *ekavāṇa* viśeṣa. *āsana* laras. *bhagna* alah. *śatroḥ* musuh. *(r)āloka-bhūmau* hamula hana ratu bhakti. *caraṇa* suku. *aravinde* yāvakaniṅ

padma. *āsedatuḥ* arkalagyani. *sarva* kabeh. *narendra* ratu. *mauli* glunan. *ratna* maṇiknya. *prabhā* teja. *'laktakamaṇḍanāni* yāvakaniṅ pahyas.

1.23 *lokas tadiye* Daśarathaṣya. *bhuvi* kana lmah. *hāra* mutyahāra. *gaure (ghoram)* śuddha. *kīrtti* yaśa. *pratāne* samūhanya. *parijṛmbhamāṇe* vṛddhi. *abhinna* tan skar. *kośa* kucupnya. *kumudaṁ* tunjuṅ. *nirīkṣya* ar vvulati. *mumoca* lpasakĕn. *candra* hyaṅ vulan. *udaya* vtunira (v.1. vtunya). *śaṅkitāni* sandeha.

1.24 *samasta* kabeh. *sāmanta* sāmanta. *nṛpa* ratu. *uttamāṅgāni* hulu. *addhyāsya* kalagyani. *tasya* Daśarathasya. *unnata* dadinya. *tejaḥ* śaktinira. *jajvāla* dumilah. *cūḍāgata* kalivat. *padmarāga* maṇik padmarāga. *rāgacchaṭā* samūhanya. *visphuraṇa* larapnya. *cchalena* hetu avaknya.

1.25 *narendra* saṅ Daśaratha. *candrasya yaśo-vitāna-jyotsnā* yavakaniṅ teja niṅ vulan. *mahī* lmah. *maṇḍanasya* bhūṣaṇanya. *tasyāri* musuh. *nārī* strī. *nayana* mata. *indukānta* yakan maṇi candrakānta. *niṣyandahetu* hiliṅ ya nimitta. *bhuvam. ātatāna* ?ti.

1.26 *tena* Daśarathena. *upayeme* pinakabhakti. *vidhivad* yajñapūrvaka. *vidheyā* vinava. *vahneḥ* hyaṅ apuy. *samakṣaṁ* samata. *indradviṣad-bhartṛ-niṣūdanasya mātā* ibunira. *bhavitrī* yaṅkan dadya bhaṭāra *bhavatulya-dhāmnaḥ* paḍa śaktinira.

1.27 *sphurat-mayūkhā* lumarap. *saraṇiḥ* samūhanya. *nakhānāṁ* kukunira. *Mahendra* hyaṅ Indra. *kalpasya* Daśarathasya. *mahāya* tadarttha. *devyāḥ* saṅ Kauśalyā. *pāda* suku. *dvaya* parvarvanya. *ante* tuṅtuṅ. *jitapadmakośa* sinorakĕn kucupnya. *muktā* kinanakĕn. *iva* muktā kadi mutyahāra. *vitatiḥ* samūhanya. *vireje* mahalĕp.

1.28 *līlā* vajiknya. *gateḥ* laku. *atra nisargasiddhā matto* darppa. *dantī muṣito* tiniru. *haṁsaḥ* baṅak. *itīva. jaṅghā* vtis. *yugalaṁ* parvarvanya. *tadīyaṁ* Kauśalyā. *cakre* an gave. *tulā* glaṅkaki. *koṭyaḥ* tuṅtuṅnya. *adhirohaṇāni* kanekanya.

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2. THE CONTACTS OF ABHAYAGIRI OF SRILANKA WITH INDONESIA IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY

1. Prof. J.G. de Casparis (1961) has written a fascinating paper on the 'New Evidence on Cultural Relations between Java and Ceylon in Ancient Times' based on the Ratubaka Inscription in Prenagari, dated Śaka 714=AD 792/3. The 12th strophe of the inscription reads:

ayam-iha jinasūnoḥ padmapāṇeh kṛpāloḥ
prathita ∪∪∪ – – – ∪∪ – – ∪ pādaiḥ
Jina-vara-vinayoktaiḥ śikṣitānāṁ [ya]tīnām
abhayagiri-vihāraḥ kāritaḥ siṁhalānāṁ

Casparis (1961:242) raises a doubt about its syntactic interconnections: "The instrumental case of what is probably a compound ending in *pādaiḥ* could be an attribute to *Jinavar-avinayoktaiḥ* but it is difficult to see how any of the meanings of *pāda* could be applied to the words of the Buddha. It is therefore more likely that the instrumental depends on *kāritaḥ*, an epithet referring to those who had the *vihāra* built". The prose order of the strophe would be: *ayam iha prathita...pādaiḥ Jinavaravinayoktaiḥ śikṣitānāṁ siṁhalānāṁ yatīnāṁ [kṛte] kṛpāloḥ Jinasūnoḥ Padmapāṇeḥ Abhayagiri-vihāraḥ kāritaḥ.* It means: "Here this Abhayagiri monastery consecrated to Jinasūnu Padmapāṇi the Compassionate has been constructed for the sake of Siṁhala monks who have been trained in the Vinaya of the Buddha (*Jinavara*) as enunciated (*ukta*) by the celebrated (*prathita*) Venerable (*pāda*).....(name lost in the lacuna of ten syllables). This is a crucial strophe for the cultural history of Indonesia, and merits consideration at length. Two main points are emphasised in this stanza, which were distinctive characteristics of the Abhayagiri-vāsins: (i) The Indonesian monastery was dedicated to Padmapāṇi in his Mahākāruṇika aspect, who must have predominated at Abhayagiri. (ii) Digression from the Theravāda Vinaya so as to merit special mention of the teacher who initiated the changes and whose name is unfortunately lost though the traces of four *akṣaras* on fragment e may preserve the name of the founder of the Abhayagiri school*, namely Dhammaruci (Zeyst 1961:28). The differences between the orthodox Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri vihāra were doctrinal and mainly on account of Vinaya rules. According to the Mahāvaṁsa 33.95 Mahātissa was expelled from the Mahāvihara on account of his frequenting lay families. At the instance of Saṅghamitta of Abhayagiri, king Mahāsena withdrew royal

* Malalasekera (1938) gives a succinct and detailed account of the events leading to the heterodoxy of Abhayagiri (1.130), adoption of Vetullavāda by them (2.918) and its prevalence among them as Dhammarucikas (1.1147-48).

support from the Mahāvihāra as their monks did not teach the correct Vinaya. "It is noteworthy that no accusation of heretical doctrine was professed. Soon it became impossible for the monks to continue to live in the Mahāvihāra, and after it had been deserted for nine years, its building material was removed to enrich the Abhayagirivihāra". Some three hundred and sixtyfour colleges and great temples were uprooted and destroyed, says an ancient chronicle; and the spoils gathered from them went to enrich and adorn the home of heresy, the Abhayagiri, which, now splendid in ornaments and rich in possessions, stood pre-eminent over all as the greatest and wealthiest monastery in Lanka"(Zeyst 1961:26). The Abhayagiri monks rejected Parivāra the fifth book of the Vinaya, and in this connection it should be borne in mind that the Mahāyāna canon divides the Vinaya into four and not five parts (Zeyst 1961:28).

2. Padmapāṇi is Avalokiteśvara, whose name appears earlier in line 7 of the inscription as *Kamalapāṇi.* Sarkar (1971:48v) has not recognized this word as a synonym of Avalokiteśvara and has translated it in a general way "having lotus-like palm", while it means "he who holds the lotus in his hand". Later on Padmapāṇi is rendered by Sarkar as "Lord with his lotus-feet" (sic!). The epithet *kṛpāloḥ* is equivalent to Kāruṇika or Mahākāruṇika which are synonymous with Avalokiteśvara.

3. The Abhayagiri-vāsins were adherents of Vetullavāda as is well known from the Sinhalese chronicles Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa and the commentary on the Kathāvatthu. The reading *vaitulya* is found in place of *vaipulya* in the Kashgar manuscript of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra. The vulgate title Saddharma-puṇḍarīka dharmaparyāya is Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Mahāratna Vaitulya-sūtra in the Kashgar manuscript and in one occurence the reading is *vaitupulya* (Kern 1907:3.99), a clear indication of the transition from *vaitulya* to *vaipulya.* The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (SP.) was an important sūtra of theVaitulyakas, and as such one of the scriptures of the Abhayagiri-vāsins. A monastery was dedicated to Padmapāṇi in Indonesia, as the 24th chapter of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka is a description of the miracles of Avalokiteśvara (*Avalokiteśvara-vikurvaṇa-nirdeśa).* In Japan, this chapter is treated as an independent sūtra and bears the title Kannon-gyō 'Avalokiteśvara-sūtra'. It is recited daily by Japanese devotees to ward off evils and calamities. Avalokiteśvara has vowed to save all beings in His infinite compassion, where He is known as Daihi-shōja or Mahākāruṇika-muni. The SP says that if a ship sailing on the ocean be cast on the Rākṣasī-dvīpa and if in that ship a single being implores Avalokiteśvara all will be saved. In the Kāraṇḍavyūha devoted to the glorification of Avalokiteśvara, the Rākṣasī-dvīpa is identified with Srilanka (Kern 1909:407 n.1): an ancient link between Avalokiteśvara and Srilanka.

4. The sustained patronage of Sinhalese kings to Abhayagiri must have stemmed from their deep belief in the miraculous protective powers of the SP (Visser 1935:2.621).

The state is in constant need of stability and security: and this could be accomplished by the SP. Theravāda had no royal ceremonies: either for the consecration or well-being of the king, or for the stability of the State. Hence recourse to other sūtras. The royal preceptors to the Thai king, inspite of his being a follower of Theravāda, are Śaiva priests who discharge ritual functions of State to this day. In Japan, from olden times this king of sūtras has been worshipped together with the Kāruṇikarāja-sūtra (Ninnōkyō) and Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra (Saishōōkyō) as "wonderful texts protecting the state" (Jap. *chingo kokka no myōten)* by all the sects (Visser 1935:2.702). During the early years of the advent of Buddhism Prince Shotoku completed a commentary on the SP in AD 615 (ibid. 622). The blessing power of the SP was invoked by its recitation and making images of Avalokiteśvara not only to secure recovery of imperial personages from illness, but also to suppress rebellion in order to afford peace to the people (ibid. 640). This sūtra was studied and venerated as a "text of the utmost importance and blessing power" (ibid.677). In AD 836 the Japanese Emperor Nimmyō issued an ordinance stating that the protective power of the SP was such that it turned misfortune into felicity (ibid.655).

5. *Avalokiteśvara images in Srilanka.* From the 6-7th century onwards upto the present day the worship of Avalokiteśvara has been popular in Srilanka. His statuettes from Elahera, belonging to the 6-7th century, are at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The most remarkable of Sinhalese statues of Avalokiteśvara for its height and proportions, with an Amitābha in his headdress, is the one found at Buduruvegala, whose details are finished in stucco. The sunken relief rock sculpture of Avalokiteśvara at Weligama (Southern province), the ten-foot high Dambulla Avalokiteśvara in the cave shrine of the eighth century, the Situlpavva granite statue of the 7-8th century, Ambalantota head in limestone, and metallic images attest the widespread worship of Avalokiteśvara in Srilanka. Cūlavaṁsa refers to the worship of Avalokiteśvara in the reign of Parākramabāhu II (1234-1269). The renowned scholar Srī Rāhula of the Totagamu vihāra who lived during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI (1415-1467) was a devotee of Nātha Avalokiteśvara. The veneration of Avalokiteśvara during the reign of Kīrtiśrīrāya-siṁha (1747-1782) is referred to by the Cūlavaṁsa. To this day, worship of Avalokiteśvara continues at the Nātha-devale at Kandy and Lokeśvara-Nātha-devale at Wegiriya (Mudiyanse 1967:8, 38, 11, 10).

6. Hsüan-tsang (Watters 1905:2.335) halted for some time at Kanchi in AD 640 in the hope of visiting Srilanka. Prior to his departure the king of Siṁhala died and the country was in disorder so much so that three hundred monks left the country and arrived at Kanchi. It cannot be ruled out that in course of this exodus some of them migrated to Indonesia, stayed on and established themselves there. In times to come, in AD 792/3, an Abhayagiri vihāra was constructed for their denomination. Prof. de Casparis says: "The

epithets referring to the high standard of learning of the Sinhalese need not imply more than the conventional kind of praise. It is, however, possible that they were added in order to impress upon the Javanese monks that the Abhayagiri Vihāra, of which not many Javanese might have heard, was not just an ordinary monastery but a place that enjoyed great prestige in the Buddhist World". It should be noted that Amoghavajra had travelled from Central Asia for his initiation in Srilanka, sailed to Indonesia where he met his would-be teacher Vajrabodhi in AD 718. Vajrabodhi landed at Canton in AD 719. A year later Amoghavajra arrived at Loyang in AD 720. He worked with Vajrabodhi in China, and on his teacher's death he left China in 741 for Srilanka and South India to acquire new tantra literature, and in AD 746 king Sīlamegha of Srilanka sent through him letters and presents to the emperor of China (Chou 1945:284-307). This is a clear indication that lines of communication between Central Asia, South India, Srilanka, Indonesia and China were open and the sea route was frequented both for trade and culture. Amoghavajra may have been initiated at the Abhayagiri monastery itself. The probability is that the Indonesians were fully aware of the renown and glory of Abhayagiri of Siṁhala. It was the monastery where Chinese scholars collected Sanskrit texts of the vinaya and tantras.

7. Besides strophe 12, Prof. de Casparis (1979) has deciphered and translated the first three invocatory stanzas of this inscription from Ratubaka and tried to link them with the Barabudur.

Dhī-gambhīra-guho [vara]smṛti-śīlaḥ sadvākya-dhātūj[j]valo
maitrī-prasravaṇaḥ samādhi-vanavān=alpecchatā-kandaraḥ /
yo ['ṣṭābhir=a (2)pi lokadharmma-pavanair=ugrair=na saṁkampitas=
tam samvuddha-sumerum=ūrjjita-guṇaṁ jñānogra-śaktin=name //1//

I pay homage to Sambuddha who is verily the Sumeru, of vigorous qualities, and endowed with the awe-inspiring power of knowledge, whose deep caves are [profound] wisdom, whose rocks are lofty tradition, whose Good Words are brilliant [like the sheen of] metal (*dhātu* [of Sumeru]), whose cascades are Love, whose forests are meditation, whose glens are few desires, who is not shaken by the violent tempests of the eight ways of the world. //1//

Loke carṛṣi-vara-pravāhi-samayān=ākramya (3) yo dīpyate
vitrastāḥ pratiyānti tīrthya-vṛṣabhā yasya prabhāv-oddhatāḥ /
nānā-dṛṣṭi-[vi]marśa-vṛndam=api yo bhasmīkaroti kṣaṇāt=
tam sarvv-ānu(4)[niba]ndha-pradahanaṁ saddharmma-vahnin=name //2//

I pay homage to Him who is the fire of noble Dharma, who shines forth quashing the prevailing beliefs of outstanding heretics, struck by whose majesty the heretics [strong like] bulls panic away in fright, who in an instant reduces to ashes the numerous attachments to heresy and who burns out all bondages.

Śaikṣāśaikṣa-sahasra-nakra-makaro yaḥ śūnyatānimitto
nirmmokṣ-aikarasaḥ subhāṣita-mahāratnākaro hrī-hradaḥ /
[saṁg]ūḍārtha-vicāraṇā-vara-nadī-vegaiḥ samāpyāyitaṁ
śikṣā-vandanā-vaddha-velam=amalam=vande guṇāgrā[rṇa]vam //3//

I pay obeisance to the Ocean of Supreme Virtues whose *nakras* and *makaras* are the thousands of disciples (of the first seven stages) and the arhats (aśaikṣa, the eighth stage), who is Voidness (*śūnyatā*) and causelessness (*ānimitta*), whose only essence (*rasa*) is complete liberation, whose is a great mine of jewels: his wise words, whose conscientiousness (*hrī*) are like the splashing waters (*hrada*, [of the ocean]), nourished-and-invigorated (*samāpyāyita)* by the rushing flow of excellent rivers which are deliberations on esoteric concerns; bounded (*vaddha*) by clean (*amala*) shores (*velā*) which are immaculate (*amala*) discipline and worship.

8. The first stanza compares the Perfectly Enlightened One (Sambuddha) to Sumeru which cannot be shaken by raging storms. The components of the montane environs are correlated to the Buddha:

Sumeru	SamBuddha
deep caves (*guhā*)	profound wisdom (*dhī)*
rocks (*śilā)*	lofty traditions *(smṛti*)
shining metals (*dhātu)*	Good Words (*sadvākya)*
cascades (*prasravaṇa)*	Love (*maitrī)*
forests (*vana)*	meditation (*samādhi)*
valleys (*kandarā*)	few desires (*alpecchatā*)
violent tempests (*ugra pavana*)	eight ways of the world (*aṣṭa loka-dharma)*

Dhī-gambhīra-guho is treated by Casparis as 'whose profound caves are knowledge' which may better be rendered as 'whose deep caves are profound wisdom': *gambhīra* meaning both deep *and* profound, implying physical depth and spiritual profundity. *sadvakya-dhatūjjvalo* is translated by Casparis as 'whose brilliance is owing to its relic: the Good Word', *dhātu* does not refer to relics but to the precious metals like gold, silver, sapphire and amber that adorn the Sumeru mountain:

> "he must imagine an earth surface (**bhūmitala*) made of many jewels and strewn with gold sand. He blesses it with the formula, *Oṁ cala vī[ra] hūṁ svāhā.*
>
> Upon it he imagines an ocean of milk, free from such a fault as fish-gills, adorned with such flowers as the red lotus (*padma*) and the blue lotus (*utpala*), and over which soar flocks of bejewelled birds. He blesses it with the formula, *Om vimala dhahā hūṁ.*

> In the middle of this [ocean], he imagines a four sided Sumeru mountain, adorned on all four sides with rows of stairs made [respectively] of gold, silver, sapphire (*indranīla*), and amber, all over which spring up wish-granting trees (*kalpa-vṛkṣa*) decorated with a thousand fluttering victory banners. He imagines rising above those to a height of many yojanas a lotus trunk which takes its origin from a shaft in the center of Mount Sumeru, is graced with many jewels, has leaves made of variegated jewels and [blossoms] whose filaments are of gold, anthers of amber, and tops of pistils ringed by lines of silver" (Lessing/ Wayman 1968:175).

kandarā is translated by Casparis as 'Mount' but it means a narrow valley, glen (MW): *kaṁ jalena dīryate iti kandarā* 'that which is cut across by water': the *narrow* valleys are counterbalanced by *few* desires. Casparis reads aṣṭābhir=a(2)*dhi* wherein the dubious *adhi* has to be corrected to *api* which supplies the requisite emphasis. Casparis translates the third quarter as 'which is not shaken by the eight horrible winds: the worldly qualities': horrible winds should be violent winds and eight does not refer to them but to lokadharma, which are enumerated in the Dharmasaṅgraha 61: *aṣṭau lokadharmāḥ/ lābhaḥ, alābhaḥ, sukhaṁ, duḥkhaṁ, yaśaḥ, ayaśaḥ, nindā, praśaṁsā ceti.* These eight are also enumerated in Pali texts (Dīghanikāya, Aṅguttaranikāya, Culla-niddesa, Paṭisambhidā-magga, Vibhaṅga, etc., PTSD). This is a common epithet: *anupalipto lokadharmaiḥ* (Mvy.873, LV.352.10) 'not defiled by the ways of the world', *aṣṭaloka-dharmānupalipta* in Lalitavistara 275.5, Śikṣāsamuccaya 180.2. *Sambuddha-sumerum* is translated as a genetive tatpuruṣa compound 'the Sumeru of the Buddhas' by Casparis, while the Buddha and Sumeru are in apposition: the Sumeru-like Buddha.

9. Now let us take up the second stanza. Casparis reads the first quarter as: Lokair=[va] rṣṣadhara-pravāhi-samayān=ākramya yo dīpyate, and translates it as 'which burns after having grasped the tides (of the ocean), which... ...(?)'. The reading has to be emended to *loke carṣṣi-vara*°. It refers to the Buddha who vanquishes the might of the prevailing doctrines, carries the day and shines with the newly won laurels. *Dīpyate* is 'burns' in the case of fire, and 'shines forth' in the context of the Buddha. Casparis translates the second quarter as "by whose majesty the heretic bulls, excited, approach without fear". It is contrary to the general tenor of the stanza wherein the Buddha vanquishes the mightiest of heretics who vanish away in fright; *vitrastāḥ* is 'frightened, alarmed, terrified' (MW): *vi* is intensive and not privative (as taken by Casparis: 'without fear'). *Pratiyānti* is not 'approach' but 'go away' or run away in panic. *uddhata* in the present context means struck out, pushed out, thrown away, uprooted. In the third quarter Casparis reads nānā-dṛṣṭi-[vi] *śaṅka* where viśaṅka is doubtful. The word *dṛṣṭi* 'view, opinion', is "rarely in a good sense, it is as in Pali, almost always *wrong opinion, heresy*" (Edgerton 1953:269) Five *dṛṣṭis* are enumerated in the Dharma-saṅgraha 68, Mahā-vyutpatti 1955-59: *satkāya-dṛṣṭi, antagrāha-dṛṣṭi, mithyā-dṛṣṭi, dṛṣṭi-parāmarśa, śīla-parāmarśa. Dṛṣṭi-parāmarśa* 'clinging or attachment to heresy' is paraphrased by the

Abhidharmakośa v.15, 18 as *hīnocca-d°* 'regarding as high what is low' (Edgerton 1953:269-270). The metre requires three syllables and so it cannot have *parāmarśa* which comprises four syllables. It has to be substituted by *vimarśa* which would also alliterate with the next word *vṛndam.* Thus the conjectural *viśaṅka* 'considerations' which does not fit into the context can be replaced by *vimarśa* in the meaning of *parāmarśa* 'clinging to, attachment to ...' (in a disapproved way) and we have a powerful and eloquent statement of the intentions of the author of the inscription. In the fourth quarter the word anu (4) [niba] ndha is not quite clear. Edgerton does not give this word, but *vinibandha* 'bondage, attachment' is cited from Mahāvyutpatti 2199, 7232 and the Daśabhūmika 51.14, 15. The five bondages of the mind (*cetaso vinibandhā*) are frequently enumerated in Pali texts: Dīghanikāya 3.238, Majjhimanikāya 1.103, Aṅguttaranikāya 3.249, 4.461, 5.17, Vibhaṅga 477.

10. The third stanza commences with: *śaikṣāsaikṣa-sahasra-cakra-makaro,* translated by Casparis as 'whose makaras are the multitude of those who are in training and those who are beyond training'. *Śaikṣa* and *aśaikṣa* are technical terms. *Śaikṣa* is a disciple undergoing training in the first seven stages of religious discipline, while *aśaikṣa* is the eighth stage of the arhat who no longer needs training (Edgerton 1953:80). *cakra* (Edgerton 1953:221a) is one of the four states of (desirable, happy) existence (in which gods and men may find themselves) enumerated in the Mahāvyutpatti 1603-7 in the chapter on *catvāri deva-manuṣyāṇāṁ cakrāni.* Similarly in Pali Aṅguttaranikāya 2.32, Saṁyutta-nikāya 1.16, 63 (*catucakka*). The compound *cakrabheda* 'sowing discord' (Mvy 9114), and the Pali *cakkabheda,* parallel with *saṅghabheda,* occurs in Vinaya 2.198, 3.171. As a technical term *cakra* hardly fits our context. Though the reading *cakra* may be explained, yet *nakra* would be preferable if it can be read on the stone inscription. That would counterpoise the *śaikṣa* against *nakra* 'alligator' and *aśaikṣa* contra *makara.* It would be better diction. Casparis reads śūnyatāni*svaro* where *svaro* is a dubious reading. Śūnyatā (Edgerton 1953:532) is often associated with *ānimitta* and *apraṇihita* in Saddharma-puṇḍarīka 101.1, 136.13, 137.2, Lalitavistara 422.20, *śūnyatānimitta-praṇihitam* in Saddharma-puṇḍarīka 101.1, 136.13, Śikṣāsamuccaya 6.15 (Edgerton 1953: 47b). In Pali it is used as an epithet of *vimokkha, nibbāṇa,* also as a substitute for the latter (Edgerton 1953:47a). In the inscription *śūnyatānisvaro* (?) is followed by *nirmokṣaikarasaḥ* and it would be better to read it as *śūnyatānimitto.* In the second quarter, *subhāṣita-mahāratnākaro* means that while the ocean is replete with riches of the deep, the Buddha is an endless treasure house of noble words. *hrīhradaḥ* is translated by Casparis as 'the Lake of Modesty': can there be a lake in the ocean? It should have a meaning more coherent to this passage. *Hradin* 'abounding in water (as a river)' MBh., Harivaṁśa, Rāmāyaṇa (MW. 1306-7), *hrād* 'to sound, roar...', *hrādayati* 'to cause to

sound, to refresh, delight'. The original meaning of *hrī* may be gleamed from the Pali phrases *hiri-nisedha* 'restrained by conscience', *hiri-bala* 'the power of conscientiousness', *hiri-mana* 'conscientious', *ahirika* 'shameless, unscrupulous', *hiriyati* 'to feel conscientious scruple' (Davids/Stede 1921). Thus *hrada* refers to the surging waters breaking in the joy (*hrād/hlād*) of waves, and this oceanic abandon of the Buddha is the overflow of Cosmic Consciousness that He is. The third quarter *saṅgūḍārtha-vicāraṇā* is rendered by Casparis as 'the discussion on hidden (?) meanings'. It is a reference to the constant development of Buddhist thought culminating in the esoteric systems of the tantras. This becomes clear when we bear in mind that the present inscription pertains to a monastery of the Abhayagiri denomination, which was constantly in touch with developments of Buddhist thought in the mainland of India, in contradistinction to their opponents the adherents of Mahāvihāra. The static orthodoxy of the Theravādins of Mahāvihāra was in sharp contrast to the ever-new philosophic dynamism of the Abhayagiri-vāsins. This was predominantly in the context of the development of the esoteric (*saṅgūḍha*) doctrine of Tantras, which *samāpyāyita* 'nourished, invigorated and refreshed' (MW) the new order. The torrential flow *(vega)* of mighty (*vara*) rivers emptying into the ocean is put into bounds (*vaddha*) by undefiled (*amala*) beaches (*velā*). This brings us to the fourth quarter: *śikṣā-vandana-vaddha-velam amalam* which is translated by Casparis as 'whose tides reflect the praising of the (Three) Instructions'. Here *velā* is not tide, but 'coast, shore' (*velāyām* 'on the seashore, coastwise, MBh.' (MW.1018). *Velā* is "boundary of sea and land (personified as the daughter of Meru and Dhāriṇī, and the wife of Samudra)" (MW). *Śikṣā* are the Three Instructions of the Vinaya in reference to moral conduct (*adhiśīlam*), by the Sūtra in reference to thought, intellect (*adhicittam*), and by the Abhidharma in reference to wisdom, insight (*adhiprajñam*). *Vandanā* is the first of the seven acts of worship (*saptavidhā anuttarapūjā*) which are enumerated in Dharmasaṅgraha 14. *Śikṣā* refers to the way of śrāvakas and *vandanā* to that of Mahāyāna. This twofold division is well known in Tibet (Lessing/Wayman 1968:17, 21).

11. The first three invocatory stanzas refer to Sumeru, fire (*vahni*) and waters (*arṇava*), corresponding to the *mahābhūta* or elements : earth, water, fire and the fourth element wind may be found in the succeeding stanza. The four elements alone are recognised by Vasubandhu in his Abhidharmakośa (Visser 1931:6). The fifth element *ākāśa* 'ether' is not included in his system. In the Vajradhātu mahāmaṇḍala too only these four elements guard its corner directions (Lokesh Chandra 1972:464-467).

12. In the three stanzas the terms *lokadharma, śaikṣāśaikṣa, śūnyatānimitta* refer to śrāvakayāna (Theravāda). *subhāṣita-mahāratnākara* may veil an allusion to the Ratnakūṭa sūtras. Ratnākara is the name of a mountain in the Mahāmāyūrī 253.32 (Edgerton 1953:452b), and the Ratnakūṭa sūtras of the Āndhrakas are mentioned in the

Nikāya-saṅgraha as being prevalent in Srilanka (Mudiyanse 1967:17). The Abhayagiri-vāsins were assailed by orthodox Theravāda sects but remained unperturbed and unshaken (*na saṁkampitaḥ*). They went on progressing into the ever-evolving world of Buddhism, from the Vedalla/Vetulla/Vepulla sūtras into Vajrayāna. The Nikāya-saṅgraha explicitly states that their Vetulla-piṭaka had texts of all shades of the spectrum of Vetullavāda from early Mahāyāna to Ratnakūṭa and finally to the Tantras. *Saṁgūḍārtha-vicāraṇā-vara-nadī-vegaiḥ samāpyāyitam* refers to the spread of esoteric (*saṁgūḍha*) texts of the various tantras in Srilanka. This brings us to the consideration of the denominational system or systems prevalent among the adherents of Abhayagiri who went to Indonesia.

13. In the reign of Voharika Tissa (AD 209-301) the Abhayagiri-vāsins who "had earlier received a body of Vajjīputta monks from Pallārāma in India led by their teacher Dhammaruci, are reported to have adopted some views belonging to the Vetulya-vāda" (Zeyst 1961:25). "In the time of Silākāla (518-531) a Vaipulya Sutta (Mahāyāna text) known as *Dhammadhātu* was brought from India by a merchant of Kāsī, named Pūrṇa. This text was readily accepted by Abhayagiri and was honoured in the palace". In the ninth century a follower of the "Vajraparvata sect in India came to reside in Abhayagiri from where he spread his secret teachings" (ibid. 26). "The Abhayagiri monks seem to have kept up constant contact with various Buddhist sects and new movements in India, from which they derived inspiration and strength... The Dhammarucikas of Abhayagiri are supposed to have accepted the Vetulya-piṭaka. The Vetulyas or adherents of Vetullavāda are well known by name both in the Sinhalese chronicles and in the commentary to the Kathāvatthu" (ibid. 27). In Pali Vetulla, Vetulya occurs as a dissenting sect in °*vāda* (Mahāvaṁsa 36, 41, Dīpavaṁsa 22, 45) and in °*vādin*. Davids/Stede say that the "Pali form is not clear; it probably rests on dialectical translation of a later term" *Vaitulya* is a derivative of *vitula* 'incomparable', *vi* 'not' *tula* 'comparable', like *atula*. In Pali, which preserves an earlier tradition, the form *vepulla* does not occur as a variant for *vetulla*.

14. The word *Vetulla* is *Vaitulya* in Sanskrit. In the Kashgar manuscript of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, the title is 'constantly' *sūtraṁ mahāvaitulyaṁ bodhisattvotpādam* (Kern 1909, preface ix, 65 n.1) instead of the Nepalese *sutrāntaṁ mahāvaipulyaṁ bodhisattvāvavādam*. In the Central Asian manuscript of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra written in Upright Gupta script we get *sarva-mahāyāna-sūtra vaitulya-param-āmṛta-saddharma*.... (Hoernle 1916:95.8). Śikṣāsamuccaya (ed. Bendall 354.6, 415) cites from the Candrapradīpa-sūtra (=Samādhirāja): *vaitulya-śikṣitāḥ*, where Tibetan has *rab.rgyas. dag.gis bslabs* which is a translation of *vaipulya* and *dag-gis* is instrumental plural. The Samādhirāja-sūtra is also a vaipulya-sūtra (Mudiyanse 1967:18). In later manuscripts *vaitulya* has been replaced by *vaipulya*. Saddharma-puṇḍarīka calls itself a *vaipulya-*

sūtra-rāja (1.3), and speaks of the plurality of *vaipulya-sūtrāṇi* (46.4), *vaipulya-sūtrāṇa* (98.3). This sūtra also terms itself as *dharma-paryāyaṁ sūtrāntaṁ mahāvaipulyaṁ bodhisattvāvavādam* (19.12), *saddharma-puṇḍarīkam* (followed by the same four words as in 19.12) in 21.6, 22.15, 65.1, *saddharma-puṇḍarīkaṁ nāma dharma-paryāyaṁ sūtrāntaṁ mahāvaipulyam.* Vaipulya and mahāvaipulya are used as synonymous terms. Lalitvistara speaks of itself as a mahāvaipulya sūtra : *Lalitavistaro nāma dharmaparyāyaḥ sūtrānto mahāvaipulya-nicayo bodhisattva-kuśalamūla-samudbhāvanaḥ* (4.18), *Lalitavistaro nāma dharma-paryāya-sūtrānto mahāvaipulya-bodhisattva-vikrīḍitaḥ* (438.20), *vaipulya-sūtra* (7.9).

15. The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Lalitavistara and Samādhirāja are three of the nine sūtras (*nava-dharmāḥ*) of the Buddhists of Nepal, the other six being Laṅkāvatāra, Aṣṭasāhasrikā, Gaṇḍavyūha, Daśabhūmika, Suvarṇaprabhāsa and Tathāgata-guhyaka (Guhyasamāja). These nine texts might have formed a part of the Vaitulya-piṭaka of the Vaitulyavādins, referred to in the Nikāyasaṅgraha 32, along with other texts.

16. The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Lalitavistara and Samādhirāja were (Mahā)-Vaitulya/Vaipulya texts as is evident from these Sanskrit texts themselves. The Tibetan and Chinese titles show that there were other texts of the (mahā)vaipulya class. The Avataṁsaka is a mahāvaipulya sūtra: it is entitled Buddhāvataṁsaka nāma mahāvaipulya-sūtra in the Tibetan Kanjur (Toh.44) and Mahāvaipulya Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra in the Chinese translation (Nj 87=T 278, Nj 88=T 279). The Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtrendra-rāja nāma dharma-paryāya (Toh 494, T 848=Nj 530) is the basic text (*mūla-tantra*) of the division of caryā-tantras.

17. The tradition of the Vaitulya/Vaipulya sūtras starting with the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Lalitavistara and others continued to develop, culminating in Vajrayāna. This sequence of development is preserved and owned in its entirety by the Vajrayāna tradition in the following classification :

A
1. the biography of Śākyamuni
2. compilation of the Word by the great śrāvakas in the Hīnayāna tradition
3. compilation of the Word in the Mahāyāna tradition.

B Sūtras which show principally the Pāramitā-yāna fall into four groups:
1. Vinaya-vastu arising from the first promulgation (*bkaḥ)* which was the Wheel of the Law concerning the Four Truths (Toh 1-7).
2. The Prajñā-pāramitā side arising from the intermediate (promulgation) which was the Wheel of Law concerning lack of characteristics (i.e. śūnyatā) (Toh 8-30).
3. The Ratnakūṭa and Avataṁsaka arising from the last (promulgation) which was the Wheel of Law concerning perfect discrimination (i.e. yoga experi-

ence) (Toh 44 Avataṁsaka and 45-93 Ratnakūṭa).

4. The numerous sūtras which pertain in some measure to all three Wheels of Law, arranged in a single major class (Toh 94-359).

C Tantras which show principally the Vajrayāna fall into four groups:

1. Anuttara-yoga-tantra (Toh 360-478)
2. Yoga-tantra (Toh 479-493)
3. Caryā-tantra (Toh 494-501)
4. Kriyā-tantra (Toh 502-827)

18. The Abhayagiri-vāsins followed the same tradition of accepting the entire evolution of Buddhism over the centuries. Hsüan-tsang says that the Abhayagiri-vāsins "studied both vehicles, and widely diffused the Tripiṭakas" (Beal 1884:2.247), which shows their ecumenical approach. The Nikāya-saṅgraha (p.20) records that in the reign of Sena I (846-866) vajiriya-vāda was introduced to the Virāṅkura monastery by a monk of the Vajraparvata-nikāya of India, and the king accepted these doctrines (Mudiyanse 1967:8). The Nikāya-saṅgraha (p.9-10, Mudiyanse 1967:17) enumerates the titles of 34 works of different divisions of tantras. They have been detailed in the previous volume of this work (3.123f).

19. The Nikāya-saṅgraha makes it explicit beyond doubt that the Ratnakūṭa and all the four divisions of Tantras were prevalent in Srilanka among the Abhayagiri-vāsins, who shared this rich pre-Tantric and Tantric heritage with the Indonesians. The mention of Tattva-saṅgraha-tantra (Ns.10), the basic text (*mūla-tantra)* of the yoga-tantras is of special importance. Quotations from the Śrī-paramādya-mantra-kalpa-khaṇḍa (Toh 488), also known as Adhyardha-śatikā Prajñāpāramiṭā in its Chinese version, have been traced in the Indonesian text Saṅ hyaṅ Kamahāyānan Mantranaya (Jong 1974:469).

20. The Ratubaka Inscription provides the following foot-holds:

1. The Abhayagiri-vāsins were present in Indonesia in AD 792/3
2. A monastery was constructed for them by a Śailendra king, in which Padmapāṇi was consecrated in a monastery which could well have been in the Ratubaka complex.
3. The Abhayagiri-vāsins followed Vaitulyavāda which comprised Vait(p)ulya sūtras like Lalitavistara, Saddharma-puṇḍarīka and the Tantras as can be ascertained from the list of the Nikāya-saṅgraha.
4. The invocatory stanzas of the inscription refer to Sumeru and the Ocean whose evocation is the first step in Tantric ritual. It implies that they were written in the milieu of Vajrayāna. The Śailendras were followers of Vajrayāna and the presence of Abhayagiri-vāsins was but natural. The fame of Indonesian centres of Vajrayāna had reached far and wide, so much so that

Vajrabodhi and his disciple Amoghavajra visited Indonesia in the eighth century, prior to their journey to China where they resided for life, and translated Tantras into Chinese to introduce Vajrayāna there.

5. The contacts of Abhayagiri with Indonesia and the multiplicity of textual traditions followed at Abhayagiri lends confirmation to the fact that the Śailendra monuments should also pertain to the immensity *(vaipulya)* of the sūtras and tantras, the various stages of whose continuous development were preserved in the synthesis of the ecumenical approach of Vajrayāna, and that the Barabudur was an expression of this broad and universal approach. We cannot but agree with Prof. de Casparis "that there are a number of contemporary or near-contemporary inscriptions which may throw light on the *basic problems* of Barabudur", though his presumption will have to undergo modifications in details. For instance he says that the Javanese text Saṅ hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan is based on "still unidentified Indian prototype (or on several prototypes)": two of the prototypes have been identified by Jong (1974). The Ratubaka Inscription does not refer specifically to any monument, certainly not to the Barabudur, in the compound *Saṁvuddha-Sumeru* but only to its general context indicated above. It points to the fact that the 8/9th century was the golden age of Vajrayāna in Java, when the Barabudur came into existence. The Barabudur was the Sumeru, the residence for the images of deities to be resident. The bipolarity of the *ādhāra* (Sumeru) and *ādheya* (deities) was also expressed in the Barabudur being in stone and the deities in precious metals and hence now lost.

3. CHANDI SEVU AS A STEREOMORPHIC VAJRADHĀTU-MAṆḌALA

The precise nature of the complex of 1+8+240 buildings of the Chandi Sevu, near Chandi Kalasan, in the village of Prambanan near Yogyakarta the cultural capital of Indonesia, has hardly been determined in a definitive manner taking into account the Indonesian Buddhist texts, their texture within the classification of Vajrayāna tantras, the context of the cultural interflow between India and Indonesia during the epoch when the Chandi Sevu was constructed, the theory of architectonic constellations expressing dimensions of the tantric vision, the abundant Nepalese textual evidence hidden away in unpublished manuscripts, collateral artistic expressions of identical/parallel maṇḍalas in the Himalayan regions, and the multiplicity of Japanese traditions about the Vajradhātu-maṇḍalas. The utilisation of original texts in Sanskrit or Tibetan or Sino-Japanese and comparative studies of the same theme in different traditions as preserved in manuscripts over vast regions of Asia has been steadily declining in the emerging order of over-generalisation at the expense of precision. Though F.D.K. Bosch (1929:111-133) had come to a correct but halting assessment about the appropriate identification of the Chandi Sevu as early as 1929, later scholars have hardly verified or elaborated his hesitant conclusions, and on the contrary they have relegated the Sevu to the undefined. Fritz A. Wagner (1962:114) is simplistic in terming the central statue to «have been a bronze Buddha» instead of Vairocana. Further he states: «The whole construction, symbolising the cosmos, *maṇḍala*, was intended to assist the hermit in his meditations». The maṇḍala is not named and its primary function was not meditation for which a painted maṇḍala is the norm. Louis Frédéric (1965:163 pl. 182) is again imprecise in stating that «this temple, dedicated to Buddha,...and probably symbolising the Mahāyāna pantheon». Buddha generally refers to Śākyamuni and not to Vairocana. The pantheon here is vajrayānic and therein too it belongs to a very specific tantric text. A.J. Bernet Kempers (1959:56 pl. 130) is correct but cautions in saying: «The central shrine of the main temple appears to have contained an image of the Highest Buddha as the central figure of an elaborate pantheon, presumably a Vajradhātu-maṇḍala». Jan Fontein, R.Soekmono, Satyawati Suleiman (1971:144 pl. 4) feel that «it is impossible to reconstruct the iconographic plan of Tjandi Sewu. It is likely, however, that the assembled statues formed a huge Diamond Matrix Maṇḍala (Vajradhātu-maṇḍala)». The Sewu is an architectonic Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala whose niches are a sure guide to its iconography though all its stone and bronze statues have disappeared «within the memory of man», including the central statue of Mahāvairocana the fragments of whose head were discovered in 1927.

A few general observations about the precise denomination of Vajrayāna Buddhism that was prevalent in Indonesia would help in clarifying the context. Before doing so we will have to consider the classification of Vajrayāna tantras into four broad divisions of: (i) kriyā-tantras, (ii) caryā-tantras, (iii) yoga-tantras, and (iv) anuttara-yoga tantras. Each division is presided over by a different Buddha. They are as follows:

kriyā-tantras	Amitāyus
caryā-tantras	Abhisambodhi-Vairocana (one face, dhyāna mudrā)
yoga-tantras	Sarvavid Vairocana (four faces, cakra in hand)
anuttara yogi (father) tantras	Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya
anuttara yoginī (mother) tantras	Cakrasaṁvara

In Indonesia the teaching of yoga-tantras was prevalent. So also in Japan. That was the vogue in south India whence they were transmitted to both these countries. We shall cite *Rgyud.sde spyiḥi rnam.par.gzhag.pa rgyas.par brjod,* a survey of the entire field of tantra in terms of bibliography and basic ideas, by the great Tibetan master of tantras,Mkhas-grub-rje who lived from 1385-1438. He clarifies (Lessing/Wayman 1968: 25) that the teaching of the yoga division of tantras is set forth in «two works, the fundamental tantra Tattvasaṁgraha (Toh 479), and the explanatory tantra Vajraśekhara (Toh 480). They have primary commentaries by three men who are famed in India as being learned in Yoga, namely, Śākyamitra, Buddhaguhya, and Ānandagarbha». Buddhaguhya, who wrote the fundamental commentary *Tantrārthāvatāra* (Toh 2501) on the *Tattvasaṅgraha* lived in the middle of the eighth century as is attested by his letter (Toh 4194) to the Tibetan King Khri.sroṅ.ldeḥu.btsan who reigned from AD 755. His date is important as it lends weight to the fact that the eighth century was the golden age of yoga-tantras, a fact corroborated by other historic events.

The yoga-tantras have five families (*kula*): tathāgata, ratna, padma, karma, and vajra. Their kuleśa's are: Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi and Akṣobhya. The deities created by his mudrā are the progeny (*kulika*, Lessing/Wayman 1968:102-3). Among them the Tathāgata-family of Vairocana is the highest. In the anuttara yoga-tantras, Vajradhara is added as the sixth family and he is the highest. This was further elaborated in the «Mother Tantras» of the anuttara-yoginī-tantras by the addition of a seventh family (ḍākinīs). In Indonesia we find only five families in the Saṅ hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra and Kalpabuddha (Bosch 1929:131-3), besides the expression *pañca-tathāgata* in Kalpabuddha (p.133) and elsewhere. The anuttara division of tantras never came to vogue in China and Japan. It became popular in Tibet where it reached its apogee of development. Whenever a comparison of Indonesian iconography with that

of Tibet is resorted to this fundamental fact has to be borne in mind.

Bosch has proved the close affinity of Indonesian Buddhist iconography with the Shingon iconography of Japan. It is but natural that the two traditions should agree as they represent the same yoga-tantra school of Buddhism. The basic tantra of this school was carried to China by Vajrabodhi who arrived in Canton in 720 by the sea route on board a Persian ship. He was the son of the Royal Preceptor (*rājaguru)* of Kanchi. En route they encountered a storm just twenty days before they reached Canton. All the thirty odd ships were lost, except that which carried Vajrabodhi, who saved it by his recitation of Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī. In the confusion that ensued, Vajrabodhi forgot to save the complete text of the Vajraśekhara-tantra whose *japa* alone survived. This is the text he translated into Chinese to introduce the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The primary Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala is also known in Japanese as Jojinne. In the Tendai sect in Japan only the Jojinne maṇḍala is used: it does not form a part of a novenarian maṇḍala but is independent and primary.

As Vajrabodhi carried the Vajraśekhara-tantra of the yoga-tantra division, it must have been the most prevalent school at Kanchi. There were close trade and cultural relations between the South and Śrīvijaya. The shipping routes to China from the South went via Indonesia. Vajrabodhi visited Śrīvijaya on his way to Canton. A colony of Buddhists from Śrīvijaya resided at Nāgapaṭṭinam, where they erected two Buddhist temples at the beginning of the eleventh century with the patronage of Coḷa kings. The golden age of Buddhism at Nāgapaṭṭinam was the 8-9th century. The central image of the Buddhist vihāra in this city was made of solid gold. The Vaiṣṇava saint Āḻvār Tirumangai wanted to renovate the Raṅganātha temple of Śrīrangam. «He hit upon the idea of robbing the Buddhist Vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭinam of its Buddha image of solid gold. In this project, the information given by an old Vaiṣṇava lady residing at Nāgapaṭṭinam was very useful. It was to this effect: «The sthapati who made this golden image and the Vimāna under which it is enshrined lives at present in *dvīpāntara*». This statement was enough to send Tiru-mangai to *dvīpāntara* where he had no great difficulty in identifying the house of the celebrated artist and architect and getting him, by a ruse, to surrender the secret of the construction of the *vimāna,* which enabled the Āḻvār to enter the temple stealthily and remove the golden image according to plan (Ramachandran 1954:15). The word *paṭṭinam* itself denotes a settlement of sambaras, i.e. those who paid allegiance to Buddhist monks and were rich maritime merchants. The aforesaid event attests flourishing communications between India and Indonesia in the eighth century. During this period yoga-tantra Buddhism was well-established in the Pallava domains as is attested by the fact that Vajrabodhi transmitted the yoga-tantra Vajraśekhara to East Asia in the beginning of this century. It is but natural that the division of Buddhist tantras that was

transmitted to Indonesia must have been the yoga-tantras. The Chandi Sevu belongs to this century. An inscription dated 792 was found on the site of Chandi Sevu, which suggests that its construction commenced thereabout. No wonder that the Sevu embodied the great philosophical system of yoga-tantras in its architecture. Architectonic maṇḍalas are known as *pura-maṇḍala*, as distinct from *rajo-maṇḍala* drawn with powdered colours, or *paṭa-maṇḍala* painted on textiles.

After these preliminary observations, let us consider the article of Bosch (1929: 111-133) on the identification of the Sevu. He commences by mentioning Buddhist texts like the Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyu-sūtra and Kalpabuddha besides the well-known Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan. The first two have rightly been recognised by Bosch as deriving their value by «mentioning the names of the five Dhyānibuddhas and some of their principal attributes and characteristics» (p. 113). He has also pointed out their close relationship and that they are complementary to each other. He further surmised that these two texts «had their common origin in the texts of the same sect or school». With advances in the analysis of the interrelationship of the vast mass of Tantric literature on the basis of Tibetan works of great masters like Bu.ston, Tsoṅ.kha.pa and others it has become possible to define the precise division of tantras to which the two Indonesian texts belong. As already detailed the tantras were classified in four major divisions. The details of this classification have not only been preserved, commented upon at length, but are a living tradition among Tibetans. It supplies us with all the requisite data to assign the precise school to the Indonesian text and also determine the major manifestation of the division in question as an iconographic representation in the form of a maṇḍala either on cloth or in an architectural form. Out of the four divisions of tantras there are two whose central deity is Vairocana, namely, the caryā-tantras and yoga-tantras. The caryā-tantras are represented by the texts of Mahāvairocan-ābhisambodhi-vikurvitādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtrendra-rāja (Toh 494= Sino-Japanese text T 848 = Nj 530) and the Acala-kalpa (Toh 495). The root text of the yoga-tantras is the STTS.[1] Vairocana has separate and distinctive forms in these two divisions of tantras: in the yoga-tantras he is in the bodhyagrī-mudrā while in the caryā-tantras he is in dhyana-mudrā. Both these forms are clearly delineated in the Nepalese, Tibetan and Sino-Japanese traditions. The iconography can be

[1] The STTS was translated into Chinese and Tibetan:

i. A translation of the version for recitation was done by Vajrabodhi in AD 723 (T866=Nj 534).

ii. Its first section, out of the four sections, was translated by Amoghavajra during 746-711 (T 865=Nj 1020).

iii. The last and complete translation into Chinese was by Dānapala (Shê-hu, AD 980-1000). It states at the end that the Sanskrit text consists of 4000 ślokas in prose, that is, 4000×32=128,000 syllables. It agrees with Tibetan.

iv. Translated into Tibetan (Toh 479) by Śraddhākara-varman and Rin.chen.bzaṅ.po (AD 958-1055).

seen, for instance in the Vajradhātu and Garbhadhātu maṇḍalas[2] of the Shingon tradition: the Vajradhātu Vairocana is in the bodhyagrī mudrā while the Garbhadhātu Vairocana is in the dhyāna-mudrā. Both the Indonesian texts define the mudrā of Vairocana as bodhyagrī, which unequivocally proves that the Tantric school which was prevalent in Indonesia was that of the yoga-tantras. In the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī (Bhattacharyya 1949:44-47 of text) the iconography of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala is described in details. The central deity can be either (i) a four-faced eight-armed Vairocana or (ii) one-faced two-armed Vairocana both in the bodhyagrī mudrā which is described as the left fore-finger in the vajra-fist (*vajra-muṣṭi)* being enclosed by the right vajra-fist*: vāme vajra-muṣṭes tarjanyā utthitāyā dakṣiṇe vajra-muṣṭinā grahaṇe sati bodhyaṅgī mudrā* (p. 44). Bosch had intuitively written: «a point demanding a moment's attention is the name of the mudrā of Vairocana which in both manuscripts reads bodhyagrī mudrā, the same mudrā that is mentioned in the Ādikarmapradīpa and in the Oldjavanese Arjunawijaya and Sutasoma» (p. 115)[3]. It demanded not a moment's attention but was crucial to the identification of the specific school of Vairocana in Indonesia and consequently of his maṇḍala. The intuition of Bosch is striking indeed.

Bosch (p. 116) raises the question of the paradise's of the Five Tathāgatas. He says: «Although the rigid parallelism prevailing in all matters concerning the Tathāgatas would lead us to expect that to the other Dhyānibuddhas a heaven of their own would have been assigned as well, it is noteworthy that nowhere in Buddhist literature mention is made of these heavens. The mahayanist sources thus being silent on this point, it is rather surprising to find the complete set of five paradises in both Balinese manuscripts...». I have edited the Dharma-kośa-saṅgraha, a Sanskrit text from Nepal, which names the five heavens as follows on p.21:

Vairocana	Vajradhātu bhuvana
Akṣobhya	Abhirati bhuvana
Ratnasambhava	Ratnāvatī bhuvana
Amitābha	Sukhāvatī bhuvana
Amoghasiddhi	Amoghavatī bhuvana

The Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra has Sahavatī-lokadhātu for Vairocana, and Kusumita-lokadhātu for Amoghasiddha. The Kalpabuddha repeats them in slightly different expressions: *Sahavatī ṅaran iṅ kaḍatvanira,* and *Kusumita ṅara iṅ kasvargganira* (Bosch

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[2] See Lokesh Chandra 1972:pl.1(size 32×45 cm) and pl.699 (size 96×106 cm). The large-size reproduction of the two Vairocanas helps to understand their details.

[3] Bosch 1929:115 n.7 writes: "No doubt, the *uttarabodhimudrā* mentioned by Waddell, *Lamaism,* pp. 337 and 350, is the same as the *bodhyagrī*". Waddell has reconstructed the Sanskrit from the Tibetan expression where the same Tibetan word can be *agrī* as well as *uttara.* The correct form is *bodhyagrī.*

1929:131, 132). This variation in the names of two paradises may be sought in the parallel caryā-tantra tradition of Vairocana where he is surrounded by Ratnaketu in the east, Saṅkusumita-rāja in the south, Amitābha in the west, Divyadundubhi-megha-nirghoṣa in the north. Kusumita-lokadhātu may be connected with Saṅkusumita-rāja (Lokesh Chandra 1972: pl. 1-5, Tajima 1959:77). The whole question merits further investigation.

The Balinese Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyu-sūtra gives the krodha counterparts of the Five Tathāgatas or their wrathful aspects. It is not appropriate to term them «demoniac aspects» as done by Bosch. In the Balinese manuscript they are:

Direction	*Tathāgata*	*Krodha*	*Myō-ō (Jap.)=Vidyārāja*
Centre	Vairocana	Navabhava	Acala
East	Akṣobhya	Yamamara-rāja	Yamāntaka
South	Ratnasambhava	Siṁhavāhana	Kuṇḍalī
West	Amitābha	Matthana	Trailokyavijaya
North	Amoghasiddha	Vatsala	Vajrayakṣa

Bosch compares them with the Five Vidyārāja, Godai Myō-ō in Japanese, who are of furious appearance to destroy all sorts of evil spirits on the orders of Mahāvairocana (JEBD. 1965:208a s.v. Myō-ō). They have an angry visage and ferocious forms to combat demoniacal forces of evil, but are not demoniacal themselves as contended by Bosch. The Five Vidyārājas have been contraposed here according to the directions corresponding to the Five Tathāgatas. Navabhava may mean «the Newly Arisen» Acala. Mathana 'one who destroys, vanquishes' conveys the same sense as Trailokyavijaya. Vatsala can be a reflection of *vajra* pronounced as *vadzara.* Bosch refers to the highly evolved and late Tibetan iconography of Yamāntaka with 9 heads, 34 arms and 16 legs, who held fear-inspiring lugubrious attributes from the cemetery and he opines that «the appearance of vatsala and of the other vidyārājas cannot have differed much from that of Yamāntaka» (p. 118). Yamāntaka did not have only this form. The forms of this deity showed wide divergences according to its Tantric division or subdivision. In the earlier tradition of the Mahā-Vairocana-tantra as preserved in Japanese iconography (as well as in the text) Yamāntaka has 6 heads, 6 arms and 6 legs (Lokesh Chandra 1972:pl. 23). Here he holds no gruesome implements. He wields a scimitar, mace (*gadā*), trident and cakra while both his original hands are in the dharma-mudrā. The Indonesian icons must have been closer to the Japanese forms which conform to the early Sanskrit texts. Besides, the traditions of both the countries belong to the same period of transmission from India in the middle of the eighth century. Vatsala need not be interpreted as an euphemism. The precise identification and interpretation of Buddhist Tantric iconography suffers from lack of exact correlation of the various iconic forms to the relevant texts

whence they arose. But, Kuṇḍalī never rides a lion (*siṁha),* as can be ascertained from Japanese iconographic texts. In the yoga-tantras Yamāntaka, Kuṇḍalī, Vajrayakṣa, and Acala are represented in the Trailokyavijaya-karma-maṇḍala in peaceful aspects (Lokesh Chandra 1972: pl. 785-788). In their angry appearances they are represented in the caryā-tantras which are delineated in the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala. Here in the Quarter of Vidyādharas are shown Acala (SW), Vajrahūṁkāra or Trailokyavajra, Prajñāpāramitā (centre), Yamāntaka and Trailokyavijaya (NW). The Balinese text may interpolate the caryā-tantra tradition into the yoga-tantras, or represents a yoga-tantra school which has to be traced in the maze of Tibetan Tantric literature.

Next, Bosch (p. 118-120) takes up the parivāra-devatās of the Five Tathāgatas as specified in the Balinese manuscripts of the Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra and Kalpabuddha. He refers to the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan and to variations in its manuscripts A and B. This text needs a critical edition by collating all the manuscripts and by taking into account the new light on Tantric tradition of India, Nepal, Japan and Tibet. Bosch lamented the lacuna of comparable materials: «after having looked in vain in the Nepalese and Tibetan pantheons for anything comparable with the said vajra-deities» (p.119). All the deities are found in Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, and unless historians of art consult them the stalemate in further identifications or confirmation of previous identifications will continue. The parivāra-devatās of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala are not only mentioned but their attributes specified at length in the Sanskrit texts found from Nepal: Niṣpannayogāvalī of Abhayākaragupta (text pp. 44-47), Dharma-kośa-saṅgraha (pp. 79-83), Kriyāsaṅgraha, Kriyāsamuccaya, etc. The parivāra-devatās are described in full details in Classical Tibetan texts and commentaries of the division of yoga-tantras (Kanjur: Toh 479, 480, Tanjur: Toh 2501-2531) which are translations of Sanskrit originals. Texts 2504, 2516, and 2529 detail the liturgy and delineation of the mahāmaṇḍala of Vajradhātu, of the Tathāgata family, with 1037 deities as enunciated in the first chapter of the Tattvasaṅgraha. This is illustrated in the *New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon*, part 13 no. 22. Prof. Tucci (1935:III/1.39ff) has described the maṇḍala of Vairocana according to the Tattvasaṅgraha at the Tabo monastery of the 10-11th century, alongwith all the attendant deities.

Bosch compares the pantheon of the Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra and Kalpabuddha with the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala, the central maṇḍala of the Japanese Vajradhātu (Jap. Kongōkai). The twin maṇḍalas of Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu were taken to Japan by Kōbō daishi in AD 806. His master Hui-kuo had them drawn for him. Different transmissions were synthesised on two scrolls. The Japanese Vajradhātu maṇḍala is not one maṇḍala. It is a collection of nine maṇḍalas: comprising six types of Vajradhātu maṇḍalas, Naya-maṇḍala and two types of Trailokyavijaya maṇḍalas. The three represent

different sub-divisions of the yoga-tantras.Within the yoga-tantras, there are two explanatory tantras from the *upāya and prajñā* standpoints. The Vajradhātu-maṇḍalas represent the various steps of the path in the basic tantra Tattva-saṅgraha. The naya-maṇḍala represents the Naya-sūtra which is explanatory from the prajñā standpoint. The Trailokyavijaya is explanatory from the *upāya* view of the second section (vajra-kula) of the Tattva-saṅgraha (Wayman 1973: 236). In Tibet they are separate maṇḍalas. The most important among them is the central maṇḍala which is rightly termed a *daimandara* (=mahāmaṇḍala) in the Japanese tradition, and is also known as the Jōjin-ne (kāyamaṇḍala) and karma-maṇḍala. Originally, it is not the central part of a composite maṇḍala, but is the primary maṇḍala of the yoga-tantras, with an independent existence of its own. In the Niṣpannayogāvalī and also in the Tibetan tradition it has an entity of its own. Though Bosch had nearly arrived at a correct conclusion regarding the Chandi Sevu being the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala, he was beset with doubts by the fact that the mahāmaṇḍala was only «the central square of the maṇḍala», a part of the whole, and how could a part be an integrality of a gigantic monument that the Chandi Sevu is and was intended to be. Hence we have pointed out its sovereign existence as a primary entity (*prakṛti*) of its tantra: the Tattvasaṅgraha.

A few terminological corrections have to be effected in Bosch p. 121: the so-called Sacrificing Tārās should be changed to Pūjā-devīs, the Commanding Tārās to Saṅgraha-devīs.

Bosch is perfectly right in saying that Vajradhātu deities embody themselves in the Sevu complex. Though its niches have been spoiled of their invaluable bronzes, the entire plan is a confirmation. The central temple enshrined Vairocana, while the four surrounding cellas housed the other four Tathāgatas Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddha and their niches the parivāra-devatās of each of the five Tathāgatas. The east cella of Akṣobhya was the antechamber whence the devotee entered the constellation of winding structures on his circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇā*). In the central temple there are arrangements for 24 deities instead of 25 as required by the text. Bosch proposes that the *prajñā* (consort) of Vairocana, Sattvavajrī (Vajradevī, Vajrasattvātmikā, or Vajradhātvīśvarī) was fused with the consort of Akṣobhya: Vajradhātvīśvarī the consort of Vairocana and Locanā the consort of Akṣobhya are one quintessentially (Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan p.115). Thus the 37 deities of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala were represented as follows:

24 Five Tathāgatas with their attendant deities
4 pūjā-devīs at the four corners of the buildings
8 pūjā- and saṅgraha-devīs in the medium chapel (remains of five have been laid bare).
36

The four rows of 240 subsidiary chapels housed the Thousand Buddhas. Each of these chapels housed 4 of the Thousand Buddhas, thus giving a total of 240 × 4 = 960 Buddhas. It suited the architectural requirements of every chapel that one of the Thousand Buddhas be placed in the centre and three others in the niches in the three walls, while the fourth side being the entrance-portal was empty. Bosch surmises that thousand means «very many» and 240 could suffice for a Thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa, «the founder of the complex... erected "merely" 240 sanctuaries for harbouring the Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa». This surmise is unnecessary. In our scheme, 240 chapels enshrined 960 Buddhas. The total of 1000 was made up as follows:

36	deities in the central temple
4	deities of Elements in the corners as in the Japanese Mahāmaṇḍala
960	Thousand Buddhas
1000	

In the Japanese mahāmaṇḍala the four deities of the Elements, namely, Tejas, Āpaḥ, Vāyu and Pṛthvī are situated in the four corners (Lokesh Chandra 1972: pl. 464-467). These statues must have been placed in the corners of the enceinte under the open sky, or vestiges of lost chapels may be exhumed in future excavations. The expression Chandi Sevu can thus go back to ancient times, even to the eighth century (Fontein et al 1971: 144 no. 4) when the visualisation and construction of the gigantic ensemble took place. Thus the founder of the Sevu complex was conscious and financially capable of constructing a maṇḍala of precisely one thousand deities. The apprehension of Bosch about «remaining within the bounds of his material resources» (p. 130) cannot hold good.

The patron of the Sevu mahāmaṇḍala must have been a king of the Śailendra dynasty who dedicated this ensemble to Vairocana as the Cakravartin, that is, «Universal Monarch». In Japan, Vairocana in his form as Dainichi-kinrin «Vairocana Cakravartī» is depicted mounted on a lion and enclosed within a cakra[4]. In the Kalpabuddha (Bosch p. 132) too Vairocana's weapon is cakra (*cakra sañjata nira*) and he rides a lion (*siṅghātatuṅgaṅanira*). Cakra is the prime symbol of the universal dominion of a cakravartin, and the lion the emblem of his unchallenged prowess. In Japan most of the iconographic manuals have the cakravarti-maṇḍala of Vairocana where he is surrounded by the *saptaratna* or seven constituents of the state: queen, minister, commander-in-chief, horse, elephant, cintāmaṇi jewel and cakra. For example, in the 12th century Besson-zakki by Shinkaku (AD 1117-1180) pl. 29; Shoson-zuzō by Shinkaku (AD 1117-1180) pl. 8-9; Kakuzen-shō «collection of maṇḍalas described and drawn by Kakuzen» about AD 1183-1213, pl. 63-64; Mandara-shū «collection of maṇḍalas», compiled by Kōnen, pl. 7-8,

[4] Shoson-zuzō 'figures of deities' by Shinkaku (AD 1117-1180) TZ. 3.88:9.

which exists in a copy of AD 1187; Asabashō compiled by Shōchō (AD 1205-1282) chapter 264. An investigation of the rituals of Cakravarti-Vairocana in Japanese texts like the Asabashō will help to clarify the function of the Vairocana-mahāmaṇḍala and its importance in the history of Classical Indonesia.

We have historic evidence of the eighth century that Rocana did symbolise impirium. In Japan, emperor Shomu issued a rescript in AD 743 ordering the construction of the gigantic statue (*daibutsu*) of Rocana, 16 metres in height, at the Tōdaiji monastery in his attempt to unify the nation in an awareness of its power, as an «apt symbol of the emperor as the controlling head of the state» (Kobayashi 1975: 22), as «an especially valuable political and religious symbol» (Kobayashi 1975: 25) to consolidate the sovereignty of the nation in a harmony of the emperor and his people on the deeper spiritual levels of a shared awareness: it was a «Grand National Temple». When the old capital at Nara was abandoned and a new capital was established at Heian-kyō (modern Kyoto) in AD 794, the Tōji temple was an integral part of the metropolitan masterplan. It was «intended to invoke the protection of the divinities and thereby to assure the peace and prosperity» (Sawa 1972:130) of the kingdom. It was placed in charge of Kōbō daishi himself, the great master who introduced Shingon Buddhism with its central deity of Vairocana. The temple was significantly termed Kyō-ō-gokoku-ji «temple for the protection of the state», which popularly came to be known as the Tōji (tō = east, ji = temple) as it was built on the east side of the city gate. The temples of Vairocana seem to have gained national dimensions as means of preempting threat to the security of the nation and securing protection of the head of the state. The Chandi Sevu demanding enormous resources must have been envisaged by a mighty king of the Śailendras for the peace and security of his person and of his realm, in an ever-continuing process of stabilisation of his dynasty. The continuity of the terrestrial maṇḍala or realm was affirmed in being consecrated by an eternal mahāmaṇḍala of Vairocana: *maṇḍalārthe mahāmaṇḍalaṁ* as we may put it in Sanskrit. The inscribed stone of AD 792 found in the ruins of Sevu may have to be reconsidered in a new light.

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4. CHANDI MENDUT AND PAVON

Casparis (1950:204) makes the following observations about Chandi Mendut:

i. It is "one complex whole with Pavon and Borobudur".

ii. "Chronologically speaking, it is the oldest of the three".

iii. "When Indra built the Veṇuvana, he realised that he belonged to the Family of the Tathāgata identified with the Śailendra ancestors. This interpretation might explain why just nine Bodhisattvas were sculptured on the outside of Tjandi Mendut."

iv. It is the Veṇuvana (*veṇuvanābhikhyam...jinamandiram*) of line 21 of the Inscription of Karaṅtĕṅah dated 824 (ib. 39).

i. Casparis is right in treating Mendut, Pavon and Borobudur as one complex in a line, as shown at the end of this presentation.

ii. Ritually, the Mendut represents the Vairocana prior to that of Borobudur. So it should have been and was constructed before the two structures of Pavon and Borobudur.

iii. Was there a king Indra and if so did he build the Mendut? The Karaṅtĕṅah Inscription clearly says in stanza 11 that Prāmodavardhanī set up the portrait statue of Śrīghananātha along with that of Ārya (her father-in-law) *sā mā[se śucau]... śrīghananātham āryyasahitam prātiṣṭhipan=mandire*, Casparis 1950:39). The word *ghananātham* is in the accusative as the object, and not in the nominative or instrumental (°nāthaḥ or °nāthena) as the subject. The subject in the first quarter of the stanza is *sā*, who is Prāmodavardhanī. There is no doubt in the meaning of the Sanskrit text that Prāmodavardhanī installed the image of Ghananātha. Casparis opines that Ghananātha=Indra. As shown later in the chapter on Śailendras Ghananātha does not mean Indra. The name Indra is a misreading in the Kelurak Inscription. Casparis himself has corrected the earlier reading of *dharaṇīndra-nāmnā* to *dharaṇiṁdhareṇa*, so that now there is no king by the name of Indra.

I do not find the term *Tathāgata-kula* 'Family of Tathāgata' in any inscription. My earlier observations on the basis of this term stand cancelled.

The overall iconography of Mendut and the architecture as well as the name of Pavon shows that they belong to the system of caryā-tantras.

The prevalence of the caryā-tantras in Indonesia is proved by the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānan Mantranaya (SHKM), which is a tantric text from Indonesia including 42 Sanskrit verses, each verse followed by an Old Javanese commentary. Following the pioneering studies of Wogihara Unrai and Sakai Shiro, Prof. de Jong (1974) has demonstrated beyond doubt that the verses of SHKM are derived from the Mahāvairocana-sūtra

and the Adhyardha-śatikā Prajñāpāramitā. Verses 1-5ab, 6-9, 16-18, and 20-22 are from the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T 848, Nj 530, Toh 494); while verses 26-42 stem from the Adhyardha-śatikā (T 244, Nj 1037, Toh 488). The Mahāvairocana-sūtra belongs to the caryā-tantras and the Adhyardha-śatikā to the yoga-tantras.

The Sanskrit text of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra is lost. It is extant in two translations: (i) Chinese and (ii) Tibetan. It was translated into Chinese in AD 724 by Śubhākarasiṁha with the help of the Chinese teacher Yi-hsing under the title Ta-p'i-lu-chê-na-ch'eng-fo-shên-pien-chia-ch'ih-ching (Nj 530, T 848)= Mahāvairocan-ābhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtra. It was rendered into Tibetan by Śīlendra-bodhi and Dpal.brtsegs (Toh 494).

The Mahāvairocana-sūtra can be represented graphically on a scroll as a maṇḍala in two dimensions or as a three-dimensional architectonic pura-maṇḍala. There are two living traditions of its representation: (i) Sino-Japanese and (ii) Tibetan. The Sino-Japanese is termed the Mahākaruṇāgarbha maṇḍala or Garbhadhātu maṇḍala, Taizōkai mandara in Japanese (reproduced by the author in 1972). The Tibetan thaṅkas of the Ṅor monastery commissioned by Blo.gter.dbaṅ.po depicted 132 maṇḍalas of all the divisions of tantras (RaghuVira/Lokesh Chandra 1967:2). Among them the caryā-tantra is represented by the 122-diety Abhisambodhi-karuṇ-odgata Bhagavad Vairocana (maṇḍala no. 20 in RaghuVira/Lokesh Chandra 1967), known for short as Mṅon-byaṅ= Abhisambodhi.

The main deity is Abhisambodhi Vairocana, who is termed Garbhadhātu Vairocana (Jap. Taizōkai Dainichi nyorai) in Japan. In the Japanese maṇḍala he is sitting in the vajra-paryaṅka posture with his hands in dhyāna mudrā, as opposed to the Vajradhātu Vairocana, whose hands are in the bodhyagrī mudrā (Lokesh Chandra 1972:1, 699).

In the Japanese graphic representation, the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala is divided into three enceintes: the first or inner enceinte, the second or middle enceinte and the third or outer enceinte. The inner enceinte comprises four quarters, of 1. Universal Knowledge, 2. Vidyādharas (with Prajñāpāramitā in the centre), 3. Avalokiteśvara and 4. Vajrapāṇi. The second enceinte has six quarters, of 5. Śākyamuni, 6. Mañjuśrī, 7. Kṣitigarbha, 8. Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin, 9-10. Ākāśagarbha and the allied Susiddhi. The outer enceinte of vajras has Hindu deities.

The identification of the central deity in the temple of Mendut vacillated (and rightly so) between Śākyamuni and Vairocana. Bernet Kempers (1959:40) himself is conscious that "it is not the 'human Buddha' Śākyamuni who is meant". Though he came very close in his statement that "The first is known in Buddhist iconography as Garbhadhātu, the second as Vajradhātu. This system or variety of systems was also known in Central Java", he was under the impression that "several systems of Buddhist

mythology and cosmology" overlapped. This was inevitable in the absence of exact knowledge that the placement of the statues of deities inside and the reliefs outside corresponds to a particular maṇḍala.

From the point of view of historical evolution we can classify the twelve quarters of the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala as follows:

Mañjughoṣa	enunciates the vaipulya sūtras in general
Śākyamuni	goes in samādhi and
Universal Knowledge	a ray emerges from his ūrṇā, whence
8-petalled Lotus	emanate Mahāvairocana and four Tathāgatas
Padmapāṇi Vajrapāṇi	who are flanked by the two acolytes, and further
Kṣitigarbha Ākāśagarbha Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin	attended by a retinue of Eight Great Bodhisattvas: Mañjughoṣa, Kṣitigarbha, Ākāśagarbha, Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin, besides Avalokiteśvara, Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Mañjuśri (in the petals of the central lotus)
Susiddhi	their visualisation leads to the eight siddhis.

Thus the basic structure of the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala can be reduced to:

1. Vairocana is flanked by Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi. He is one of the Five Tathāgatas.
2. He emanates from the Universal Knowledge of Śākyamuni.
3. He is attended by Eight Bodhisattvas.
4. Prajñāpāramitā-yāna leads to mantrayāna.
5. Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara and 108 armed Vajradhara constitute a trio with Mahāvairocana.

Mahāvairocana at Mendut is in the dharmacakra mudrā. In the Niṣpannayogāvalī (text p. 66) Mahāvairocana is in the dharmacakra mudrā in the Durgati-pariśodhana-maṇḍala: *Śrī-Śākyasiṁho bhagavān Mahāvairocanaḥ suvarṇa-varṇo dhṛta-dharmacakra-mudraḥ.* But, the bronze image of Vairocana and Vajradhātvīśvarī in the Leiden Museum (no. 2862) has the dharmacakra mudrā. The central image can be specified by the overall configuration of deities in the cella and on the walls.

Inside the cella:

1. The Five Tathāgatas, namely Vairocana flanked by Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi, while the remaining four Tathāgatas once occupied the niches which are empty today.

On the walls outside:

2. Eight bodhisattvas at the corners.
3. Prajñāpāramitā on the large central panel on the right wall.
4. Cundā on the large central panel on the left wall.
5. Mahākāruṇika Avalokiteśvara on the back wall.

The arrangement of the Mendut corresponds to the Japanese maṇḍala as follows:

Mendut	Japanese maṇḍala
1. The Five Tathāgatas	In the eight-petalled lotus in the centre
Padmapāṇi	Quarter 3
Vajrapāṇi	Quarter 4
2. Eight Bodhisattvas	Four bodhisattvas in the eight-petalled lotus
(Krom 1918: 419-437)	Four bodhisattvas in Quarters 6, 7, 8, 9
3. Prajñāpāramitā	Central deity in Quarter 2
4. Cundā	Quarter 1
5. Mahākāruṇika Avalokiteśvara	Quarter 9
The small relief representing a wheel between two deer, the symbol of the First Sermon at Sarnath	Quarter 5 (Śākyamuni)

The three large images in the cella, the empty niches in the walls, the eight bodhisattvas[1] and the large panels of three deities on the outer wall lead to the conclusion that the Mendut represents the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala. For further details see Sudarshana Devi Singhal 1991:373-384.

CHANDI PAVON

Between Mendut and Borobudur, in a straight line, stands the Pavon, 1150 metres from Mendut and 1750 metres from Borobudur. It is also called Brajanalan. It is "often regarded as a porch-temple to Barabudur, dedicated to Kuvera, the god of riches. The

[1] For the eight bodhisattvas see N.J. Krom, De Bodhisattva's van den Mĕndut (met een plaat), BKI 74(1918).419-437. Their identification merits reconsideration on the basis of the Japanese Garbhadhātu maṇḍala (Lokesh Chandra 1972) and the related Tibetan maṇḍalas reproduced in RaghuVira/Lokesh Chandra 1967:13 maṇḍalas 20, 21.

bearded dwarfs above the entrance, pouring out rings and other trinkets from bags, are consistent with this view" (Kempers 1959:41 pl. 65-66). There is no clear indication that it should be considered as being dedicated to Kubera. It has small windows, which "are a feature seldom if ever met with in temples with the exception of those of the type of Sari [Kempers 1959, pl. 117]. Here they are merely decorative". The word *pavon* means kitchen (Casparis 1950:203).

In Bali, there are five stanzas to Vajrānala, entitled (Pañca)-Bajrānala-stava (Hooykaas 1973:86), in which he is described as seated in a mandorla of flames, pure as the autumnal moon, with three eyes and four arms holding a staff (*daṇḍa*), abhayada mudrā, rosary (*akṣa-sūtra*) and vase (*kamaṇḍalu*). Each of the four Nepalese mudrā manuals that I have consulted illustrate mudrās of Vajrānala: 1.78, 163, 178, 295, 308, 321, 2.4, 17, 29, 3.18, 31, 4.99, 117, 134, 278 (Lokesh Chandra 1984). The Pavon was a temple to Vajrānala, who is connected with fire: *sarvāgneya, śānti-karmaṇi samiddha* (in the Balinese stotra). The word *śānti-karmaṇi* is a clear reference to śāntika homa. Vajrānala was the presiding deity of homa, which explains the presence of small windows as an escape for the smoke of homa ceremonies. Homa is a distinctive characteristic of Vajrayāna. It had to be provided for with a special temple, because of the smoke. In the Vajrayāna (Shingon) monasteries of Japan, special halls are constructed for the performance of homa. As the Vajrayāna of both Japan and Indonesia go back to the same sources, it is but natural that both should follow the same pattern of giving such a prominent place to homa, to the extent that a separate temple was erected for it.

The prominence of homa in Vajrayāna is also evident in its ritual. In the Japanese text Shi-dō-in-zu 'mudrās of the four rites', the four rites are: (1) the preliminary ceremony of 18 steps (*jūhachidō*), (2) Vajradhātu (Kongōkai), (3) Garbhadhātu (Taizōkai), and (4) homa to Fudō (Acala). We see that a special section has been provided for the eleven mudrās performed during homa. The first mudrā is the *Kongōkaruma-bosatsu-in,* which is executed before the sacred fire is lit. The second is *ka-ten chō shō in* 'mudrā to invite the god Agni'. This is the first act of the celebration of homa, an invitation to Agni to come to take his place in the middle of the hearth for his share in the offerings. The third mudrā is to the nine planets (*navagraha*), Signs of the Zodiac (*rāśi*); and the fourth mudrā is to the constellations. The fifth mudrā is to the principal deity (Jap. *honzon*) of the homa ceremony, Acala, who is invited to take his place in the hearth (Toki 1899:142). It is the most important act of the entire ceremony. Acala (Jap. Fudō) is surrounded by flames, and in Japanese symbolic representations he is portrayed by his flames and emblems alone, evocative of his designation Vajra-jvāl-ānal-ārka (abbreviated to Vajrānala and Jvālānala).

In the Lamaist pantheon Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan, ascribed to the

Lcaṅ.skya quturγtu Rol.paḥi.rdo.rje (Clark 1937:2.311, 312), Jvālānala (Tib. Me.lta.ḥbar.ba) is illustrated as a manifestation of Acala:

348 Aṣṭakapi Acala

349 Jvālānala = Vajrajvālānalārka

350 Caturbhuja Acala.

Jvālānala or Vajrajvālānalārka coincides with Vajrānala, on which Bajranalan — the alternative name of Chandi Pavon — was based. Chandi Pavon was a homa temple with the presiding deity Acala. The agniśālā, or structure for homa, is also called vajrajvālā in Japanese Vajrayāna in the rites of the jūhachidō (Shingon-mikkyō-zu-in-shu, ed. Lokesh Chandra/Sharada Rani 1978:1.29) as well as of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (Lokesh Chandra/Sharada Rani 1978:2.101).

Acala (Pavon) and the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala (Mendut) belong to the caryā-tantras, and Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (Borobudur) to the yoga-tantras. Hence Pavon is closer to Mendut than to Borobuḍur. The distance of 1750 metres between Pavon and Borobudur is one and a half times the distance of 1150 metres between Pavon and Mendut. So also in Japan, Acala and Garbhadhātu are intimately interconnected. In the ritual manuals as well as mudrā handbooks of the four rites of Japanese Vajrayāna referred to above, the Garbhadhātu is invariably supplemented by an addendum pertaining to Acala. In the Tibetan tradition, too, the Mahāvairocana-tantra (Toh 494), which is the basic text for the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala, is immediately followed by the Acala-kalpa (Toh 495) in the Kanjur. The Tibetan Kanjur follows a precise, systematic order, and the sequence of every text is determined by well-thought-out considerations of interdependence based on doctrinal, ritual and philosophical development. The juxtaposition of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra and the Acala-kalpa is not fortuitous, but is an intentional indication of a close and integral relationship between them, which is validated by the Japanese tradition. The distances between Mendut and Pavon vis-à-vis Pavon and Borobudur suggest that the entire complex was planned to the last detail to reflect the scriptural norms of the caryā and yoga tantras. The numerical cosmology coded into the design and measurement of the Borobudur complex has yet to be worked out. The intricate system of numerical combinations of time and space juggled into the Angkor Wat has been worked out by Eleanor Moron(1977:217 ff.), and it provides a starting-point for a future study on the cosmic numerology of the Borobudur.

While the Mendut represents the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala, the Borobudur is a Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The Garbhadhātu leads to the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The Garbhadhātu represents the caryā-tantras, which later on developed into the yoga-tantras. As the caryā-tantras lead to the yoga-tantras, so does Mendut lead to the Borobudur, and its construction naturally antedates that of the Borobudur, as is rightly pointed out by

Casparis:

Mendut	→ Borobudur
caryā-tantras	→ yoga-tantras
Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala	→ Vajradhātu-maṇḍala

The integral concomitance of the Twin Maṇḍalas of Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu is clear in the Japanese expression *ryōbu mandara*, that is, maṇḍalas of both (*ryō*) the divisions (*bu*) of the caryā and yoga tantras.

The Mendut-Pavon-Borobudur complex epitomizes not only Buddhist art and architecture, thought and ritual, but also the dynasty that erected this magnificent monument to Indonesian glory: the Śailendras, 'Kings of the Mountain' (Frédéric 1965: 160). Śailendra authority faded from Java not long after AD 824 (Casparis 1950:200). The instability must have been felt quite early, and the Mendut and Borobudur would have been erected to anticipate any such eventuality. The Mahāvairocana-sūtra was the basis for the dhāraṇī on the protection of the realm (Nakamura 1976:79). This was much more the case with the role of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala with regard to a cakravartin (Tajima 1959:152). The Mendut representing the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra and the Borobudur symbolizing the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala of the Tattva-saṅgraha were intended to fully sanction and stabilise the sovereignty of the Śailendras in a sacred syndrome of philosophy, cosmology, aesthetics and hieratics of the Twin Maṇḍalas of Vairocana, who is also known as the Ekākṣara Cakravartin.

5. BOROBUDUR IS THE BASE OF AN ARCHITECTONIC VAJRADHĀTU-MAṆḌALA

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1. GENERAL

The classical chandis of the golden period of the history of Indonesia have enriched the cultural heritage of mankind in general and of the man of Asia in particular. Prominent among these historic monuments is the great Borobudur, the grey silence of endless stone reliefs, enshrining the vision of a king in an ecstasy of form. The Borobudur, situated in the heart of mountains, surrounded by volcanoes, picturesque amidst rice fields, bamboo groves, tall palms and chirping birds, is a Salutation in an imperishable rhythm of stone. Here we join generations of pilgrims in quest of the final meaning of freedom of the Spirit overflowing into the bounty of the Compassion of the Enlightened One.

The Borobudur goes back to twelve centuries. In about 800 AD a king of the Śailendra dynasty immortalised his faith in the Buddha in an unparalleled monument, conceived and concretised by a poet, thinker and architect, named Guṇadharma. Guṇadharma retired into the mountains of Menoreh, his heart rapturous in the hope of transcreating adoration along the path of unending time. Guṇadharma meditated long, read through great Buddhist classics representing the triple time of past, present and future, and conceived of the Borobudur as we know it today. Tradition has it that architect Guṇadharma is integrated into the mountain range of Menoreh where you can see the silhouette of his chin, mouth and nose.

Beyond the three circular terraces is the final stupa, bigger than all others. It is

the crowning of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. It forms the crown of the whole monument. It is placed on a double lotus. It is firmly closed. Inside is open space which is empty. It is the *śūnya*, the Absolute, the moment of Silence, the highest expression of Truth in the quest of the pilgrim. While the sādhaka ascends the Borobudur on to higher terraces he proceeds to higher domains of spiritual life. In a similar way the Tathāgata gradually manifests Himself downwards in order to be approachable to beings. It is the descent of the Divine to this earth.

During centuries of its existence, the Borobudur has been the victim of neglect, time and weathering. After a glorious existence for a century as the spiritual centre of Indonesia, it fell into oblivion as political power shifted to East Java. Volcanic eruptions, vegetation, and ravages of climate played havoc. In time it collapsed and was remembered no more. From 1814 onwards efforts were made to preserve it. A full-scale restoration was completed from 1907-1911 by Dr. van Erp, to prevent decay. Since the 1950s, serious symptoms became evident. The slanting of the walls had reached about a metre, endangering the very existence of the monument. Rain water flowing through the uncemented blocks of stone eroded the sculptures. Later the water condensed and mercilessly split the stone-reliefs. Lichen infections induced 'stone cancer'. To avoid the total collapse of the monument and gradual erosion of the sculptures, an overall restoration has been completed by the Indonesian Government with the active support of UNESCO. Different nations pooled their resources to resurrect the Borobudur, where the arid heart of man once found peace and immeasurable love in the hymn "Let the Buddha be my refuge".

2. OMURA SEIGAI

As early as 1925 Omura Seigai had opined that the Borobudur is a maṇḍala. He clearly stated that it is not a vihāra, neither is it a caitya. It is not a stupa either. It is a three-dimensional karma-maṇḍala, one of the four kinds of maṇḍalas of Esoteric Buddhism. Omura also noted the directions of the four Tathāgatas as well as the stylistic similarity of the sculptures to that of South India. At the end of this section we cite the 11th chapter of Omura's book "Borobudur the Buddhist site in Java and its explanation" as translated into English by Prof. Chikyo Yamamoto.

The Borobudur is a karma-maṇḍala meant for the rites of the State. Karma means rites. In Tibet and Mongolia such architectural maṇḍalas (pura-maṇḍala) are known.

Omura is right in surmising a Thousand Buddhas on the Borobudur. In fact there are 504: when the sādhaka ascends he repeats the names of 504 and when he descends he repeats the names of the remaining 504 and this makes 1008 epithets. The thousand epithets can be seen in the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra, which are listed in its four-language enumeration prepared during the reign of the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien-lung. Vajradhātu

is the only maṇḍala with the Thousand Buddhas. Their presence at Borobudur marks it out as a Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. Indian, Indonesian, Sino-Japanese and Tibetan evidence seen as a connected whole too reveals that:

(i) The religious context of the Borobudur is Vajrayāna.

(ii) It is an architectural maṇḍala and not a stūpa.

3. DOUBTS OF KROM RESOLVED

In the last chapter XIII on the Buddhism of Borobudur, Krom (1927:281f) posed a number of doubts or made observations in search of the system of Buddhism underlying the monument. We shall discuss them *in extenso*:

"When all details are collected, it is not to be expected that any complete system will be revealed". (2.281). Beginning with the emergence of Vaipulya sūtras and ending with the fully evolved Tantras we see a whole sequence of the development of Vajrayāna at Borobudur, as a fully integrated system. It develops from the Lalitavistara to the Avataṁsaka, and evolves into the STTS.

"In my opinion it has never been intended to depict the Buddha's end on Borobudur and certainly not on the terraces. Nevertheless its omission is a most remarkable fact and Brandes very rightly called attention to it. But when he argues "the Parinirvāṇa is *too* important to be missing on this richly-decorated sanctuary, where will it have been placed?". I must put the question in another form: what can have been the reason that such an important event was not represented on this richly-illustrated monument?" (Krom 2.286).

Krom 2.287 has observed that tales from the Divyāvadāna are sculpted in the bottom row on the chief wall of the first gallery. The Divyāvadāna and the Lalitavistara belong to the Mūla-sarvāstivāda school, which was the accepted creed in the islands in about AD 700 as stated by I-tsing. The Borobudur followed the most prevalent sūtra, namely, the Lalitavistara which does not have a chapter on parinirvāṇa. Hence the depiction of the parinirvāṇa on the sanctuary was besides the question. It may be worthwhile to specify the last eleven chapters of the Lalitavistara:[1]

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[1] The title of Lalitavistara itself shows that it is a work wherein the historical Śākyamuni is a Transcendant being. It indicates that the life of Śākyamuni is seen as *a lalita* = a make-believe. Murti (1960:79 n.1) says that in the Mahāvastu "Buddha is treated as God who had descended into the world and who underwent penance etc. as a sort of make-believe". The word *lalita* is parallel to *līlā* 'mere appearance, semblance, pretence, disguise, sham', *lilayā* 'for mere diversion, feignedly' (MW).

Lalitavistara is translated into Tibetan as Rgya.cher.rol.pa, where *rol.pa=lalita*. The Tibetan word *rol-pa* is also used for the Sanskrit *krīḍā* 'sporting, play, pastime, working miracles for one's amusement (Lalitavistara)' (MW). It is also equated with Skt. *līlā* by Das, and in the Sragdharā-stotra 59 it renders *helā* 'sport, pastime, frivolity'. The word *laḍita* means 'playful, playful movement'. In the transcendental traditions of Buddhism the appearance of the Buddha as Śākyamuni was a phantom, a ruse, a simulacrum. Sambhogakāya or Śākyamuni is the reflection of the Dharmakāya or Cosmic body in a corporeal form to save beings from misery.

Chapter 17	The practice of austerities (duṣkara-caryā-parivarta)
Chapter 18	The Nairañjanā River (Nairañjanā-p.)
Chapter 19	The walk towards Bodhimaṇḍa (Bodhimaṇḍa-gamana-p.)
Chapter 20	The displays at Bodhimaṇḍa (Bodhimaṇḍa-vyūha-p.)
Chapter 21	The defeat of Māra (Māra-dharṣaṇa-p.)
Chapter 22	Attaining Perfect Enlightenment (Abhisambodhana-p.)
Chapter 23	Praise (Saṁstava-p.)
Chapter 24	Trapuṣa and Bhallika (Trapuṣa-Bhallika-p.)
Chapter 25	Exhortation to proclaim the Dharma (Adhyeṣaṇā-p.)
Chapter 26	Turning the Wheel of Dharma (Dharma-cakra-pravartana-p.)
Chapter 27	Conclusion (Nigama-p.)

The Lalitavistara ends with the first sermon. It is one of the nine great Vaipulya sūtras (Krom 2.317). The fact that the Borobudur strictly adheres to the Lalitavistara in omitting the parinirvāṇa brings us to the fact that its tradition was Vaipulya and that we have as well to look into the other manifestations of Vaipulya.

The Vaipulya sūtras were vitally concerned with the measure of the life of Lord Śākyamuni, and why He had to go into parinirvāṇa. The Suvarṇa-prabhāsa, which is one of the nine fundamental Vaipulya sūtras in Nepal, devotes its second chapter, the Tathāgat-āyuḥ-pramāṇa-parivarta, to the life-span of the Tathāgata. This chapter has been studied at length by Rie Hisamitsu (1983). Herein the nagging concern of Ruciraketu is why Śākyamuni had such a short measure of life as eighty years (Rie 1983:27 no. 3), when Śākyamuni had Himself declared that there were two conditions for long life and these had been fulfilled by Him (no. 4). As Ruciraketu was beset with such thoughts there appeared four divine jewelled seats in the four directions (31 no.9). On them appeared the Four Buddhas (*catvāro Buddhāḥ*): Akṣobhya in the east, Ratnaketu in the South, Amitāyus in the West, Dundubhisvara in the north (32 no.10).

p. 38 no.19: Ruciraketu recollected the virtues of Lord Śākyamuni and began to be puzzled concerning the measure of life of the Śākyamuni.

p.39 no.20: The four Buddhas said to the Bodhisattva Ruciraketu: "Don't think the measure of the life of Śākyamuni was so brief. We do not see anyone who would be able to understand the measure of life of the Tathāgata".

p.41 no.23: The Four Buddhas proclaimed to the assembly the explanation of the measure of life of Śākyamuni in gāthās.

p.42 no.24: Drops in all the water of the oceans can be counted but the life of Śākyamuni is countless (1st gāthā).

p.43 no.25: The weight of all Sumeru mountains can be measured but no one can count the life of Śākyamuni (2nd gāthā).

p.43 no.26: Atoms on the Earth can be counted but no one can count the life of Śākyamuni (3rd gāthā).
p.44 no.27: Space can be measured but no one can count the life of Śākyamuni (4th gāthā).
p.45 no.28: The life of Śākyamuni is limitless and immeasurable (5th gāthā)
p.46 no.30: The life of that Great-souled One is countless. The life is immeasurable and limitless (7th gāthā).
p.47 no.31: Ruciraketu, therefore, should not have any doubt about the measure of life of Śākyamuni. While this explanation was given, the resolve of innumerable beings was raised to Perfect Enlightenment. Then the Four Buddhas disappeared.

Thus we see that in the Vaipulya sūtras Lord Śākyamuni is transcendant: His life is immeasurable (*āyuḥ-saṁkhyā na labhyate*, p.46). The Four Buddhas told Ruciraketu that Tathāgata manifested parinirvāṇa in order to make sentient beings realize the thought of difficulty of meeting a Buddha (P.54 no.39). When the measure of life of the Tathāgata was explained, innumerable and incalculable beings raised their resolve to Perfect Enlightenment (p.127 no.154).

The 15th chapter of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra also discusses the duration of Tathāgata's life. The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka says : "It is possible to conceive and calculate the number of all those worlds, nor not? Suppose all those worlds, whether they are marked with the atom or not, are smashed into atoms, and you count an atom as a kalpa; the number of the kalpas which have passed since I became Buddha surpasses that of the atoms thus produced by one hundred thousand billion nayuta asaṁkhyeya. From that time onward I have constantly been preaching and teaching [the Law to the beings] in this sahā world. The duration of my life is innumerable asaṁkhyeya kalpas. I am forever existing and never pass away. The duration of my life is countless kalpas obtained from long-cultivated karma. You, wise men, do not beget doubt about this" (p.132-133).

Suvarṇāprabhāsa says: "Buddha does not enter into Parinirvāṇa" (p.133). The Buddha is eternal. The presence of Four Buddhas in the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa as proponents of the eternity of the Tathāgata again links them up with the evolution of transcendance in the Vaipulya texts and contradistinguishes them from the Mahāparinirvāṇa tradition which was dominated by the representation of the nirvāṇa of Lord Buddha in the plastic arts. The absence of nirvāṇa depictions indicates that the Borobudur is a Vaipulya monument and as a matter of principle, it had no place for representations of nirvāṇa scenes. How could the transcendental be subject to nirvāṇa. Krom (2.299) himself opines: "But the principle on which this creed is founded, the Buddha considered as the eternal Supreme Being, may very likely have evolved itself gradually from the well-known dogma of the Buddha's eternity that already existed in the Mahāyāna of the continent. In the

XVth chapter of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, the Tathāgata himself announces that he has lived already for innumerable aeons, and will continue to live and that Nirvāṇa is but a phantom, a concession to the weakness of humanity".

Krom discusses at length Buddhist data in images, inscriptions and literature. He speaks of the Ṅañjuk bronzes: "Nearly a hundred small Buddhist bronzes were there discovered, from their size and style of execution all belonging to one group. The first noticable fact about this group is that not one 'Buddha' is found among them, only Bodhisattva's, gods and goddesses." (2.297). The group pertains to the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala.

Krom 2.298 says: "on a record as early as 950 if my reckoning is correct, a Buddhist priest is praised as Vairocanātmaka". This is a reference to the Copper-plates of Kañcana, dated by Dąmais to AD 31 October 820, which speaks of a royal preceptor as *Vairocanātmaka guru* (pl. IIB4, Sarkar 1971:1.133, 135). The cults of Vairocana were major royal ceremonies wherein Vairocana was known as the Ekākṣara Cakravartin. These rites were common in ancient times all over the Buddhist world. Japan has recorded several instances.

Krom 2.301 discusses the Kuñjarakarṇa, a prose work dated to the 12th century, as follows: "On the first page Vairocana appears as chief teacher of the Holy Law and he proclaims it to 'all the gods'; when these gods are named, we find that beside the guardians of the four winds, they are no other than Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi, Lokeçvara and Vajrapāṇi.... All these did honour to Vairocana after his proclamation of the Law in his dwelling Bodhicitta and then returned each to his own heaven. To the writer of this work as well, the chief persons in the Buddhist pantheon are the Dhyāni-Buddha's and the two Bodhisattva's named, while Vairocana is acting as Supreme Being". The Five Tathāgatas vary in different maṇḍalas. The Five Tathāgatas of the Kuñjarakarṃa, Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi form the centre of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. From their names it is clear that Kuñjarakarṇa refers to the system of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala.

About 1268 Caṇḍi Jajaghu was built as a mausoleum for King Viṣṇuvardhana. Its central image is that of Amoghapāśa who is termed a Jina in Nāgarakṛtāgama 37.7 or a Sugata in 41.4. Amoghapāśa is represented with eight arms and the image of Amitābha in the headdress. On the pedestal He is termed *caturdaśātmika* that is, a 14deity maṇḍala. In the Amoghapāśa-kalparāja (Toh 686) it is a 16deity maṇḍala. The name of the 16 deities are: (1-11) Amoghapāśa, Avalokiteśvara, Hayagrīva, Sudhana, Ekajaṭā, Bhṛkuṭi, Tārā, Pāṇḍarā, Yośodharā, Gaurī, Śrī in the centre, (12) Krodharāja in the eastern gate, and (13-16) Four Lokapālas in the corners. In the Ṅor series of maṇḍalas it is the 12th maṇḍala among the kriyā-tantras (Lokesh Chandra 1967:12). In fact, the 22nd chapter of

the Amoghapāśa-sūtra translated by Bodhiruci during AD 693-713 has the same Five Tathāgatas as the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The 14deity Amoghapāśa proves the existence of kriyā-tantra practices in Indonesia in the 13th century.

"The Puruṣādaśānta, *alias* Sutasoma, describes the well-known adventures of the Bodhisattva Sutasoma; it was written by Tantular in the reign of Rājasanagara (Hayam Wuruk, 1350-1389) but goes back to an earlier source, the Bauddhakāvya" (Krom 2.299).

"It is remarkable how ingeniously this view of Sutasoma as a revelation of the Buddha as Supreme Being, is combined again with the system of the Dhyāni-Buddha's. It is repeatedly stated that Sutasoma is one with Vairocana. Thus it is clear that Vairocana, the first of the Dhyāni-Buddha's is also regarded as a manifestation of the Supreme Being". (2.300). "It is of special importance to us that the Dhyāṇi-Buddha Vairocana is particularly prominent, appearing as hero-in-chief, incarnation of the highest omniscient Being, guardian of the eternal system of Worlds. No special worship of Bodhisattva's is to be noticed" (2.300). Krom is right in surmising that Vairocana is supreme in the Sutasoma kakavin. Sutasoma 53.2 says that Vairocana is the first Tathāgata among the Pañca-Sugata (*śrī Vairocana riṅ tathāgata makādi Pañca-Sugata*). In 83.7 Sutasoma and his consort are compared to Vairocana and Locanā. The most crucial expression in the Sutasoma is bodhyagrī mudrā in 32.10 and 139.9 (Santoso 1975:618). This mudrā is unique to Vairocana of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala: it alone is sufficient to make unambiguous that Sutasoma represents the tradition of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala.

Nāgarakṛtāgama was composed by Prapañca in 1365 when the Majapahit kingdom was at the height of its power. Prapañca was the Buddhist patriarch (*dharmādhyakṣa niṅ kasogatan*). Krom 2.304-5 says: "It is plainly stated that nothing is more important in the practice of Buddhism than yoga.... In the same way Mahayanistic saint Bharaḍa is entitled yogīśvara: further on he is..... *pĕgat niṅ tantra*, accomplished in the learning of Tantra" (Nag. 68.2). In Nāgarakṛtāgama 64.3 *saṅ viku boddhatantra* will not just mean simply, monks of the Buddhist creed. But further on a maṇḍala is spoken of....; their chief is imbued *riṅ śāstra tantratraya*, with the creed of the three tantra's.... And when a list of sanctuaries is given, another remarkable thing is to be noted: first we get the *dharma kasogatan kavinayan*, the free monasteries of the regular Buddhist clergy, who keep the strict rules of the Vinaya, but afterwards follow the *kasugatan kabajradharaṇ*. As Kern rightly observes, this can be nothing else than the followers of the Tantristic Vajrayāna". King Kṛtanagara was absorbed in Tantra-Subhūti (Nag. 43.3)= Subhūti-tantra. There is a *saṅ hyaṅ tantra bajradhātu subhūti* in Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan (SHK). "The addition of bajradhātu sufficiently indicates its tantristic character..... Subhūti does not seem to appear as a person in the tantra, but to be the author thereof; we might think of Dhārmika

Subhūti to whom three works in the Tanjur are ascribed.... On the other hand Tāranātha speaks of an ācārya Subhūtipāla, who was a teacher of yoga-tantra's in Bhaṅgala and whose more famous pupil Ānandagarbha was skilled in all kinds of siddhi" (Krom 2.307). Here Krom is meandering around the yoga-tantras which are depicted as the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. With the vast materials and interpretations at our disposal today it has become possible to work out the system that seemed a disparate mass half-a-century ago. The expression *tantra bajradhātu subhūti* read in conjunction with Tāranātha's mention of Subhūtipāla as a teacher of yoga-tantras, points to the existence of Subhūti's commentary on the Vajradhātu-tantra, that is STTS the basic tantra for the Vajradhātu. After the specific mention of the three classes of tantras (*tantra-traya* in Nag. 64.3) and the enumeration of Vajrayāna monasteries (*kabajradharan* in Nag. 77.1 as distinct from kavinayan the regular vinaya monasteries), no further proof is required for the existence of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in Java.

The Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan speaks of the *tantra bajradhātu.* The mention of Bajradhātvīśvari the consort of Vajradhātu Vairocana establishes the vogue of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in Java. The Devīs of the Pañca-Tathāgata are as follows (SHK. 68 *Pañca-Tathāgata-devi*):

Devi	*pati*	*bījākṣara*	*tattva*
Dhātvīśvarī	Vairocana	ya	—
Locanā	Akṣobhya	ya	maitrī
Māmakī	Ratnasambhava	e	karuṇā
Pāṇḍaravasinī	Amitābha	vaṁ	muditā
Tārā	Amoghasiddhi	ma	upekṣā

According to SHK, the Pañca-Tathāgata-devī coalesce into four as Dhātvīśvarī and Locanā are in essence one (*Bharāli Dhātvīśvari mvaṅ bharāli Locanā tuṅgal tatva nira/ ya ta mataṅnyan caturdevi*). These four are the eternal knowledge or ominiscience of Vairocana in the form of Sattvavajrī, Ratnavajrī, Dharmavajrī, and Karmavajrī. The Five Tathāgatas, their five consorts and the four vajrī are all from the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (Tajima 1959:160). "This is the Paramaguhya of the Tathāgata's: the mahābodhi, samādhi, all the mudrā's, mantra's, yoga's, bhāvanā's and wisdom (*kavicakṣaṇan*) are the embodiment of the four devī's and the yogīçvara will not find the Buddha if he has not achieved the embodiment of the four devī's. Here endeth the whole text" (Krom 2.311). It is clear that the culmination of the SHK is the yoga-tantric maṇḍala of Vajradhātu whose attainment is the summum of the yogīśvara.

The Vajradhātu-maṇḍala based on the STTS with Mahāvairocana in bodhyagrī mudrā seated in the centre in vajrāsana posture, integrates the earlier systems and represents the culmination of the Vaipulya tradition. The evidence of Indonesian texts and

monuments tends Krom to this position in a hazy uncertainty due to lack of sufficient Vajrayāna materials in the 1920s when he wrote his epoch-making monograph. Herebelow we cite passages from Krom wherein he hesitatingly inches towards the fact that the Borobudur is a Vajrayāna monument. "Çākyamuni plays no part at all and the Bodhisattva's a very small one; but on the other hand Vairocana, chief of the Dhyāni-Buddha's is head-teacher of the Law and in his hand the exercise of this Law becomes the practice of the yoga" (Krom 2.303).

"What is generally called the Tantra-school, as we shall see, in all respects agrees with the practice of the Yogācārya; it is not always possible to separate them clearly, but even with the inadequate proofs we possess, it is at once apparent that we have to do with a continuous development or evolution from Asaṅga to the present day Lamaism. The Mantranaya of Java is of course not a spontaneous system, as is plainly to be seen from the Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan itself, where its origin from the tenets of the Yogaschool is acknowledged". (Krom 2.315).

"From this we may draw conclusions for Barabudur. According to the evidence collected in the above, I think it may be decided that in the case of Borobudur we need not seek for any other sort of Buddhism than the one which we have learned to know as the prevailing doctrine in East Java. What we found there was the Yogācārya-creed with a Tantric spirit in it, and now it appears plainly that all the data we could extract from what is depicted on the stūpa, yield indications that agree with this. The Gaṇḍavyūha, the important position of Samantabhadra, the system of the Dhyāni-Buddha's with a sixth added, all these taken separately and combined, pointed in only one direction; in Yogācāra and Tantra we found the points of resemblance and just as Çūra and part of the jātaka's seemed connected with the Yogācārya's, so the Lalitavistara proved itself to be influential with the Tantra school" (Krom 2.325).....

"If this collective and eclectic influence holds good for the schools of philosophy, how much more that will be the case as regards the original sects. The masters of the Yogācārya had already given the example; not following one system but drawn from all creeds, was the doctrine expounded by Asaṅga, so that the çrāvaka's (Hinayanistic monks) became believers, and it is expressly related of Vasubandhu that he had studied the çāstra's of the eighteen sects" (Krom 2.327).

"The followers of the Tantric Yogācārya here represented, we know were not bound to one sect; what could be more likely than that all those who acknowledged this system, who believed it would bring about their own salvation and that of the whole world, should together have undertaken the erection of a monumental building in honour of that Creed, without any regard to which of the old sects they happened to belong" (Krom 2.328).

"The Mūla-sarvāstivāda-nikāya had remained in honour, this would be a fact of great importance, for it would prove that the Mūla-sarvāstivāda-nikāya was still authentic among these Yogācārya's or Tantrists. But even then we should not be justified in concluding that the founders of Borobudur belonged exclusively to the Mūla-sarvāstivādin sect" (Krom 2.329).

"As ruling school of Javanese Buddhism in general and Borobudur in particular, we found a Yogācārya or Tantra-creed" (Krom 2.329).

"If we now turn to Java we find in the East Javanese Buddhism of the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan the authentic Mantrayāna. The period before that, during which Borobudur was erected, is in direct connection with East Java as I have described. We have no texts for this period, but the monuments are there. The stūpa itself yields data that turn partly in the direction of the Yogācārya, partly towards the Tantrayāna. Are the limits here already overstept and does Borobudur represent exactly the same phase as the Kamahāyānikan, a Tantrayāna that is based on the Yogācārya-creed?" (Krom 2.331).

"The text of the second gallery, the Gaṇḍavyūha, as already noted, was ascribed to Asaṅga himself. It is doubtful whether this is correct, but we need not bother ourselves about this, when we know that Paramārtha who lived in the sixth century, thus long before the erection of Borobudur, held the same opinion" (Krom 2.319).

The bewildering multiplicity of traditions syncretised in the tantra-traya of Vajrayāna led Krom 2.329 to say "anything strictly systematic we must not expect to find on Borobudur". But he makes it clear that: "To connect Borobudur with Tantrism is something that would have been regarded as foolish not so very long ago. The real nature of the tantra-creed has only been discovered and rightly valued in the last few years" (2.327). The Borobudur represents the Vaipulya text Lalitavistara, Jātakamālā of Āryaśūra, the Avataṁsaka text Gaṇḍavyūha attributed to Asaṅga, and Tantric Yogācāra. Constant references to yoga, yogācāra, yoga-school, yogīśvara, with Vairocana as the Supreme Being are indications of the elusive yoga-tantras. Krom concludes: "As a result of our examination, we see in the stūpa the embodiment of a Mahāyāna founded on the Yogācārya-school but with a leaning towards the Tantrayāna and possibly already merged in it" (2.331). "It is chiefly from outside Java that new light may be expected as to the signification of Borobudur" (2.331). That is precisely what we have done in the ensuing pages.

The enquiry about the identification of the Borobudur as the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala did not gain ground because of several factors, for instance:

1. The wide prevalence of Vajrayāna in Java was not fully comprehended due to lack of materials in the first quarter of this century.

2. Bosch used the Kongōkai or Vajradhātu-maṇḍala to identify the Chandi Sevu,

but did not extend his studies to the Borobudur. The Sino-Japanese maṇḍala used in the Shingon denomination was configured as nine squares in keeping with Chinese ideas of a novenarian system. The Borobudur has nothing of nine. The Tendai Vajradhātu-maṇḍala had not been studied then, nor is it even now. It has only one central square, that is the core maṇḍala.

3. The central square is the fundamental layout and hence is basic and primal. It is the *prakṛti*, which is elaborated in several ways on the basis of various criteria. The Borobudur represents this prime maṇḍala, the foundation of all other Vajradhātu-maṇḍalas.

4. A maṇḍala comprises a sacred space, a templum which becomes the residence of deities invoked. It is the *ādhāra*. On invocation the deities come to the sanctified structure and become its residents: they are the *ādheya*. The existing structure of the Borobudur is the *ādhāra*. The images of deities may have been carried away or disappeared when the Borobudur fell into disuse.

5. The concept of an architectural maṇḍala is coming to be realised during the last decade. It is known as *pura-maṇḍala* in Sanskrit, *loilang* in Tibetan, *khot mandal* in Mongolian. The pura-maṇḍala is situated on mount Sumeru in the Sudarśana pavilion. The Borobudur is mount Sumeru, whose wooden Sudarśana kūṭāgāra has vanished over the centuries.

6. Comparative study of Indonesian, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese texts provides a detailed picture of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. These resources were not available when the Borobudur was deemed to be a stūpa.

7. Multi-level teachings harmonising in the Vajradhātu of the yoga-tantras was not realised. It was known to Kōbō Daishi, the founder of Shingon in Japan, who formalised them into 'ten stages' of spiritual progress. The Vaipulya Sūtras evolve for a millenium, and their most developed texts are named tantras. The Borobudur represents the crucial stages of the multi-level teachings.

8. The directions and characteristics of the four Tathāgatas on the Borobudur show that it is the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. These four Tathāgatas represent the Thousand Buddhas (504 x 2=1008), which are found only in the core Vajradhātu-maṇḍala.

9. The Three-in-One line, Mendut→Pawon→Borobudur, reflects the systemic trinity, still alive in the Japanese tradition of Shingon.

4. VAJRAYĀNA IN INDONESIA

The Nāgarakṛtāgama 77.3 by Prapañca (AD 1365) enumerates the Buḍur as one of the important sanctums of the Vajradhara Buddhists which was registered in the state archives (Pigeaud 1960:1.59, 3.89). The Ratu Baka Inscription of Śaka 714 = AD 792/

3 clearly refers to the erection of an Abhayagiri vihāra in Indonesia which represented Vajrayāna. The Caṇḍi Sevu is the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (Bosch 1929). Moreover, the Caṇḍi Sevu can be confirmed to be the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala because of its Thousand Buddhas which gave it the name Sevu. Sevu means a thousand in Old Javanese. The 90 Ṅañjuk bronzes represent the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The four-faced principal image of the Ṅañjuk group is the Four-faced Vairocana which is described in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī. Literary works of Classical Indonesia like the Sutasoma and Kuñjarakarṇa bear rich allusions to Vairocana and his consort Vajradhātvīśvarī the central deities of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. Sutasoma 52.12a, 69.9c refer to Vairocana. In 53.2d Vairocana is the prime of the Pañca-Sugata. Vairocana and Locanā occur in 83.7b. The Nāgabāyu-sūtra and Kalpa-buddha (Bosch 1929: 131-133) detail the Five Tathāgatas of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan has fragments of the Mahāvairocana-sutra, which is the fundamental text of the caryā-tantras and is the basis of the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala. In the third part of S.H. Kamahāyānikan (pp. 31-70) the names of the Five Tathāgatas are contra-distinctively of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. This fact has not been noticed by earlier scholars. The consort of Vairocana is *Vajradhāt-viśvarī devī mahāprajñā rūpavatī* (p.45) which ensures that the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala is intended. Several tenth-century bronzes of Vajradhātu-Vairocana have come down to us (Bonheur 1971:125-131). The aforesaid remarks are central to the appropriate identification of the Borobudur. While the presence of Vajrayāna Buddhism in Indonesia is known in a general way (Dumarçay 1978:9), its full relevance to the Borobudur has to be fully appreciated even six decades after Krom (1927:331) had hinted that the Borobudur "yields data that turn partly in the direction of the Yogācārya, partly towards the Tantrayāna".

Analysis of the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan. The text of Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan (SHK) still awaits a critical edition in the light of latest researches on Vajrayāna. It is equally important to analyse the many strata that constitute this compilation from varied sources. The edition of Kats is clearly divided into two works: (i) Mantranaya, and (ii) Advaya-sādhana. While the first work has been compared with Chinese and Tibetan, the second has not been subjected to a critical evaluation. The significance of its colophon in manuscript B *iti saṅ hyaṅ kamahāyānikan advāya sădana parisamaptā* has escaped the attention of scholars. As a work on advaya it tries to harmonise elements of various systems. An analysis of these elements and their comparison with Sanskrit and Tibetan texts throws unexpected light on Vajrayāna in Indonesia.

The first section of Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānan Mantranaya (SHKM) has 42 Sanskrit verses, each verse followed by an Old Javanese commentary. Following the pioneering studies of Wogihara Unrai and Sakai Shiro, Prof. de Jong (1974:465-482) has demon-

strated beyond doubt that the verses of SHKM are derived from the Mahāvairocana-sūtra and the Adhyardha-śatikā Prajñāpāramitā. Verses 1-5ab, 6-9, 16-18, 20-22 are from the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T 848, Nj 530, Toh 494); while verses 26-42 stem from the Adhyardha-śatikā (T 244, Nj 1037, Toh 488). The Mahāvairocana-sūtra belongs to the caryā-tantras and the Adhyardha-śatikā to the yoga-tantras. The SHKM proves beyond doubt the presence of the caryā and yoga tantras in Indonesia, and substantiates our identification of the Mendut and Borobudur as monumental expressions of the Twin Maṇḍalas of the two divisions of tantras. This is a first step in the direction of a synthetic study knitting together the scattered strands of the fundamental unity of the Buddhist world on the plane of art and thought (compare Leeuw 1964:63).

5. NINE SQUARES OF THE VAJRADHĀTU-MAṆḌALA

Bosch compares the pantheon of the Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra and Kalpabuddha with the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala, the central square of the Sino-Japanese Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The Sino-Japanese Vajradhātu-maṇḍala has nine squares which comprise 6 types of the first samaya of the STTS, 1 Naya-maṇḍala, and 2 types of Trailokyavijaya-maṇḍalas of the second samaya of STTS. The last two represent the upāya and prajñā standpoints of the yoga-tantras. The naya-maṇḍala represents the Naya-sūtra which is explanatory from the prajñā standpoint. The Trailokyavijaya is explanatory from the upāya view of the second samaya (vajra-kula) of the STTS (Wayman 1973:236). In Tibet they are separate maṇḍalas.[2] The most important among them is the central core maṇḍala which is rightly termed a *daimandara* (=mahāmaṇḍala) in the Japanese tradition, and is also known as the Jōjin-ne (kāya-maṇḍala) and karma-maṇḍala. It is not a part of a composite maṇḍala, but is the primary maṇḍala of the yoga-tantras, with an independent existence of its own. In the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī as well as in the Tibetan tradition it has an entity of its own. Though Bosch had nearly arrived at a correct conclusion regarding the Chandi Sevu being the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala, he was beset with doubts by the fact that the mahāmaṇḍala was only "the central square of the maṇḍala", a part of the whole, and how could a part be an integrality of a gigantic monument that the Chandi Sevu is and was intended to be. Hence it is necessary to point out its sovereign existence as a primary entity the STTS.

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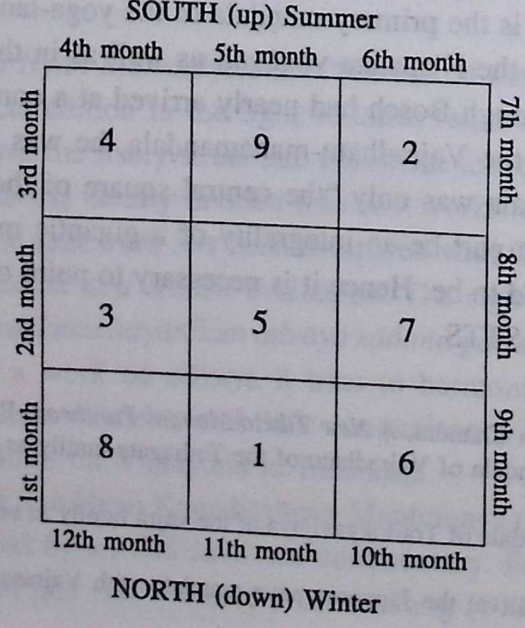
[2] RaghuVira/Lokesh Chandra, *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon*, Part 13:
Plate 22: the 1037-deity maṇḍala of Vajradhātu of the Tathāgata family as enunciated in the first samaya of the STTS.
Plate 23: the 1037-deity maṇḍala of Trailokyavijaya of the vajra family as enunciated in the second samaya of the STTS.
Plate 26: Paramādya Vajrasattva: the Japanese naya-maṇḍala with Vajrasattva as the main deity.

The novenarian Vajradhātu-maṇḍala was a Chinese configuration to accord with their world view of Imperial space. Irrespective of its original tantra STTS, it was made to conform to Chinese perceptions of nine intersections of the Imperial metropolis, for example Loyang had nine intersections (Wang, *Record of the Monasteries of Loyang,* 1984:6). Since the time of posterior Han (25-220), *chiu kung* 'nine palaces' appeared as an important category of space with the central palace in the middle (see Marc Kalinowski, La transmission du dispositif des neuf palais sous les Six-Dynasties, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 22/1985.773-811). The Vajradhātu-maṇḍala was configured in accordance with the *chiu kung*. The nine heavens of the Taoists, and the nine divisions of the celestial sphere contributed to the novenarian maṇḍala. The Vajradhātu rites end with: We bow to the past Emperors of China, blessing, long life! gong (Saso 1991:237).

While the extensive prevalence of Vajrayāna in Java was not given due importance, the formation of nine squares in the prevalent or Genzu version of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in Japan posed a formidable barrier to link it with the Borobudur. As late as 1990, Miksic stated: "The Diamond World mandala consists of nine separate mandalas "(p. 51).The nine mandalas in the Japanese representation are due to the basic model of the Chinese temple of the *gung* 'palace' type, which had nine divisions. The capital Ch'ang-an during the T'ang dynasty was divided into nine parts: 1 Daming Palace, 2 Hanyuan Hall, 3 Kaiyuan Gate, 4 Imperial City, 5 West Market, 6 Yanping Gate, 7 East Market, 8 Leyu Park, 9 Qixia Gate. In both, there is a division of the space into threes. Three along and three down. Both the city and the temple can be seen as being composed of nine squares. This is not an accident. Underlying both is the concept of the magic square.



The master Amoghavajra and his disciple Hui-kuo worked at Ch'ang-an, the T'ang capital as well as the cultural centre of China, of Central and Eastern Asia. Ch'ang-an represented the peak of T'ang glory. It was the ideal capital for East Asia. As already stated above, it had nine wards. Nine played a crucial role in Chinese thought; for instance, Peking is termed 'nine wards', the Imperial Palace has nine halls, the celestial sphere has nine divisions.

The nine maṇḍalas of the Vajradhātu should go back to Hui-kuo who must have patterned them to correspond to the layout of Ch'ang-an, so that the Imperial metropolis was sanctified by the New Way of Vajrayāna. The Buddhist sutras were meant for the protection of the state. The nine maṇḍalas of Vajradhātu are surrounded by seven lines and they are fenced by hōshō grass in stylised scroll-work. The seven lines represent the seven ramparts of the metropolis of a cakravartin emperor in Buddhist sutras. The seven ramparts were of diverse colours and in the centre was the imperial palace (Przyluski 1927:165-185). Vairocana is also known as Ekākṣara Cakravartin in which form he holds a cakra in his hands in dhyāna-mudrā and he is surrounded by the seven emblems of state. As the first samaya of the Tattva-saṅgraha was propagated both by Śubhākarasiṁha and Amoghavajra, all its six maṇḍalas were included in full. The naya-maṇḍala represented the prajñā point of view and its inclusion was a must, to complete both the viewpoints of prajñā and upāya. Without the representation of both, it would have been a deficient maṇḍala. Hence its incorporation as the 7th maṇḍala in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The Trailokyavijaya represents the second samaya. In importance it ranks with the first samaya. Hence its inclusion in the nine-part Vajradhātu-maṇḍala was again a must. Its two major manifestations in anthropomorphic and symbolic forms (maṇḍalas 8,9) became an integral part of the Genzu version of the Vajradhātu.

For details see Lokesh Chandra 1987:23f., 1988: xviif., 1989: xvf.

In accord with the Chinese system of rectification of names, the initial four maṇḍalas were rationalised:

(i) The four maṇḍalas had 37 (33+4) deities. Originally the three maṇḍalas 1,2,3,4 had only 33 deities as can be seen in the Gobushinkan (Lokesh Chandra 1986:37f.)

(ii) Twenty deities from Trailokyavijaya of the second samaya were introduced in the four maṇḍalas (I.1,2,3,4) to which they did not belong. These twenty deities were those vanquished by Trailokyavijaya and they had a place only in his maṇḍala. Their induction into the four maṇḍalas was for uniformity.

(iii) Under the rectification of nomenclature, the 33 or 37 deities were given identical names in the other three maṇḍalas I.2,3,4. In the Sanskrit text they are mostly different (Lokesh Chandra 1986: 29f.). The Chinese translation of the STTS by Amoghavajra has to be consulted for these names.

(iv) The goddesses of the second samaya-maṇḍala (1.2) were replaced by symbols. In the Chinese cosmogony of Yin and Yang, Yin stands for earth, darkness, female, the inferior principle of nature. So the goddesses could not figure in the maṇḍala and they were substituted by samaya forms. It was a Chinese innovation.

The representation by samaya or symbolic forms in the Sino-Japanese maṇḍala, was due to the fact that the emperor could not worship female deities. It is an important indicator of the signification of the Sino-Japanese maṇḍala, a process that has led to misconceptions. The sole use of the Sino-Japanese representation has created confusing identifications. For example, the maṇḍala on the right wall of the upper floor of the Sumtsek temple at Alchi has been identified as Vajradhātu-maṇḍala showing 'Vairocana in female form' (Göpper/Poncar 1984:48 pl.1). It is the guhyadhāraṇī-maṇḍala (I.2) with Vajradhātvīśvarī in the centre. She is the consort of Vairocana and *not* Vairocana in female form. Göpper/Poncar reproduce two goddesses of this maṇḍala in large size so that they can be recognised clearly. Göpper (96 pl.25) terms her Buddha Ratnasambhava in female form. She is Ratna-vajriṇī in the Sanskrit text (Gobu-shinkan 41). Likewise, Bodhisattva 'Vajrayakṣa in female form' (Göpper 100 pl.27) is correctly Tejaḥpratyāhāriṇī (STTS p.103, Gobu-shinkan p.168).

The trikāya are not clear in the Sino-Japanese maṇḍala, but they are self-evident in the Gobu-shinkan of Śubhākarasiṁha (AD 637-735) which illustrates the six maṇḍalas of the first abhisamaya of the Vajradhātu (I.1-6):

Vairocana in the
Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala
Gobu-shinkan no.1
Sambhoga-kāya (wears jewelry)

Vajradhātvīśvarī or Vajriṇī
in the Guhyadhāraṇī-maṇḍala
Gobu-shinkan no. 39
Devī/Consort

Vairocana in the
Sūkṣma-maṇḍala
Gobu-Shinkan no. 72
Dharma-kāya (addorsed by vajras)

Vairocana in the
Karma-pūjā-maṇḍala
Gobu-shinkan no 105
Nirmāṇa-kāya (in monk's robes)

(v) The Thousand Buddhas are depicted only in the core maṇḍala I.1, to ensure the preeminence of the central square of the Emperor.

(vi) The Tendai denomination, closer to the monastic tradition and away from imperial concerns, does not have the nine-square maṇḍala It has only the single-square core maṇḍala, the jojinne. Moreover, the Tathāgatas sit on animal mounts as in the Sanskrit tradition and in the Gobu-shinkan, while in the widely known Shingon maṇḍala they sit on lotuses. The Tendai denomination worships only the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala (I.1), which in fact is the core maṇḍala of the Vajradhātu with an independent existence of its own. It is the prakṛti or model of subsequent variations or vikṛti. Likewise, the Borobudur represents only the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala as the main object of veneration and meditation. We have not to seek the sinified nine-square Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in the Borobudur, as it is only the fundamental core mahābhūta-maṇḍala (I.1).

Variations of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala follow the Classical pattern of prakṛti and vikṛti. Prakṛti is the original or primary form, the fundamental pattern, standard, or model in the Śrautasūtras. In Sāṁkhya philosophy it is the original producer of the natural world. In plural, they are the eight primary essences, which evolve the whole visible world. Its variations, modifications, derivatives, and developments are vikṛti. In Sāṁkhya vikṛti is a derivative from prakṛti. The Vajradhātu system too has the prakṛti and vikṛti. The prakṛti is the primal core maṇḍala, the mahābhūta-maṇḍala (I.1), which illustrates central Tathāgatas in sambhoga-kāya. It has five variations in the root text of the STTS on the basis of (a) devī (I.2), (b) trikāya (I.3,4), and (c) the two utpatti and sampanna kramas (I.5,6). This is the first samaya termed abhisamaya. These six variations recur in each of the remaining three samayas: vajra-samaya (II.1-6), dharma-samaya (III.1-6), and karma-samaya (IV.1-6). Thus, each of the four samayas has six maṇḍalas (for details see Lokesh Chandra 1987:23f.). The four samayas are numbered I, II, III, IV, and the six maṇḍalas in each are denoted by 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Thus maṇḍala I.1 means the first maṇḍala of the first samaya, that is the core maṇḍala.

The six maṇḍalas in each of the four samayas are characterised by

utpatti-krama	trikāya	
1. Main deities in	sambhoga-kāya	(in regal splendour)
2. Their consorts		
3. Main deity in	dharma-kāya	(addorsed by vajra)
4. Main deity in	nirmāṇa-kāya	(in the robes of a monk)
sampanna-krama		
5. Catur-mudrā		
6. Eka-mudrā		

The six maṇḍalas of STTS represent two kramas. The first four maṇḍalas of the

Vajradhātu are the process of emanation of deities (utpatti-krama). The last two, the caturmudrā and ekamudrā, maṇḍalas represent their gradual reintegration into the central deity Vairocana; and thus they form the process of reabsorption (sampanna) into the primordial unity of Vairocana. The two kramas are very clear in the Hevajra-tantra.

In the Hevajra-tantra deities of the maṇḍala are produced in due order which is utpatti-krama, and then reabsorbed into the central deity which is utpanna-krama or sampanna-krama. Kānha's Yoga-ratna-mālā commentary on the Hevajra-tantra clarifies: "The process is one of meditation. Emanation refers to the manifestation of the forms of the divinities. The meditation in which this consists, is the Process of Emanation. Realization means being substantiated in the very essence itself, and the practice by which the yogin meditates who is intent only on this, is called the Process of Realization" (Snellgrove 1959:1.75 n.4). "These two terms [utpatti and utpanna krama] refer cosmologically to the manifestation (*utpāda)* and reabsorption (*pralaya*) of phenomenal existence, and thus to the special technique of meditation which imitates this twofold process, thus identifying microcosm and macrocosm. By thought-creation (*bhāvanā*) the yogin produces an idealized form of existence, symbolized by the divinities of the maṇḍalas. This is the utpattikrama 'Process of Emanation'. He conceives of himself as the centre of the process, and drawing the forms into his own heart, realizes his essential identity with the central all-comprehending divinity. This is the utpanna-krama 'Process of Realization' (Snellgrove 1959:1.139-140).

6. ĀDHĀRA AND ĀDHEYA

The maṇḍala is conceived as the divine residence of the deities. The space becomes sacred when the deities reside therein. The sanctified residence is the ādhāra and the resident deities are the ādheya. Their relationship is *ādhāra-ādheya-bhāva*, a relation of the recipient and the one to be received, as of a mirror and the object reflected (MW. p.139a). It is integral, interdependent and one cannot be without the other. During worship they are invoked in imagination. Besides the ādhāra can also be represented architectonically by miniature forms or as massive architectural monuments. The ādheya is depicted as images of deities. They are the first two elements in worship.

Mkhas.grub.rje (AD 1385-1438, Lessing/Wayman 1968:175) specifies six elements in the worship of a maṇḍala:

i. generation of the residence (*ādhārotpatti*)
ii. invitation to the gods to be residents (*ādheya*) and offering of seats to them.
iii. mudrā
iv. offerings and praising (*pūjā, stuti,* etc.)
v. confession of sins, etc. (*pāpa-deśanādi*)

vi. contemplation of the four boundless states (*caturapramāṇa-bhāvanā)* and generation of the mind (*cittotpāda*)

The Sumeru with its infrastructure and superstructure is the *ādhāra.* The infrastructure comprises an ocean of milk in the middle of which rises the four-sided Sumeru. The four continents with their subcontinents surrounding the Sumeru are:

East	Pūrva-videha (white crescent)	Deha and Videha
West	Apara-godānīya (red circle)	Śāṭhā and Uttara-mantriṇa
South	Jambudvīpa (blue square)	Cāmara and Aparacāmara
North	Uttara-kuru (yellow triangle)	Kurava and Kaurava.

The superstructure is the three-storeyed eaved palace or kūṭāgāra atop the Sumeru. The detailed statement of Mkhas.grub.rje is cited below *in extenso:*

".....he must imagine an earth surface (*bhūmitala*) made of many jewels and strewn with gold sand. He blesses it with the formula, *Om cala vīra hūṁ svāhā.*

"Upon it he imagines an ocean of milk, free from such a fault as fish-gills, adorned with such flowers as the red lotus (*padma*) and the blue lotus (*utpala*), and over which soar flocks of bejewelled birds. He blesses it with the formula *Om vimala dhahā hūṁ.*

"In the middle of this [ocean], he imagines a four-sided Sumeru mountain, adorned on all four sides with rows of stairs made [respectively] of gold, silver, sapphire (*indranila*), and amber, all over which spring up wish-granting trees (*kalpa-vṛkṣa*) decorated with a thousand fluttering victory banners. He imagines rising above those to a height of many yojanas a lotus trunk which takes its orgin from a shaft in the centre of Mount Sumeru, is graced with many jewels, has leaves made of variegated jewels and [blossoms] whose filaments are of gold, anthers of amber, and tops of pistils ringed by lines of silver....

"Above it, he is to imagine a canopy (*vitāna*) [appearing] in an instance. On top of that [canopy], he generates the complete characteristics of an eaved palace (*kūṭāgāra*) and generates within it various seats; and he may also generate within the palace stūpas of the varieties 'victorious' and 'radiant'." (Lessing/Wayman 1968:175). Thereafter the deities are invited to be resident (*ādheya*) in the sanctified space.

The evocation of the Sumeru is *ādhārotpatti* or generation of the residence for the *ādheya* or deities invoked to take their residence in the three-storeyed eaved palace which rests in clouds atop Sumeru. The Niṣpanna-yogāvalī of Abhayākara-gupta, which is a fundamental text for the construction of maṇḍalas, makes it clear that maṇḍalas were situated in a kūṭāgāra or pavilion atop the Sumeru mountain, with the main deity in the centre and others in their appropriate placements.

The Niṣpanna-yogāvalī describes the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala at length: within a vajra enclosure rises Sumeru towering over the continents, sub-continents and seven seas. Atop Sumeru is a pavilion (kūṭāgāra) in whose centre sits the main deity Vairocana. The Sanskrit text reads: *Vajradhātu-maṇḍale vajra-pañjar-odare dvīp-opadvīpa-sapta-samudr-ādi-parikalita-sumer-ūpari kūṭāgāraṁ/ tasya madhya...Vairocanaḥ* (p.44). Then the characteristics of its 37 deities are detailed.

Bu.ston Rin.chen.grub details the drawing of the pavilion (vimāna, gzhal.yas. khaṅ) of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (TWB.5115, NA 1-22).

The plan of the Borobudur is: 5 terraces, supporting 3 circular platforms adorned with 72 latticed campanulae, surrounding a larger central stūpa on a final and ninth terrace (Kempers 1959:42-43, Fontein 1971:16, Frédéric 1965:158). The first five terraces are the five storeys of Sumeru, as we find in Nepalese temples, in Tibetan texts, on thaṅka paintings, and as is well known from the oral traditions of Indonesia (Fontein 1971:14) that the Chandi is a Sumeru.

Borobudur corresponds to the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala as follows:

4 entrance stairs of Borobudur = four sides of Sumeru adorned with rows of stairs.
5 terraces = five storeys of the Sumeru
3 circular platforms = base of kūṭāgāra (which has not survived)
1 large central finiale = stūpa

The present structure of the Borobudur is Mount Sumeru. There must have been a wooden pavilion (*kūṭāgāra*) atop the three circular platforms. We know that Borobudur had wooden structures which have perished (Frédéric 1965:160). The pinnacle seems to have been octagonal and ended in a number of horizontal incisions, three parasols in succession and a jewel at the top (Kempers 1959:48). The horizontal incisions in the pinnacle must have held the wooden kūṭāgāra, and other architectural end-elements.

The configuration of Sumeru can be seen in the following scroll (Wayman 1973:104):

pinnacle (stūpa) surmounted by
nāda (hook-like curve)
bindu (not sun)
candra (moon)

three-storeyed eaved
Sudarśana palace of Indra

sun moon

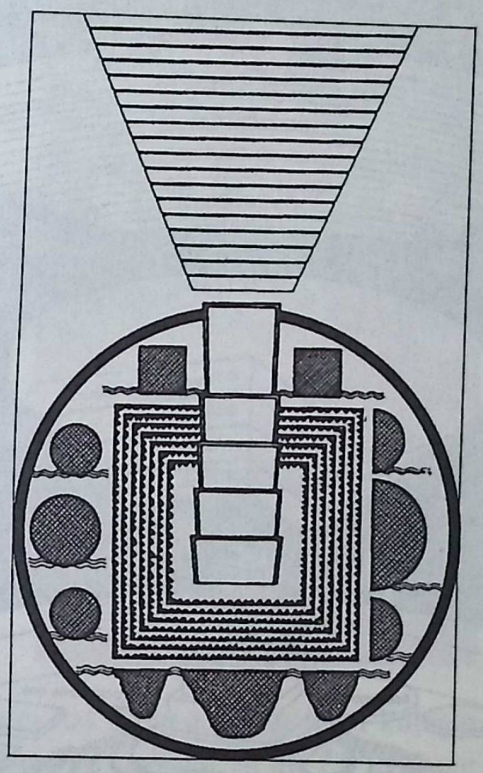
seven emblems of state

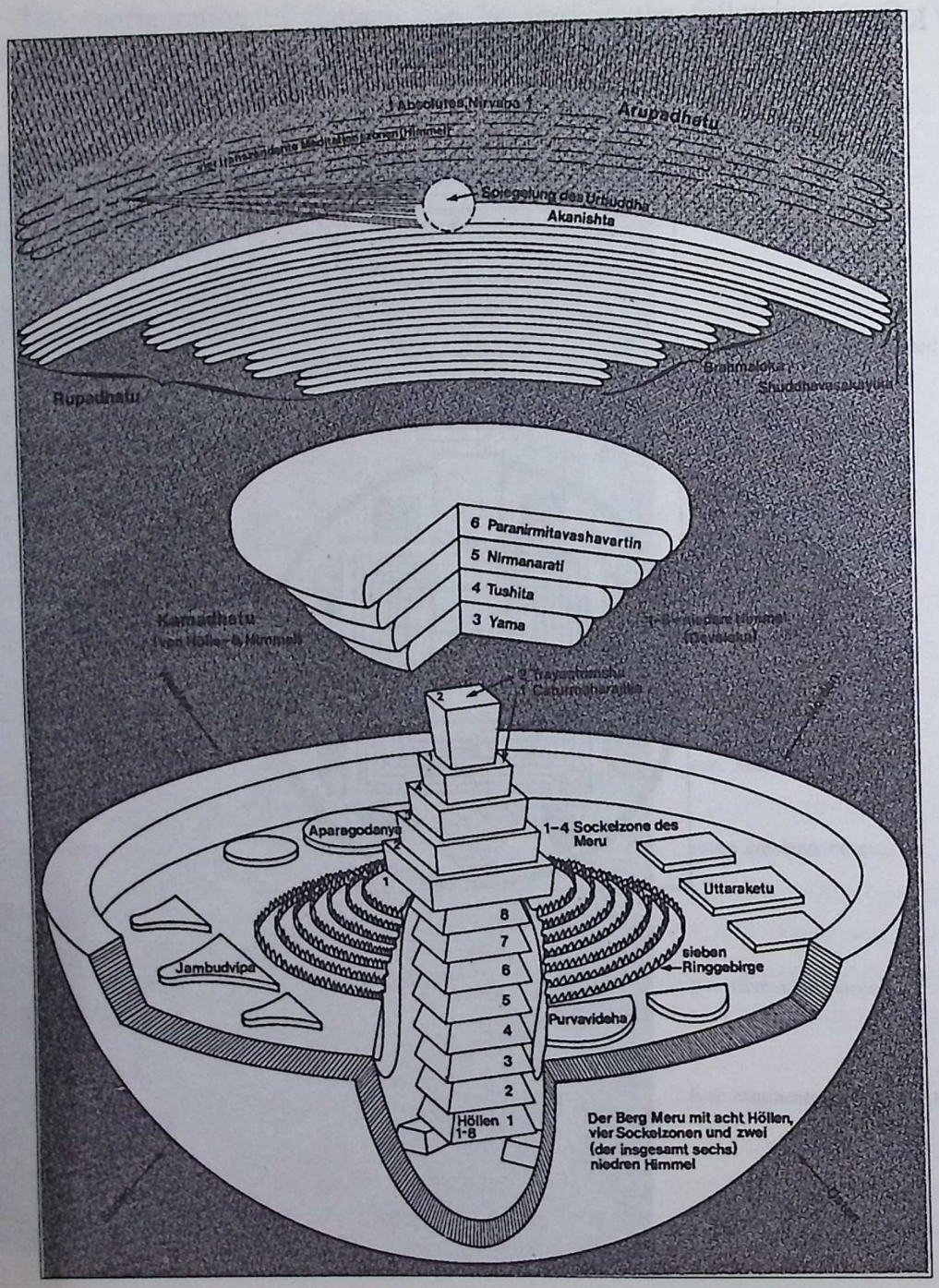
five storeys of Sumeru

four continents and eight sub-continents

oceans

Keilhauer 1980:85 gives a line-sketch:





Perspective sketch of the Sumeru mountain by Keilhauer 1980:84

A beautiful thaṅka painting of the 18th century from Tibet appears in the May 1990 catalogue of Galerie Köller, Zürich:

The British Museum has a three-dimensional kūṭāgāra on Sumeru, of cloisonné enamel, coral, silver and jade, 56 cm high, of the Ch'ien-lung period, dated 1772. It "has four staircases leading from a circular base to entrances to the central platform. The flat roof is decorated with Buddhist symbols such as canopies, fish, umbrellas and banners. The two-tiered roof is inlaid with coral and decorated with silver and jade bells....At the summit is a 'wish-fulfilling' gem surmounting a silver moon and a lapis lazuli sun. Vajras (thunderbolts) form part of the enamel decoration of the square platform as well as being placed in a ring around the circular base" (Portal 1992:75-76).

A representation can be seen at the Museé Guimet (ME 11218, Béguin 1981:54 pl.33). A guilt copper alloy and crystal replica of the Sumeru from the Zimmerman collection has been described by Pratapaditya Pal (1991:138 pl.77). It comes from eastern Tibet and has been dated to the 18th century. The fifth story of the eight-petalled lotus has a parallel in the Japanese representation where the topmost story was like "the seed vessel of the lotus" (Matsunaga 1969:38-39). Pal's observation that Sumeru's shape reminds of the Borobudur is indeed sensitive. Lessing (1942:100-107) has a long description of the Sumeru with kūṭāgāra (Sudarśana palace of Indra).

The Sumeru with the kūṭāgāra and other symbols is used in the ceremony of offerings to the entire universe (*gtaṅ.rag*). In certain monasteries, this ceremony takes

place every morning (Béguin 1981:54, Ekvall 1964:176-77). The ritual of Sumeru-parvata is also known in India (Renou/Filliozat 1947:588 n.1207).

Tridhātu and trikāya. Scholars have suggested the correlation of the three worlds of Kāmadhātu, Rūpadhātu and Arūpadhātu with the iconographic elements of the Borobudur. The iconography of the trikāya system has been misunderstood as follows:

Nirmāṇa-kāya	Human Buddhas
Sambhoga-kāya	Five Tathāgatas
Dharma-kāya	Partly visible and partly invisible Buddhas in the latticed stūpas.

The aforesaid correlation is incorrect according to tradition. In Nirmāṇa-kāya the Tathāgata has the robes of a monk, in sambhoga-kāya he dons jewelry in regal splendour, and the dharma-kāya is not represented.

Kempers (1959:43-44): says "....The stūpa, starting as a sepulchral monument, has changed into the highest symbol of Buddhism as well as a replica of the universe. The universe according to Buddhist cosmology is divided into three major divisions. The highest sphere is the entirely abstract, 'formless' 'Arūpadhātu. The second is the sphere of 'forms' (Rūpadhātu), though of a higher degree than the 'phenomenal world' in which we live, the Kāmadhatu. According to Mahāyāna Buddhism in this three-fold world the Buddha manifests himself in various shapes which are in keeping with the character of each of the spheres. He has three 'Bodies' (Trikāya): an abstract one, the Dharmakāya, consistent with the Arūpadhātu, another comprising many Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (the Sambhogakāya), all of them appearing in the Rūpadhātu, and a third (Nirmāṇakāya) consisting of many human Buddhas (Mānushi-Buddhas) among whom the 'historical Buddha' whom we know as the founder of Buddhism." This may be tabulated below:

Kāmadhātu	nirmāṇa-kāya	Human Buddhas
Rūpadhātu	sambhoga-kāya	Five Tathāgatas
Arūpadhātu	dharma-kāya	Partly visible, partly invisible Buddhas in the latticed dagobs.

Kempers is in doubt when he says "Both the Ultimate or Absolute Reality, the Dharmakāya of the Buddha, the 'formless' Arūpadhātu, it *seems*, are represented in Borobudur by the central dagob." The scheme worked out is neat and clear, but it lacks a basis in Buddhist thought. The Five Tathāgatas can be represented only in nirmāṇa-kāya or sambhoga-kāya forms. The dharma-kāya is beyond form. For instance, Amitāyus is represented in these two forms in the Mongolian Kanjur. The relationship of the three dhātus and the three kāyas cannot be attested.

The Kāmadhātu has five or six planes of existence: (i) naraka/niraya, (ii) tiryag-yoni, (iii) pretaloka/pitṛ-viṣaya, (iv) asura, (v) manuṣya-loka, (vi) deva-loka inhabited by Kāmāvacara deva. The Kāmāvacara deva are six: Caturmahārājika, Trāyastriṁśa, Yāma, Tuṣita, Nirmāṇa-rati, and Paranirmita-vaśavartin.

The Rūpadhatu is inhabited by Rūpāvacara deva. They are divided into four classes to represent the four stages of meditation (*dhyāna-bhūmi*). The number of categories of deities residing in these bhūmi differ according to the various schools ranging from seventeen to twenty-one in number. The following is a list of the gods in the four dhyāna found in the Abhidharmakośa (T 29.412) :

First dhyāna : Brahma-pāriṣadya, Brahma-purohita, Mahābrahma.
Second dhyāna : Parīttābha, Apramāṇābha, Ābhāsvara.
Third dhyāna : Parīttaśubha, Apramāṇaśubha, Śubhakṛtsna.
Fourth dhyāna : Anabhraka, Puṇya-prasava, Bṛhatphala, Abṛha, Atapa, Sudṛśa, Sudarśana, Akaniṣṭha (Matsunaga 1969:54-55, Krom 1927:76).

The highest heaven of Akaniṣṭha is the dwelling of Vairocana. "Vairocana, dwelling in the Akaniṣṭha Heaven, does not proceed elsewhere because he is the Sambhoga-kāya possessing the five certainties. But with the magical apparition (nirmita) of a Vairocana Nirmāṇa-kāya having four heads, he proceeded to the summit of Mt. Sumeru and took his place in the eaved palace (kūṭāgāra) of precious thunderbolts." (Lessing/Wayman 1968:215).

The four uppermost realms of the Arūpadhātu are formless and cannot be configured.

The heavens of various gods are planes of meditations, crowned by Akaniṣṭha. They are situated beyond all cosmology. This is clear from the Niṣpannayogāvalī and the perspective sketch on p.62. The identification of the Kāmadhātu, Rūpadhātu and Arūpadhātu as well as the trikāya with the iconic elements of the Borobudur as proposed by Kempers and others has no basis in tradition and has to be abandoned.

In Thailand, the Trai Phum or Three Worlds and their thirtyone realms are comprehensively described in the most remarkable work *Trai Phum*. They are the Three Worlds of Desire (Kāma), Partial Form (Rūpa) and Without Form (Arūpa). The World of Desire has eleven realms, World with Partial Form has sixteen realms, and World Without Form has four realms. "More than a religious work..... it is also a treatise on kingship" by King Luthai of the Sukhothai dynasty (Gosling 1991:63f.). The concept of royal power with righteousness, in accord with Dharma, ensures the right to a powerful and efficacious rule. The Borobudur was also intended to attest the righteous reign of the Śailendras.

7. BOROBUDUR IS THE BASE OF THE VAJRADHĀTU-MAṆḌALA

The Borobudur is not a stupa but the base (Sumeru) of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. It was the brilliant exposée of Paul Mus and others that lent an air of certainty to the interpretation of Borobudur as a stūpa, and it so overshadowed subsequent discussions that another possibility was precluded.

The pyramidal architecture of the Borobudur with its square terraces, three superimposed concentric platforms, crowned by a finiale — without a clearly marked entrance but flights of steps on four sides — has puzzled scholars who have tried to designate it a stūpa. Kempers (p.43) admits that "it is a very complicated specimen of the stūpa". Clarity of terminology has also contributed to misunderstandings. Terms like caitya, stūpa, dhātugarbha (dagob), and stūpikā have been employed promiscuously. Sumeru has been absent in architectural terminology, being relegated to cosmology. These terms have precise connotations and they should be distinguished: e.g. dhātugarbha (dagob) is the innermost sanctum in a stūpa where the relics are deposited, and does not connote the decorative architectural elements as employed by Kempers (1959:48 etc.).

Fontein (1971:21) finds it preplexing to consider the Borobudur as a stūpa. He holds that : "The doctrinal contents of the sūtras which were chosen to be illustrated on the walls of the Borobudur suggest that Śailendra Buddhism was a relatively pure type of Mahāyāna without many Tantric accretions"(p.37). So far the Borobudur has seemed to present no single text but an eclectic conglomeration of the representation of scenes from varied originals ranging from the Karmavibhaṅga, Jātakas and Lalitavistara to the Gaṇḍavyūha of the Avataṁsaka-sūtras. They fall into a logical sequence, but there is a lurking feeling that they lack the authority of a classical pattern, or the sanction of a precedent in tradition, in their totality. The overall impression persists that the Borobudur was the creation of an ingenious mind coordinating divergent elements in a brilliant manner, meditating in the beauties of Mount Menoreh as the Indonesian legend has it.

The syndrome of literary, linguistic, and archaeological evidence from Indonesia itself makes it evident that Tantric Buddhism was prevalent during Śailendra rule in Java in the 8th and early 9th century. A prominent aspect of this type of Buddhism was the representation of maṇḍalas in various media, culminating in their most impressive magnificence and enduring permanence as architectural monuments. The complex of Mendut-Pavon-Borobudur could have been no exception.

Detailed investigations in the direction of defining the Borobudur as the ādhāra of a maṇḍala were suppressed by the stunning logic of Mus who could find nothing specially Tantric about it: "Le Barabudur n'est pas spécialement tantrique. S'il l'est ce n'est qu'avec tout le Mahayanisme" (quoted from Moens 1951:336).

Occasional expressions of the maṇḍala-like plan of the Borobudur were mooted

but they were lost, because very few maṇḍalas were known and 'architectural maṇḍalas' were unknown. Moens (1951:335, 341) had explicitly compared the Borobudur with the Mongolian *khoto-mandal* 'city maṇḍala', but missed to recognise its architectonic implications with the precise identification of every detail. This can be done now that we have a representative collection of maṇḍalas from the Ṅor monastery. An appropriate understanding of the maṇḍalas as coherent cosmograms incorporating systems of thought in art, as visual dharma, had not yet dawned. Even today the complex integrality of every element of a maṇḍala based on root tantras has yet to be studied to become a part of academic consciousness. The Ṅor maṇḍalas are the most comprehensive series of 132 maṇḍalas of all the classes of tantras from Tibet. They incorporate all the known Classical traditions of Sanskrit tantras in their diverse variations.

It would help to elucidate the precise character of the Borobudur if we consider some architectural maṇḍalas to affirm the concept of pura-maṇḍala and if we correlate the textual descriptions to their actual representation as monuments, like Tabo, Alchi, and Gyantse Kumbum.

The STTS (Toh 479) was translated by Śraddhākaravarman and Rin.chen.bzaṅ.po (c. 958-1055). It embodies the maṇḍala of Sarvavid Vairocana. Rin.chen.bzaṅ.po founded monasteries at Tabo and Alchi to introduce the new maṇḍalas of this system. The Tabo monastery is situated on the north bank of the Spiti river in Himachal Pradesh. It was enlarged and repaired by king Byaṅ.chub.ḥod. Life-size stucco images of the deities of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala are set around the walls in a rectangular arrangement. "It is doubtful whether there survives anywhere else an ancient temple, laid out as this one is: a complete three-dimensional maṇḍala" (Snellgrove 1957:185, 66-67) and none other of such antiquity survives. The layout of the 33 deities can be seen in G. Tucci's *Indo-Tibetica* (1935:3/1.26 fig.2). It is unusual in being unlike the circular arrangement described in the texts (diagram in Tucci 1935:3/1.60) and found in Tibetan scrolls and also in Japanese paintings. The central image of Vairocana is four-faced with the two hands in samādhi-mudrā (Tucci 1935:3/1.32). Beneath the images, along the left wall, there are frescoes narrating the story of Nor.bzaṅ or Sudhana. On the right wall is the life of Śākyamuni to represent the journey of the bodhisattva to the perfection of buddhahood (Snellgrove 1957:188).

The Gsum.tshag temple in the Alchi village in Lower Ladakh houses a gigantic image of Vairocana. It was erected by King Byaṅ.chub.sems.dpaḥ in about 1020-50 (Peter 2/2.7) during the life of Rin.chen.bzaṅ.po. It has a number of maṇḍalas on its walls. The Vairocana is four-faced, two-armed, in bodhyagrī mudrā, his color is white, his symbol: 5-pointed vajra, his vāhana: lion (Lim 1964:336). The translation of a tantra was followed by its representation as a maṇḍala.

In the early 15th century the most important Buddhist maṇḍalas were painted at Gyantse, begun in AD 1414. It has 706 chapels containing both sculptures and murals, with 108 doors. "The basic construction is that of a gigantic maṇḍala (Karmay 1975:27, 34 n.130). It was completed and consecrated in 1427 by the prince of Rgyal.rtse, Chos. rgyal Rab.brtan.kun.bzaṅ.ḥphags.pa (1389-1442). It is renowned as the Gyantse Kumbum and it integrates the majority of maṇḍalas of the different tantras. Besides making maṇḍalas with coloured powders on floors, painting them on canvasses, or making sculptures in three dimensions, there are architectonic maṇḍalas called lölang/*blo-laṅs* (Tucci 1956:37). The Gyantse Kumbum is a vast architectonic Sumeru comprising in its unique pantheonic sweep the multiplicity of maṇḍalas. Its architectural composition is five stories of buildings superimposed by a cupola and three-storied campana.[3] These nine stories (Wen-wu 1961:1.53) conform to the pattern of the depiction of Mount Sumeru in Tibetan thaṅka scrolls (Wayman 1973:101f)[4]. The first five stories are the five terraces of the Sumeru mountain. In the worship of a maṇḍala, the first step is evocation of the Sumeru, which is *ādhārotpatti* or generation of the residence, for the *ādheya* or the deity which is invoked to take its residence there. A three-storied eaved palace rests in the clouds atop Sumeru (Wayman 1973:108). This is the kūṭāgāra of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, and the three-storied campana of the Gyantse Kumbum, which is notable for its adherence to the injunctions of the Classical tantric texts in minute details of architectural form.

Prof. Wayman (1973:104 pl. 9, 102-109) has illustrated the configuration of the Sumeru on a Tibetan thaṅka scroll (compare Matsunaga 1969:39). It has five terraces which constitute Mount Sumeru (p. 108). Above the five-storeyed Sumeru is a cloud atop which rests a three-storeyed palace. On top of the palace roof is a tiny structure.

The maṇḍala pervaded the spiritual life of Tantric Buddhism to such an extent that even the *cham* dances of the Lamaist world reflect in minute details the iconography of a maṇḍala. René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1976:88), in his translation of the Tibetan dance-manual (*tsham-yig)* of Vajrakīla, says : "The dancers express with their movement nothing else than the iconographic details of Vajrakīla's maṇḍala."

In Nepal, the tradition of temples on a stepped pyramidal base has continued down to our times. The best known of the 'pagoda-style' temples or dega is the five-storeyed temple of the Newars at Bhaktapur, the Nyatapola dega. It stands on and above a five-stepped pyramid. The five super-imposed platforms diminish in size from bottom to top and are linked together by a staircase which is situated on the southern façade. On

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[3] Its plan is given in Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica,* IV(1).169, details of its 72 chapels on p.171, illus. in IV(2). fig. 119. A very clear view of the whole construction is provided by Liu Yisi, *Xizang Fojiao Yishu,* Beijing 1957, fig.7.

[4] Alex Wayman 1973:102 (diagram of Sumeru), 104 (thaṅka).

the topmost platform is the temple, built from brick and wood, with five superimposed roofs of decreasing size and similar form. The *garbha-gṛha* is situated within.

"Another temple, dedicated to Śiva in Khauma tol, previously rose above five stepped terraces. Today the base alone remains, consisting of five stepped terraces. The upper part, where the *garbha-gṛha* used to be, was destroyed by earthquakes, the most violent of which took place in 1934. According to the inscription which is to be found close by the temple, it was built in 1667 by Jagatprakāśa Malla.

"One should also draw attention to another temple which is known as Fasi Dega and is dedicated to Śiva. It has the same five-terraced pyramidal base. The upper part was destroyed during the 1934 earthquake. Fasi Dega and the Khauma tol Dega have bases of stone, and not of bricks as is the case of Nyatapola.

"All the above-mentioned temples have entrances situated on the southern façade and a staircase which links the terraces together. On either side of the staircase on the southern façade of Nyatapola Dega are to be found ranks of huge guardians: at the bottom are the giants Jaya Malla and Bhaṭṭa, athletes in the king's service and reputed to have the strength of ten men; above them are two elephants ten times stronger yet; then, continuing this decimal progress on in muscular vigour, two lions, two tigers and the goddesses Singhinī and Vyāghriṇī" (Macdonald & Vergati, *Newar Art*).

The scholarly world tends to consider the Borobudur as 'the great stūpa' (Frédéric 1965:160), an interpretation which has insuperable difficulties in terms of the classic type, like the absence of a clearly marked entrance. Instead it has four entrance-stairs in the four directions as is appropriate to the four-sided Sumeru mountain, adorned with rows of stairs on all four sides (Lessing/Wayman 1968:175). The round terraces atop the Sumeru are the foundations for the Classic type of the abode of Vairocana, which is *śūnya bhuvana* or a round structure: *śūnyaṁ bhuvanaṁ vartulākāraṁ bhavatīti śūnya-bhuvanam* (Dharma-kośa-saṅgraha, p.1). The Borobudur as the abode of Vairocana of the Vajradhātu is Sumeru. It is clearly pointed out in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī in the chapter on the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala that Lord Vairocana is seated in the vajraparyaṅka posture in the centre of the kūṭāgāra situated on Sumeru. In the Japanese tradition Vairocana ascended Mount Sumeru to reveal the maṇḍala to sentient beings (Matsunaga 1969:203, Sumeru depicted on p.39). In his work on the fundamentals of the tantras, Mkhas.grub.rje says: After completing the five abhisambodhi, he became samyaksambuddha Mahāvairocana, proceeded to the summit of Mount Sumeru and proclaimed the yoga tantras (Lessing/Wayman 1968:27,29,35), that is, the Tattvasaṅgraha, its explanatory Vajraśekhara-tantra and other tantras. Moens (1960:386) speaks of the Paradise of Vairocana, the Sahālokadhātu, on top of the rūpadhātu in the context of the Borobudur-Mendut-Pavon complex.

The Vairocana Buddhas on the three circular platforms are in latticed stūpas. There is a clear difference between the stūpas on the first and second rows and those on the third. The pinnacles of the first two rows are supported by square bases, while those of the third by octagonal bases. The perforations in the first case are lozenges, and those in the other two are squares (Kempers 1959:48):

1st & 2nd rows	square base	lozenge-shaped perforations
3rd row	octagonal base	square perforations

This divergence can be traced back to the Avataṁsaka sūtra which gave rise to the earliest iconographic type of Rocana in the art of Khotan in Central Asia and China. In a passage describing cosmological interrelationship it is stated that transformations of the Buddha exist sometimes in the form of Mount Sumeru, ... of circle-nets, ... of all square things, ...and of all sorts of ornamentation (Williams 1973:120),....circles, forms neither square nor circular, and triangles. Thus geometric forms are specifically mentioned in the text as forms in which the Buddha sometimes manifests. These geometric elements are actually painted on the body of Rocana in the paintings of Khotan. In Khotanese paintings octagonal forms appear on the chest. In the wall-painting Bal. D circles and triangles are scattered over the body of Rocana. Two interlaced triangles are shown on the stomach of the mural painting Bal.094, and a triangle on the lower arm of Kha. i.C.00118 preserved at the National Museum, New Delhi. The square bases and holes, octagonal bases, and lozenge holes reflect the geometric epiphanies of Rocana enunciated in the Avataṁsaka. The lozenges are the placement of two triangles base-to-base, or a variation of the interlaced triangles.

The 72 latticed stūpas enshrining the (Vai)rocana Buddhas on the three circular platforms of the Borobudur represent the architectonic transcreation of the stūpas depicted on the body of Rocana in the Avataṁsaka tradition as can be seen in the mural fragments from Khotan. The mural fragment Kuduk-tol 025 shows stūpa with a high superstructure, the legs of Bremen A16164 have a very elongated stūpa of several stories with harmikā, the left lower leg of panel D.IV.4 abv.(British Museum) shows a stūpa with high superstructure, and so on (Williams 1973:119). What were oddities as representations on the body of Rocana himself were integrated into the grace of an architectural composition by the brilliant architect that Guṇadharma was, who conceived the Borobudur in the contemplative solitudes of Mount Menoreh (Frédéric 1965:161), as an unparalleled monument transcreating adoration along the path of unending time.

The comparative study of Sanskrit, Tibetan, Sino-Japanese, and Indonesian texts, exegesis, and graphic representations present diverse elements from distant lands. This comparative pattern naturally poses the question of the feasibility of communications between these areas and the interflow of culture amongst themselves or via a core-point.

The new identification of the Mendut-Pavon-Borobudur could be possible only by the comparison of the different expressions of the same tradition of the kriyā and caryā tantras manifested in twin maṇḍalas of the Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu, in the classical commonwealth of Vajrayāna countries. The Chinese biographies of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra provide undeniable evidence that the traditions of these tantalizingly far-removed areas of Central Asia, Kanchi in South India, and the Sino-Japanese tradition converged on the very soil of Java in the person of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra and that too in the early part of the eighth century — a century which was to give us the great Vajrayāna monuments of Indonesia culminating in the lyrical architecture of the Borobudur. Amoghavajra from Samarkand had accompanied his uncle on a trade visit to Java. There he met Vajrabodhi of Kanchi in AD 718 and became his disciple. Vajrabodhi landed at Canton in AD 719. A year later Amoghavajra arrived at Loyang in AD 720. Both of them were instrumental in translating the STTS and other fundamental scriptures of Vajrayāna into Chinese. In fact, along with their contemporary Śubhākarasiṁha, they laid the foundations of Vajrayāna in East Asia whose visual dharma were the twin maṇḍalas, which are preserved to this day in Japan. The presence of these two great teachers on the island of Java in person, is a unique historic evidence of the emerging world of Vajrayāna, converging to a unity in a shared cultural interdependence of values and forms, the remnants of whose manifold strands today lie disseminated far apart. The Borobudur is in direct line of descent in the conceptual genealogy of the Sino-Japanese maṇḍalas and we may no longer wonder that for the interpretation of the Mendut-Pavon-Borobudur complex Japan provides astonishingly precise parallels both in its historical and living traditions.

8. MULTIPLE-LEVEL TEACHINGS

The Mo-kau-ku caves at Tun-huang, Alchi, Gyantse Kumbum and the Borobudur are glorious representatives of a great tradition wherein images and murals gave life to the words of the sutras: they are visual renditions of Dharma, known in Japan as *kyōhen* 'pictorial transformations of sutras'. Tun-huang caves depict the jātakas, Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra, Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, Hōongyō, Pure Land sutras, the Avataṁsaka and other scriptures (Mibu/Hirai 1980:980). In course of time, the rendition of several sutras was systematised into the concept of multi-level teaching. Thus we have the Five Stages in Tendai and Ten Stages in Shingon Buddhism, and the Gelukpa classification by Mkhas.grub.rje who embraces the totality of the vast corpus of the Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur.

"Other schools were based on the principle of *p'an-chiao*, 'classification of doctrines': the idea that one particular scripture contained the highest truth, and that all other

scriptures belonged to a sequence of preliminary stages of revelation, each using a different teaching method and being addressed to a different audience. Thus the T'ien-t'ai sect recognised a scheme of five levels of teaching, the whole culminating in the 'One Vehicle' Doctrine of the *Lotus Sutra*, as the equally influential Hua-yen sect did with the *Hua-yen* or 'Garland Scripture' (Avataṁsaka-sūtra)" (Bechert/Gombrich 1984:203).

The Avataṁsaka-sūtra was translated into Chinese three times in the fourth, seventh and eighth centuries. The three versions are distinguished in the Sino-Japanese tradition by the number of fascicules, as '60, 80, 40 fasciculi Hua-yen-ching (Jap. Kegonkyō) or Avataṁsaka'.

1. Translated by Buddhabhadra and others during the Liang dynasty (AD 317-420) in 60 fascicules, Nj 87, T 278.
2. Translated by Śikṣānanda during AD 695-699 in 80 fascicules, with a preface by the Empress Wu Tsö-t'ien (AD 684-705) who sent an envoy to Khotan to procure the Sanskrit text. It is fuller than the first translation by Buddhabhadra.
3. Translated by Prājña during AD 796-798 in 40 fascicules. It is a translation of the last work of the Avataṁsaka, namely, the Gaṇḍavyūha which ends with the Bhadracarī.

Takakusu (1956:112) says that the Avataṁsaka is a sūtra in which the mystic doctrine of the Buddha Rocana is minutely described. The last chapter of the Avataṁsaka is the Gaṇḍavyūha which describes the pilgrimage of young Sudhana to fiftythree worthies, both religious and secular, to "realise the principles of dharmadhātu". Rocana is the lord of the Kusuma-tala-garbha-vyūhālaṅkāra-lokadhātu (*Rengedai sekai*, JEBD 1965:17b) in the Avataṁsaka and also in the Brahmajāla-sūtra (T 21, Nj 554) which was translated into Chinese by Shiken during AD 223-253.

The Avataṁsaka school had two main representations of:

(1) The image of Rocana as the Buddha of this school, and

(2) The narrative paintings or sculptures of the pilgrimage of Sudhana. Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens says that the Avataṁsaka iconography of Rocana "first appeared at Khotan, passed on to Kuca (Kizil Cave), then appeared in cave no.425/P.135 of Tunhuang (early sixth century)". She goes on to describe a Chinese image of the Sui dynasty (AD 589-618) at the Musée Guimet: "The right hand makes the gesture of abhayamudrā; the left hand, that of varamudrā. On the front of the cloak are modelled the sun, the moon, two apsaras, Mount Meru (formed of a rock beaten by waves and borne by interlaced dragons), a Buddhist sanctuary, and scenes of hell. On the back, which is flatter, other personages modelled in relief evoke the Six Ways (the damned, preta, wild animals, asura, humans, and Buddha), as well as Kṣitigarbha (King of Hell) sitting on a throne. The theme is borrowed from the Avataṁsaka Sūtra which makes Vairocana the

master of all the universe." (Auboyer 1975:107). The earliest representations of Rocana originated in the Avataṁsaka, which were to evolve later on into the Vairocana of the yoga-tantras.

The Avataṁsaka is a mahāvaipulya-sūtra. In the Tibetan Kanjur the full title is Buddhāvataṁsaka nāma mahāvaipulya-sūtra (Toh 44). So also in the Chinese translation, which can be rendered verbatim as mahāvaipulya Buddhāvataṁsaka sūtra (Nj 87=T 278, Nj 88=T 279). The Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T 848=Nj 530, Toh 494) is in the direct line of development with the Avataṁsaka. Inspite of its being the fundamental text of the caryā-tantras, its title does not bear the term tantra, but vaipulya-sūtrendrarāja: Mahāvairocan-ābhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtrendrarāja nāma dharma-paryāya (Toh 494). While *vaipulya* puts it in the direct line of descent from the Avataṁsaka, *sūtrendrarāja* indicates a further and higher stage of development. It is another glimpse into the intrinsic proximity of the Avataṁsaka and the maṇḍalas of Vairocana: reflected in the depiction of Sudhana's pilgrimage at Borobudur as a historical substratum in the onward spiritual journey to the maṇḍala of Vairocana atop.

The evolution of Buddhist thought leading from the earliest through the One Vehicle of Avataṁsaka to the Vajradhātu Vairocana in the Shingon School has been propounded by Kōbō Daishi at the beginning of the ninth century, as Ten Stages of spiritual progress (not to be confused with the daśa-bhūmi). They are cited below in the words of Takakusu (1956:149):

"The critical classification of the Buddha's teaching proposed by Kōbō Daishi is in reality the Ten Stages of spiritual development:

1. Various paths of blind life driven by the instinctive impulse (the stage of common people);
2. The Vehicle of human beings striving to have a moral life (the stage of Confucianism);
3. The Vehicle of heavenly beings striving to have a supernatural power (the stage of Taoism and Brahmanism) — these three are the worldly Vehicles;
4. The Vehicle of the direct pupils of the Buddha (śrāvaka) striving for a higher spiritual life as in Hīnayāna Schools, Kusha [=Abhidharmakośa], and Jōjitsu [=Satyasiddhi] (stage of direct disciples);
5. The Vehicle of the self-enlightened ones (pratyeka-buddha) enjoying self-enlightenment yet falling into egoism;

6-7. The doctrine of Three Vehicles, holding the three Vehicles as real (the stages of the Sanron [=Mādhyamika] and Hosso [=Yogācāra] Schools);

8-9. The doctrine of One Vehicle holding the one Vehicle as real (the stages of the Kegon [=Avataṁsaka] and Tendai Schools);

10. The Diamond Vehicle as held by the Shingon School. These stages, coming one above the other, show the timely progress of the human mind."

In his Ten Stages of spiritual development Kōbō Daishi (AD 774-835) owns Confucianism, Taoism, Brahmanism, the way of the śrāvakas (Theravāda) and of the pratyekabuddhas; Mādhyamika, Yogācāra, Avataṁsaka, with their finality in Vajrayāna (Lokesh Chandra 1980:33).

The above scheme of Kōbō Daishi is a striking parallel to the various sculptural components of the Borobudur which represent the different strata of Buddhist thought leading to the Vajradhātu Vairocana — all harmonised by a consummate architectural genius. The Borobudur with its reliefs of Karmavibhaṅga, Lalitavistara, jātakas and avadānas, the Avataṁsaka text of Gaṇḍavyūha culminates in the yoga-tantra.

The tradition of the Vaipulya sūtras starting with the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Lalitavistara and others continued to develop, culminating in Vajrayāna. This sequence of development is preserved and owned in its entirety by the Vajrayāna tradition. The transmission of the cycle of Tantras commences with Hīnayāna sūtras in the Tibetan exegesis of Mkhas.grub.rje. In the Tibetan tradition (Wayman 1973:232-3) this transmission of the entire cycle of Sūtras leading to the cycle of Tantras was divided into:

A. 1. the biography of Śākyamuni in terms of 12 Acts (*mdzad-pa bcu-gñis*),
   2. compilation of the Word by the great śrāvakas in the Hīnayāna tradition,
   3. compilation of the Word in the Mahāyāna tradition.

B. Sūtras which show principally the pāramitā-yāna fall into four groups:
   1. The Vinaya-vastu arising from the first promulgation (*bkaḥ*) which was the Wheel of the Law concerning the Four Truths (Toh 1-7).
   2. The Prajñā-pāramitā side arising from the intermediate (promulgation) which was the Wheel of Law concerning lack of characteristics (i.e. the Void, S. śūnyatā) (Toh 8-30).
   3. The Ratnakūṭa and Avataṁsaka arising from the last (promulgation) which was the Wheel of the Law concerning perfect discrimination (i.e. yoga experience) (Toh 44 Avataṁsaka and 45-93 Ratnakūṭa).
   4. The numerous sūtras which pertain in some measure to all three Wheels (of the Law), arranged in a single major class (Toh 94-359).

C. Tantras which show principally the Vajrayāna fall into four groups:
   1. Anuttara-yoga-tantra(Toh 360-478)
   2. Yoga-tantra (Toh 479-493)
   3. Caryā-tantra (Toh 494-501)
   4. Kriyā-tantra (Toh 502-827)

Thus we see that the evolution of the manifestation of Buddhism over the expanse

of historic time was not disregarded, but was treasured in a structural systematisation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon (Kanjur) and it was reduced to writing by Bu.ston Rin.chen.grub, and by others who followed him. It is detailed in an authoritative survey in Mkhas.grub.rje's masterly work, which is available to us in the English translation by Ferdinand D. Lessing and Alex Wayman, a work whose potential is yet to be realised for the history of the development of Buddhism. Mkhas.grub.rje sets forth the development into three yānas: the position of the śrāvakas, the teachings of the pāramitā school in four stages, and finally the teachings of the mantra school again in four stages. It is a *sine qua non* to understand the philosophical moorings and ritualistic context of the Borobudur which integrates in stone the same path of ascension: śrāvaka-yāna (Karmavibhaṅga, jātakas and avadānas of Śākyamuni), pāramitā-yāna (Avataṁsaka : Gaṇḍavyūha and Bhadracarī), mantra-yāna (Vairocana).

The monastic complex of Tabo in Himachal Pradesh in India was consecrated to Vajradhātu Vairocana by Rin.chen.bzaṅ.po in the tenth century. The central maṇḍala hall is dedicated to Vairocana. Beneath the 33 images of the maṇḍala, there are frescos of the life of Śākyamuni on the right wall, and those of the pilgrimage of Sudhana along the left wall. The murals of the life of Śākyamuni (Lalitavistara), the journey of Sudhana (Avataṁsaka-sūtra Gaṇḍavyūha) and the karma-maṇḍala of Vajradhātu Vairocana in the central hall represent various stages of development. The entire Tabo complex is surrounded by a wall with 108 stupas. Both the series of the life of Śākyamuni and the journey of Sudhana are also sculpted at Borobudur. A number of stupas have been found at a distance from the Borobudur. These may have topped the ramparts of the Borobudur complex.

The Borobudur has reliefs drawn from the Karmavibhaṅga or Loka-prajñapti, Lalitavistara, jātakas and avadānas, and the Avataṁsaka text of the Gaṇḍavyūha ending in the Bhadracarī. These reliefs represent the multiple stages leading to Vairocana. Karma-vibhaṅga/Loka-prajñapti represents the most fundamental level of the operation of karmic cause and effect. The jātakas and avadānas are the perennial efforts of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas to liberate beings from the bonds of karmic causation. Lalitavistara is the immortal story of Buddha Śākyamuni's discovery of the noble eightfold path. They represent a graduated path from the inexhorable laws of karma, its cessation by the path leading upto Buddha Śākyamuni as propounded in the Lalitavistara, to its sophistication in Avataṁsaka (Gaṇḍavyūha) where Sudhana the eternal pilgrim is exhorted by Mañjuśrī to resort to Samantabhadra (Bhadracarī), and transcending them all is the Supreme Buddha (Jinapati) Rocana become Abhisambuddha.

Reliefs on the hidden base of the Borobudur (160 panels). Prof. Ryusho Hikata (1980:97) says that the reliefs on the hidden base "as a whole seem to bear some relation

to the Sanskrit Mahākarma-vibhaṅga....". The Sanskrit text of the Mahākarma-vibhaṅga edited by Sylvain Lévi, the Chinese translation by Gautama Dharmaprājña done in AD 582 (T 80, K 805, Nj 739), another Chinese rendering by T'ien Hsi-tsai of AD 984 (T81, K 1098, Nj 783), the two Tibetan translations extant in the Kanjur (Toh 338, 339) "give only an abstract outline of the fall into hell resulting from one's accumulated karma. There is no detailed description of either hell or the karma that would result in one's falling into hell.... It is of course difficult to give concrete expression in the form of a relief to what has only been described in the briefest of abstract words. Therefore, I think that the person responsible for Borobudur's construction attempted to give tangible form to the concrete descriptions of hell and the karma that would lead to such a fate that are found in the Buddhist sutras". The sutra used was probably the Lokaprajñapty-abhidharma (T 1664, Nj 1297, K 967), translated by Paramārtha in AD 558-59 in the Chih-chih and Wang-yüan monasteries. The correlation of the panels to the Loka-prajñapty-abhidharma are given below according to Hikata:

Panel	*Scene*
86 right side	Sañjīva
86 left side	Kālasūtra
87 right side	Saṅghāṭa
87 left side	Raurava
88 right side	Maharaurava
88 left side	Tapana
89 right side	Pratapana
89 left side	Avīci
90 right side	Kukula
90 left side	Kuṇapa
91 right side	Kṣuradhārā
91 left side	Ayaḥśālmalīvana
92 right side	Asipatravana
92 left side	Kṣaranadī
93 right side	Birds
93 left side	Four-legged animals
94 right side	Garuḍa
94 left side	Nāga
95	Pretas in Yamaloka
96	Asura
97-100	Various humans
101-108	Kāmāvacara-loka and the karma of Rūpāvacara-loka.
—	The text mentions the Arūpa-dhātu which cannot be concretised in reliefs. Hence we find no relief.
—	Chapters 23-26 on effects of karmas, completed or not completed. Hence, no relief.
109-110	Depict the course of the human soul that has fallen into hell. It remains there until the end of existence of the soul itself. It departs from hell-bound course on its way there; or it is able to emerge again immediately after its fall.
115-117	We find people who become rich but who share none of their riches with others; those who do share with others; and the poor who are so because of the rich who will not share with them.
118	Fishermen, hunters and poor people
119	Unknown

120	Not complete
—	No relief for chapters 40-58 of the text
121	Open spaces at the top where titles for the scenes are written in Kawi. Some of the titles are legible. Panel 121 is avarice and wrath.
122	Cruelty
123-160	Represent chapters 62-71 (end of Lokaprajñapti)

The Lalitavistara is a Vaipulya sūtra, like the two Vaipulya sūtras pertaining to Mahāvairocana, namely, Mahāvairocana-sūtra and Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha, both of which retain the words Vaipulya and sūtra in their titles. They are not termed tantras inspite of the fact that they are the fundamental scriptures of the caryā-tantras and yoga-tantras. The entire Vaipulya tradition was constantly evolving. It is difficult to fix the boundaries of various denominations or to be aware of the moment when one stepped from one yāna into the other. The Chinese Tripiṭaka has 85 texts whose Chinese title indicates it as a Vaipulya sūtra or it is specified in Chi-tsing. The Chinese texts extend from the first to the twelfth centuries AD and enable us to study the development of Vaipulya sutras. Later on Vaipulya texts were classified as tantras and some of them were relegated to the sutras. There are extensive studies in Tibetan which elaborate the classification of the Tantras. These specialised texts by proficient Tibetan masters survey the whole field both in bibliography and in basic ideas. The Tibetan Canon, both the Kanjur and Tanjur, has classified all the tantra texts under four divisions. The Chinese Tripiṭaka has a separate section on the esoteric texts, though all the Vajrayāna texts are not included therein.

The avadānas/jātakas on the Borobudur begin with that of Sudhana. It does not occur as the first avadāna in any anthology. His name-sake Sudhana is the pilgrim in the Gaṇḍavyūha. Has this Avataṁsaka sūtra influenced the beginning of the jātakas by Sudhana? More plausible, there could have been a collection of jātakas specific to the Avataṁsaka tradition, which began with Sudhana? It is popular in the performing arts of Thailand: does this popularity go back to the Śailendra period of their history?

The reliefs of the final section of the Avataṁsaka, namely the Gaṇḍavyūha and Bhadracarī, represent an earlier phase of the tantras dedicated to Rocana. They are in no way to be construed as the glorification of Samantabhadra as the Supreme Buddha as has been done by Prof. de Leeuw, taking a clue from Bernet Kempers: "Thus the devotee circumambulating the galleries of Borobudur followed Sudhana from stage to stage on his way to spiritual wisdom. Together with him he would finally find the supreme master, the Great Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, under whose guidance Sudhana enters Absolute Reality." (BKI. 121.408). Earlier S. Toganoo had also suggested in his *Rishukyō no kenkyū* 'Researches on the Nayasūtra' (Koyasan 1930) that the Borobudur is a maṇḍala of Samantabhadra-Vajrapāṇi (*Bibliographie bouddhique* IV-V/1931-33.97b).

To this day, the Bhadracarī has been preserved in the Shingon school in Sanskrit recitations. The full title of Bhadracarī is Samantabhadra-caryā-praṇidhānarāja, that is, the great vow of Samantabhadra, where he is an aspirant in quest and not the Supreme Buddha. His very role of the Seeker in the Bhadracarī indicates that at the Borobudur we have not to see in him the Ādibuddha. Samantabhadra occurs as one of the eight bodhisattvas in the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala. In the Vajradhātu maṇḍala he appears five times in subsidiary positions: the samaya-maṇḍala (Esot. 508), sūkṣma-maṇḍala (Esot. 593), pūjā-maṇḍala (Esot. 666), Trailokyavijaya-karma-maṇḍala (Esot. 760), Trailokyavijaya-samaya-maṇḍala (Esot. 837). Thus his role in the Avataṁsaka, caryā-tantras and yoga-tantras is a minor one, and has nothing to do with the exalted position of the Ādibuddha Samantabhadra in the Tibetan Nyingma sect, which was a later development.

9. VARIATIONS IN THE TATHĀGATAS

There are several series of Buddhas or Tathāgatas:

(i) Pre-incarnations of Śākyamuni: Vipaśyin, Śikhin, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuni. They are arbitrarily termed Mānuṣi-Buddhas by Hodgson. This term is not found in any Buddhist text in any language. It should be abandoned.

(ii) The historic Buddha: Śākyamuni, flanked by Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī.

(iii) Dīpaṅkara, Śākyamuni and Maitreya: respectively of the past, present and future.

(iv) The Five Tathāgatas (Pañca-Tathāgata, Pañca-Jina, Pañca-Sugata) are found in a number of series some of which are shown in the conspectus. They are not termed Dhyāni-Buddhas anywhere. This word was coined by Hodgson and its use should be discontinued.

	centre	east	south	west	north
Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra *Buddha-dhyāna-samādhi sāgara-sūtra	Tathāgata	Akṣobhya	Ratnaketu	Amitāyus	Dundubhisvara
Amoghapāśa-sūtra 9th chapter 22nd chapter	Śākyamuni Vairocana	Akṣobhya Akṣobhya	Ratnasambhava Ratnasambhava	Amitāyus Lokeśvararāja	Lokanātha Amoghasiddhi
*Ekākṣara-buddhoṣṇīṣa-cakravarti-sūtra	Śākyamuni	Ratnaketu	Saṁkusumitarāja	Amitābha	Akṣobhya
Garbhadhātu maṇḍala	Mahāvairocana	Ratnaketu	Saṁkusumitarāja	Amitābha	Divya-dundubhi-megha-nirghoṣa
Vajradhātu maṇḍala	Mahāvairocana	Akṣobhya	Ratnasambhva or Amitāyus	Lokeśvararāja	Amoghasiddhi

Though the number of Five Tathāgatas remained constant, their names, distinguishing features and placement has varied in different textual traditions. It shows that they were subject to change, which later on came to be systematised in different traditions. So whenever we speak of the Five Tathāgatas as recounted by Hodgson in the very infancy of Buddhist studies, we have *not* to take it as *the* system, but as *a* system among many, in a multiplicity of contexts. To avoid confusion, we must specify the series in which a particular Tathāgata occurs. Speaking in broad terms of the iconographic peculiarities of Buddha images will lead to blind alleys. Buddhism is a complex phenomenon and lack of context leads us astray.

At the beginning of the fifth century, the four Buddhas Akṣobhya, Ratnaketu, Amitāyus and Dundubhisvara surround a central Buddha in Dharmakṣema's translation (AD 397-439) of the Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra (T 16.335, 345) and in Buddhabhadra's (worked AD 408-429) translation of the *Buddha-dhyāna-samādhi-sāgara-sūtra (T 643, vol.15.688, Nj 430).

By the end of the seventh century, Śākyamuni is the central Tathāgata, Lokanātha replaces Dundubhisvara in the north and Ratnasambhava takes the place of Ratnaketu in the south, in the 9th chapter of Bodhiruci's (worked AD 693-713) translation of the Amoghapāśa-sūtra (T 20.270). In the 22nd chapter (T 20.346b) of this sutra another set of Five Tathāgatas is explained: "Vairocana (center), Akṣobhya (east), Ratnasambhava (south), Lokeśvararāja (west) and Amoghasiddhi (north)".

In AD 709 Bodhiruci translated the *Ekākṣara-buddhoṣṇīṣa-cakravarti-sūtra (T 951, Nj 532) which describes Five Tathāgatas: Śākyamuni (center), Ratnaketu (east), Saṁkusumitarāja (south), Amitābha (west), and Akṣobhya (north) (T 19.247ab).

In the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala the Five Tathāgatas are: Mahāvairocana (centre), Ratnaketu (east), Saṁkusumitarāja (south), Amitābha (west), Divya-dundubhi-meghanirghoṣa (north). This maṇḍala is based on the Mahāvairocanasūtra which was translated into Chinese by Śubhākarasiṁha in AD 724.

The Five Tathāgatas in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala are: Mahāvairocana (centre), Akṣobhya (east), Ratnasambhava (south), Lokeśvararāja *alias* Amitāyus (west), and Amoghasiddhi (north). This maṇḍala follows the Tattvasaṅgraha whose first chapter was translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra in AD 753.

It has not been realised so far that there are other systems of Buddhas, for example, the Four Buddhas in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala of the Japanese Shingon sect, whose mudrās are depicted in the Shingon-mikkyō-zu-in-shū 2.51-54 adhiṣṭhāna of Four Buddhas: 2.51 Acala in the east, 2.52 Ratnasambhava in the south, 2.53 Amitāyus in the west, 2.54 Amoghasiddhi in the north, 2.61 garland to the Four Buddhas (Lokesh Chandra/ Sharada Rani 1978: pref. 15), 2.256 Catur-Buddhādhiṣṭhāna.

The comparison of the mudrās of the four Buddhas in the two maṇḍalas gives the following concordance:

mudrā	*Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*	*Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala*
bhūmisparśa	Akṣobhya (E)	Divyadundubhi° (N)
varada	Ratnasambhava (S)	Ratnaketu (E)
pratyavekṣaṇā	Amitāyus (W)	Amitābha (W)
abhaya	Amoghasiddhi (N)	Saṁkusumitarāja (S)

Except for Amitāyus and Amitābha who occupy the west, the directions of the other Tathāgatas are different (Tajima 1959:261). The mudrās of the Tathāgatas at Borobudur correspond to the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala.

The imposition of the nomenclature of the Pañca-Tathāgata raised the insurmountable problems of identifying the fifth Buddha in the fourth gallery, which should have been Vairocana in the "clear and systematic arrangement of Borobudur's Dhyāni-Buddhas which works up towards a hierarchical climax" (Leeuw 1965:392-3). But this Buddha is in vitarka-mudrā which is never the mudrā of Vairocana. Vairocana is either in dharmacakra or dhyāna or bodhyagrī mudrā. If the fifth Buddha was supposed to be Vairocana then how could the sixth Buddha on the circular terraces be explained with his dharmacakra mudrā which is appropriate to Vairocana. Foucher suggested, without any supporting evidence, that the sixth Buddha is Śākyamuni which constitutes a "completely unacceptable anticlimax" (ibid.). to the consecutive phases of spiritual development. Krom (ibid.) suggested that this sixth Buddha is the Ādi-Buddha Vajrasattva, which has been rightly and convincingly refuted by Prof. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw (1965:394). She has identified the sixth Buddha as Vairocana "in his capacity of Lord of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas" (p.405): (i) because of his dharmacakra mudrā, (ii) whereas in the Buddhist texts of Java like the Sutasoma, Kuñjarakarṇa, and Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan Vairocana is the supreme Buddha, and (iii) furthermore because several bronze images of Vairocana have been found in Java. She tries to find a justification for the six Buddhas at Borobudur in the following statement based on the outdated work of Getty: "When the group of five Dhyāni-Buddhas was extended into a sixfold system some Mahāyāna sects raised Vairocana, originally the Dhyāni-Buddha of the centre, to the higher position, giving him the name of Mahāvairocana. This system is not only found in Tibet and Nepal but in Japan also, where the Hossō, Tendai, Kegon and Shingon sects regard Vairocana or Dainichi Nyōrai as 'the Supreme Buddha'" (Leeuw 1965:405). In Japan, the word Mahāvairocana (Japanese Dainichi) is a synonym of Vairocana. He is the central deity of both the Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu maṇḍalas, and therein he is *one of the Five* Buddhas: seated in the centre with the other four Buddhas in the four directions.

At Borobudur, the five Buddhas do not occur in their capacity as Pañca-

Tathāgata. It has been perceived by Prof. de Leeuw on p.403: "Krom was completely right when he rejected the system of five Dhyāni-Buddhas as the basic frame of Borobudur's iconography," though she has ignored it on p.405. Prof. de Leeuw identified the fifth Buddha on the fourth gallery as Samantabhadra, though she admitted that "these various possibilities will have to remain mere speculations for the time being" (p.416). Mus (1932:351) made a forthright assessment that the whole situation is teeming with "difficultiés insolubles." It was never realised that the neglected iconography of the Thousand Buddhas, hitherto relegated to iconic tautology, held a key to the Borobudur.

10. THE THOUSAND BUDDHAS ON THE BOROBUDUR

So far the depiction of the Thousand Buddhas in the Chinese and Tibetan traditions, as well as their representation in the outer enceinte of the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala has not been studied. In some Chinese and Tibetan traditions the Thousand Buddhas are repeated without any distinction: the same form is 'stencilled' over a thousand times. In fact they are a thousand epithets like the thousand appellations of Viṣṇu in the Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma. In the Lhasa xylograph of the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra, a distinct quinary pattern is repeated, though the name of each of the Thousand Buddhas is separate and distinct.

The Vajradhātu becomes a mahāmaṇḍala because of the Thousand Buddhas, which is its contradistinctive attribute in the world of tantric maṇḍalas. The Vajradhātu mahāmaṇḍala added to the already existing five forms of the Buddhas a sixth one with the dharmacakra mudrā. These six forms of Buddhas were repeated 168 times to the auspicious number of 1008. That is why there are 504 Buddhas, and the niches and stūpas enclosing these 504, symbolically make up the requisite double number: $504 \times 2=1008$. Thus the six forms of Buddhas on the main walls and circular terraces do *not* stand for Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi, ——, and Vairocana, but are simply six morphological types to delineate the 1008 Buddhas in 168 cyclic repetitions in sixes ($168 \times 6=1008$).

A scrutiny of the 132 Tibetan maṇḍalas of the *Rgyud.sde kun.btus* comprising all the classes of tantras reveals that only the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala has the Thousand Buddhas shown in the outer enceinte. The Tibetan Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, which follows down to every minor detail the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit text, is *the classical maṇḍala* with 1037 deities.[5]

In the Brahmajāla-sūtra (Jap. Bommōkyō, Chin. Fan-wang-ching, Nj 1087=T

[5] RaghuVira/Lokesh Chandra 1967:13-15. These three parts show all the 132 maṇḍalas in line drawings. Maṇḍala 22 pertains to the Vajradhātu.

1484) translated by Kumārajīva in AD 406 it is said: "I am called Rocana (Jap. Roshana) and live in the ocean of the lotus-world.... I incarnate myself into one thousand Buddhas" (T 24.997c quoted by Matsunaga 1969:163). The Thousand Buddhas were, thus, an integral aspect of Rocana as early as the fourth century.

In the Tibetan Buddhist canon, the Kanjur, the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra (Toh 94) which describes the Thousand Buddhas, precedes Lalitavistara (Toh 95) the biography of Buddha. At the Borobudur too the Lalitavistara is depicted besides half the Thousand Buddhas.

The Japanese Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala follows the classical norm in representing each one of the Thousand Buddhas (Lokesh Chandra 1972: Scheme II, Tajima 1959:159) in the second enceinte.

Fédéric (1965:162) counts the Buddha statues at Borobudur as follows:

	Buddhas in the	mudrā	resemble
92	East	bhūmi-sparśa	[Akṣobhya]
92	South	varada	[Ratnasambhava]
92	West	dhyāna	[Amitābha]
92	North	abhaya	[Amoghasiddhi]
64	fourth gallery	vitarka	
72	latticed stūpas	dharma-cakra	[Vairocana]
504			

These 504 Buddhas, when doubled, make the sacred number of 504 × 2=1008. As already shown before, about a thousand statues are actually provided for at Chandi Sevu. Following a cue from Goris, Stutterheim (1956:59-61) tried to explain "the curious composition of the figure 504" in the framework of the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan. The "numerological mysticism" which he worked out into a complex series of figures on page 60 is ingenious but does not correspond to an actual system.

A Javanese chronicle does refer to the thousand statues at Borobudur: "a story occurs in a fragment of a Javanese chronicle published by Poensen (BKI. 1901:287) which pertains to the adventures of a Javanese crown-prince who died in the year 1758. In this story it is said that the crown-prince, after a life of dissipation, went to the Borobudur to visit the thousand statues of this sanctuary, after which visit he soon fell ill and died. See also Brandes, Twee oude berichten over B., in TBG 44 (1901): 73-80 (Stutterheim 1956:16 n. 20a).

It is interesting to note the pattern of variation in the depiction of the Thousand

Buddhas in the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra. In the Lhasa xylograph of this sūtra which was woodprinted at the Zhöparkhang printery of the Potala palace of the Dalai Lama as the authentic version, we find the illustrations of all the Thousand Buddhas with their names in versified stanzas. They are represented as Buddhas in the dharmacakra, bhūmisparśa, varada, dhyāna and abhaya mudrās—in this very order. This mudrā sequence is repeated 200 times to arrive at the number of a thousand, without any other change. At Borobudur too, the same pattern is represented and to use the nomenclature of the Pañca-Tathāgata, namely, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi and Vairocana, is inappropriate and misleading as each of the Thousand Buddhas has an individual name though their iconography is restricted to five forms only which is common to the Pañca-Tathāgata. The description of the Borobudur has to undergo a total terminological revolution for the correct identification of the whole as well as of its constituent elements.

The discussion of the 504 Buddhas has been muddled and messed up by two factors:

1. As early as 1836, Humboldt had suggested that the Buddhas on the first four main walls pertained to the Pañca-Tathāgata system (wrongly termed the Five Dhyāni-Buddhas by Hodgson). This has been accepted till now, as only this single set of Five Tathāgatas has been known till very recently. It has held sway till today inspite of the difficulties it poses in the identification of the two Tathāgatas on the fifth main wall and on the circular platforms. To reinforce this quinary system, every effort was made to explain away the mudrās of the two Tathāgatas against all available sources, and even to point the possibility of a lost phase in Buddhism. "Krom started out from the Dhyāni-Buddha system of Nepal and Tibet and tried to force the iconography of the Dhyāni-Buddhas on Barabudur into this frame by tampering with the mudrās." (Leeuw 1965:395).

2. The use of Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan, was pressed beyond its limited potentialities. This is clear to my predecessors. Prof. de Leeuw says that Stutterheim "based himself on the preconception that the Buddhist system of Barabudur was exactly the same as that expounded in the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan. In this respect he therefore made the same mistake as Krom, taking a given system as his starting-point and trying to fit the iconography of Barabudur into it. However, when adhering less strictly to the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan he put forward certain improvements in the explanation of Barabudur's iconography, such as his suggestion that the images on the first main wall do not represent four Dhyāni-Buddhas, but either four Mānuṣi-Buddhas or four forms of Gautama." (Leeuw 1965:395).

11. CENTRAL IMAGE OF THE BOROBUDUR AS PALLADIUM OF THE STATE

The Borobudur symbolises not only Buddhist cosmology, thought and ritual, but also the dynasty that erected this magnificent monument to Indonesian glory: the Śailendras 'Kings of the Mountain' (Frédéric 1965:160). Śailendra authority faded away from Java not long after AD 824 (Casparis 1950:200). The instability must have been felt quite early and the Mendut and Borobudur must have been erected to preempt such an eventuality. The Mahāvairocana-sūtra was the basis for the dhāraṇī on the protection of the realm (Nakamura 1976:79). Much more so was the role of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala for a cakravartin (Tajima 1959:152). The Mendut representing the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra and the Borobudur symbolising the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala of the Tattvasaṅgraha were intended to consecrate and stabilise the cakravartin sovereignty of the Śailendras in a syndrome of philosophy, ritual and architecture of the Twin Maṇḍalas of Vairocana, who is also known as Ekākṣara Cakravartī.

We have parallels to this in the Hindu and Buddhist world. In AD 587 Prince Shotoku built the Shitennōji Temple at Osaka in honour of the Four Lokapālas to overcome the rival Mononobe and Nakatomi clans (Matsunaga 1969:40 n.102). In Japan, Ichiji Kinrin or Ekākṣara Cakravartī is a form of Vairocana which is identical with the Vairocana described in the Kawi text Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra (Bosch 1929:131). The polychrome wooden statue of Ekākṣara Cakravartī dating to the 12th century from the Chusonji monastery at Hiraizumi (Japan), 75.6 cm. high, has actually all the attributes specified in the Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra *śuddhavarṇāya, Vajraparyaṅkopasthitāya, bodhyagrīmudrānibaddhāya, siṁhāsanopasthitāya*: he is of white colour, seated in vajra posture, with the hands in bodhyagrī mudrā, seated on a lion throne. It is a work of exquisite beauty which can be realised only by a viewing of the masterpiece or its superb coloured reproduction by Toshio Fukuyama in his *Heian Temples: Byōdō-in and Chusonji* (Tokyo 1976, pl.22 opposite page 29). The Chusonji monastery was founded by Kiyohara in a vision of grand proportions. The lion-throne (siṁhāsana) was the emblem of universal dominion (cakravartī). In the Indo-Tibetan tradition too there is a maṇḍala of Cakravartī (RaghuVira/Lokesh Chandra 1967:13.8, pl.31). It is one of the five subsidiary maṇḍalas of the Pariśodhana-tantra (Toh 483-486), whose primary (mūla) maṇḍala pertains to the 37-deity Sarvavid Vairocana.

The central image of the Borobudur has not been found, and its absence has engendered a continued controversy. The instrusion of the unfinished image has complicated the issue. Its solutions have varied according to the interpretation of the type of Buddhism represented by the Borobudur.

In the early period of its discovery it was "a huge mass of stones enveloping the top of a hill and containing only a small room in its central dagob" (Kempers 1959:17).

Further on pages 48-49, he summarises the situation in the following words: "Inside the central dagob there is a large cella with a smaller one above it. During the whole of the 19th century there was a large hole in the walls of the dagob. An unfinished statue of a Buddha has been found inside the cella. It is exactly like those of the other Buddha images which show the attitude of 'touching the earth' (in the niches facing the east). Much controversy has arisen around this 'unfinished Buddha'. According to some it represents the Supreme Buddha manifesting himself incompletely in this manner. On the other hand there is reason to suppose that the sculptor left his work unfinished because of a mistake he made in carving one of the hands. Anyhow, it seems to be too much of failure to figure as the Supreme Buddha. It may have been introduced into the cella through the hole in its walls for some reason unknown to us. The same goes for a number of smaller objects found in the same place, such as a small *kěris*." We agree with Kempers that the unfinished statue was secretly introduced in the cella to compensate for the disappearance of the golden image of Mahāvairocana enshrined therein, though Stutterheim (1956:56) feels: "Hoepermans' statement is no more than an insinuation directed against the Resident and the Regent, reproaching the former with the theft of a small golden image found during the investigations, and the latter for having played the role of henchman by having this substituted by the first Buddha statue to be found in the vicinity".

The central image of the Buddhist vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭinam was made of solid gold, and the *sthapati* who made this image and enshrined it in a complex construction so that it could not easily be stolen, had gone to Indonesia. The Vaiṣṇava saint Tiru-mangai (AD 800-870, Pillai 1956:128) went to Indonesia to get the secret of the construction of the vimāna and on return it enabled him to steal the golden image for the repairs of the Raṅganātha temple. A golden image was a lure as early as the 9th century, for howsoever noble a purpose, and why should it not be in the 19th century. It is not an isolated phenomenon. "According to unconfirmed stories dating from the colonial period, there were villages near the Dieng Plateau which paid their taxes in golden statues, the most precious produce of their soil". (Fontein 1971:40). We do not know their whereabouts.

The splendid Sun Temple at Modhera, about sixty kilometres from Ahmedabad in Gujarat, was constructed around AD 1026 in the reign of Bhima I of the Solanki dynasty. The lake at the eastern end of the temple was so constructed that when the sun arose its rays were reflected by the water onto the image of the Sun God Sūrya. This image is supposed to have been made of pure gold and it was carried away by invaders. Gun powder had to be used in order to remove the image from its foundation. Important Śaiva temples of the Kakatiya period have *pañcaloha* images of five metals. A ten kilogram standard *pañcaloha* image invariably has 250 grams of gold. The central image

of the Abhayagiri monastery was a "jasper figure (of Buddha), in height about 22 feet. The entire body glitters and sparkles with the seven precious substances..." (Samuel Beal, *Travels of Fah-hian and Sung-yun*, 1869:151)

The *sthapati* referred to above could have been responsible for the creation of the central image of the Borobudur. Even if there was some other *sthapati*, he could have hailed from India. The *sthapati* were in the Land of Gold, in Suvarṇabhūmi, and they would have insisted on a statue of solid gold for such a magnificent monument as the Borobudur, when there was a precedent in the main image of the vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭinam being of gold. A bronze statue of Vairocana, covered with hammered gold leaf, has been found from Sidorejo (Central Java). It can be assigned to about the ninth century. Significantly enough it bears a stylistic affinity with south Indian sculpture (Fontein 1971:148 no.27). The cumulative effect of the evidence adduced so far indicates that the central image should have been of solid gold and consequently small in size. We have already pointed out that Vajradhātu Vairocana was the main deity of Śailendra Buddhism. In the Old Javanese kakawins Arjunavijaya 26.4 and Sutasoma 32.10, 139.9 Jinapati Vairocana is characterised by his hands in the bodhyagrī mudrā which is exclusive to the Vajradhātu Vairocana. Prince Sutasoma is compared to Vairocana several times in the Sutasoma Kakawin (Santoso 1975:618-20) which testifies to the high popularity of Vajradhātu Vairocana in the Classical periods of Indonesian history. The entire architectural composition of the Borobudur down to details of the geometric designs of the lattices of the stūpas on the circular platforms, favours, sustains and strengthens the idea that it is an *ādhāra* for the maṇḍala of the Vajradhātu. Before proceding further it may be specified that there are two major steps in tantric worship: (i) generation of the residence for the deities (*ādhārotpatti*) and (ii) evocation of the deities to be residents (*ādheya*) therein. Descriptions of the generation of the residence for the deities is given in the tantras, which has been summarised by Mkhas.grub.rje (Lessing/Wayman 1968:175) in a vivid manner. From this we can say that the entire structure of the Borobudur, including the now vanished kūṭāgāra, was the residence or *ādhāra* for the deities. It was to be followed by the second stage of the deities taking residence herein. Who were these deities? They were the 37 deities of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala: the central Vairocana surrounded by 36 deities. The images of these 36 deities must have been fashioned out of precious metals. They would have been placed in the now-vanished wooden kūṭāgāra. The dichotomy of the *ādhāra* and *ādheya* was reflected in the construction itself: *ādhārā* was a fixed and permanent construction in stone and the *ādheya* or the images of precious metal were portable to 'take' residence in every ritual—true to hieratic requirements.

The 'unfinished image' was an error, without any place in the scheme of the

Borobudur. An unfinished, faulty, or broken image is never installed in a sacred place. The haze deepened as the Buddhism of Borobudur was appraised as an eclectic conglomeration: so efforts could be made over the years to devise a system to fit in the 'unfinished image'. Yet suspicion persisted. With the definition of Borobudur as a base for the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala the 'unfinished image' becomes redundant.

12. THREE-IN-ONE: GARBHADHĀTU, ACALA AND VAJRADHĀTU

The three candis of Mendut, Pavon and Borobudur are "one complex whole" (Casparis 1950:204). While Mendut is the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala, Pavon is the candi for homa to Acala as an epiphany of Agni, and the Borobudur is the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. We find this three-in-one in the mantrayāna ritual in Japan. The Japanese text *Shi-dō-in-zu* 'mudrās of the four rites' has (1) the preliminary ceremony of 18 steps (jūhachidō), (2) Vajradhātu, (3) Garbhadhātu and (4) homa (Toki 1899:1-2). A special section has been provided for the eleven mudrās performed during homa. The first mudrā is the *kongōkaruma-bosatsu-in* which is executed before the sacred fire is lit. The second is *katen-chō shō in* 'mudrā to invite the god Agni'. This is the first act of the celebration of homa, an invitation to Agni to come to take his place in the middle of the hearth for his share in the offerings. The third mudrā is to the Nine Planets (Navagraha), and Signs of the Zodiac (Rāśi), and the fourth mudrā is to the constellations. The fifth mudrā is to the principal deity (Jap. *honzon*) of the homa ceremony, Acala Vidyārāja, who is invited to take place in the hearth. It is the most important act of the entire ceremony (Toki 1899:137-146, esp. p.142). Homa had an eminent place in the ritual, thought and monastic complexes of Mantrayāna. This is evident throughout Japanese Shingon.

13. ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD BOROBUDUR

The Nāgarakṛtāgama 77.3 by Prapañca (AD 1365) enumerates the Buḍur as one of the important sanctums of the Vajradhara Buddhists (*kasugatan kabajradharan*) which was registered in the state archives (Pigeaud 1960:1.59 text, 3.89 transl.). It is noteworthy that Buḍur is without the prefix *bara*. Thus *bara* and *buḍur* are two separate words.

On the basis of the Nāgarakṛtāgama, and the actual discovery of vajras on small sheets of gold, Bosch had clearly surmised, as early as 1920, that the Borobudur pertained to the Vajradhara sect (NBG 1920:52f., TBG 67/1929:173f.). W.F. Stutterheim confirmed in 1929 (1956:14) that the Borobudur "must have belonged" to this sect. In the 1920s and even today the correlation of the Vajradharas with a specifix Tantric system is not clear, and much less so the architectural manifestation of their philosophical expression. The Vajradhara Buddhists were followers of the yoga-tantras; their Lord was Vajradhara, while the Lord of the anuttara-yoga tantras was Mahāvajradhara, who ema-

nates all the deities in the Guhyasamāja-tantra (Wayman 1977:124).

As indicated by the Nāgarakṛtāgama, Buḍur was the main element of the compound Bara Budur. So *bara* should have a generic connotation of a sanctum. Already the possibility of *bara* being derived from *vihāra* via Malay *biyara* was mooted by Poerbatjaraka and Stutterheim (Moens 1951:332f.). The linguistic difficulties inherent in the transition from *biyara* to *bara* have always stood in the way of its universal acceptance. But, alongwith the word *vihāra* there was the collateral form *vahāra* which may be a mongerel term or an intentional change (*vahāra* from **avahāra*, like *agrahāra* 'a religious endowment') to distinguish a tantric Buddhist monastic establishment from a usual Buddhist monastery. The use of *vahāra* (pronounced *bahāra*) is attested in the famous *Nav-bahār*, the renowned Buddhist monastery at Balkh which was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang in the seventh century, and was damaged by the Arabs in AD 663-4 (EI.1960:1.1001 s.v. Balkh). "The term Naw-bahār, moreover, likewise derives from Sanskrit nava vihāra 'new monastery'. Some 1500 sq. km. of lands were attached to it, and it was the centre of national resistance when attacked by Muʿāwiya about AD 663-4" (EI. 1960:1.1033a, s.v.al-Barāmika or Al Barmak). Later authors like Yaḳūt 4.819 and Ibn Khallikān 3.198 make it a Zoroastrian fire-temple, which can well be a misunderstanding, but also an indication that homa may have been conducted here as a part of tantric worship.

The form *bahar* is used in an antique print of AD 1815: "The sacred tree at Gyah, in the Province of Bahar" (Marg 39/4.88). Turner (1966:695 s.v.vihāra) records *vahara* in an inscription of the first century BC, *vahera* of the fourth century AD, *veher* of the tenth century, Sinhalese *vehera*. Several place-names in Afghanistan end in *har (vihāra)*: Chapar-*har* region of Jalalabad, or Nagara*hāra* in ancient times. The word *padevaharan* is found in the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa kakawin 25.12: *sumanohara vvara padevaharan*. Its exact meaning has eluded C. Hooykaas and Soewito Santoso (1980:3.811n.).

Vajrayāna was prevalent in Central Asia as is attested by Vajrayāna texts in the Iranian-speaking domains of Khotan, like the Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā (Bailey 1965:27-39, Williams 1973:116-117) which is positively a text of the yoga-tantric system. The copy of the Khotanese Jātakastava was written for Ca Kimä-sani ambassador of the Khotanese kings Viśa sūra (967-977) and Viśa Darma (978-982) to increase the merit of householders of Vajrayāna. A bilingual Sanskrit-Khotanese scroll records a conversation between a person from Tun-huang and a Khotanese bhikṣu going to worship Mañjuśrī in China. The Tun-huang resident asks "which book do you like". The bhikṣu from Khotan replies: "I like Vajrayāna" (Bailey 1938:529, Williams 1973:117). Khotan played a leading role in disseminating Avataṁsaka to China and the iconographic type

of Vairocana in Khotanese and Chinese art corresponds to the Avataṁsaka-sūtra (Williams 1973:120).

The name of the Sogdian town of Bokhārā (also spelt Bukhara) is derived from the Sanskrit *vihāra* (EI.1960:1.1293), which is made doubly probable by the discovery of a vihāra near Numidikath, the predecessor town of Bukhārā (Frye 1956:106f). The pronunciation Bokhara with o is a dialectical variation in which survives the ancient *vahāra*. The form Bokhara is attested in c. 1666 as 'Bokara prunes' (Bernier, ed. Constable 118, Yule/ Burnell 1903:16 s.v. Aloo Bokhara). In India, the Persian *ālū-bokhārā* has *bo°*, which should be the classical pronunciation of Iran, with its ancestry going back to times prior to the Runic Turkish (8th cent.) Uigur and Mongolian *buqar*. The Sogdian form, which we should expect at Bokhara, was *varhār*. Paul Pelliot (1959:1.108 s.v. Bucara) is uncertain about the derivation of *varhār* from *vihāra*. It may go back to a hypothetic **varahāra* 'the splendid (*vara*) monastic endowment (*hāra*)', on the analogy of Sanskrit *agrahāra* 'royal donation of land to Brahmans; land or village thus given, MBh.' (MW).

In the earliest Western document of 1221, the name occurs as *Bachara* (Pelliot 1959:1.108). The lost colloquial Indic from *vahāra* developed into *bahār* and *bokhār*, *a* being pronounced as o. Pelliot's discussion about the etymology of Bokhara does not take into account the possibility of the Indic form *vahāra*, which is enhanced by the Newari term *vahāl* for the Buddhist temples of Vajrayāna in Nepal. The Indonesian *bara*, pronounced in Modern Javanese as *boro*, can be traced back to *bahāra> ba'āra* (by the elision of *h) >bāra* (coalescence of the two *a*) *>bara* (influenced by *vara* 'excellent, supreme'). In modern Tamil, *h* is a glide for hiatus, *Murahari* for Mura-ari (Murāri). Conversely the *h* in *bahāra* was considered an epenthetic and dropped. Compare the modern Balinese *Mendra* for *Mahendra*.

"The most famous Naubihār was the one at Balkh which Hsüan-tsang, c. 630, calls Nava-saṅghārāma, New Monastery, but there were a number of other Nav-bihār in Sind, at Samarkand, at Bokhara, and even at Ray (east of Tehran). I must confess that I do not see why we have only 'New' monasteries in Iran" (Pelliot 1959:1.108). The 'New' Monasteries should have belonged to Tantric Buddhism which was the 'New' Way in contradistinction to Theravāda and Mahāyāna. Bokhara is mentioned in Chinese texts in the 5th century as Niu-mi, transcription of its ancient name Nūmij. Its first mention as Buqaraq (with the ancient Iranian final *-k*) is in the 8th century Runic Turkish inscriptions of Orkhon, by which time Tantric Buddhism should have become prevalent and might even have supplanted other schools. Amoghavajra (705-774) who translated yoga-tantra texts into Chinese may have been helped by Hui-lin from Kashgar. Besides, he mentions five disciples from Samarkand (K'ang),Tashkent (Shih), Tukhara (Lo), Betik

(Pi) in his Memorial of AD 767. In another Memorial dated AD 768 he requested permission to tonsure three disciples from Tukhara, and Ishtikhan (Chou 1945:329-330). The great Chinese Tantric Master, Hui-kuo (746-805) the guru of Kōbō Daishi, had Pien-hung of Java as his disciple. Śubhākarasiṁha (637-735), who was the first great master of Vajrayāna in China, has bequeathed to us the Rita-sangara-gobu-shingan (Jap. pronunciation) which illustrates six maṇḍalas of Ṛta-saṁhāra =STTS. The drawings were done by his Central Asian, more precisely, Iranian-speaking, disciple as is evident from the Sassanid coronets of the deities and from the colophon *ācārya-śrī-śaubh[ik]asya surataḥ* where *surataḥ* is the Central Asian word *surat* 'picture'. Vajrayāna was the denomination to which the 'new' monasteries should have belonged.

Central Asia has preserved a distinction between earlier monasteries with their austere statutory and ascetic discipline and the new tantric monasteries in their splendour of ritual and graceful images of 'eternally young' gods and charming goddesses.

Bīrūnī (Athār al-bāqīya, ed. E. Sachau p.206) considers *behār* and *farxār* synonymous, but Al-Khwārizmī (Mafātīḥ al-'u'lūm p.123) clearly distinguishes them semantically: "*buhār* is the idol temple of India and *farxār* is the idol-temple of China and Upper Sughd or Sogdiana" (Frye 1956:115 n.52). Al-Khwārizmī in all probability preserves a distinction in the denominational context of the two terms which though confused later on were once contradistinctive: *farxār* must have denoted the usual, that is non-tantric, monastery and *behār* must have been a monastic centre dedicated to the new Tantric system, with the daily homa ceremonies and the vast pantheon of Tantric gods and goddesses giving it a distinctive character. The homa, a regular feature of Tantric Buddhism, is still performed early morning in some Shingon monasteries which continue the traditions of the tantras introduced in Japan in AD806. The homa ceremonies must have been responsible for confusing the Nawbahar with a Fire Temple (Yaḳūt 4.819, Ibn Khallikān 3.198, E.I.1.1033). The grace and charm of the many Buddhist images, particularly of the enchanting Tantric goddesses in all their concupiscence gave the equation "ideal beauty=Buddhist image", which was an established fact in the East Iranian world. Even when Buddhism had faded away, early Persian poetry continued to cultivate abstract mental forms poignantly recalling ideals of the grace of Buddhist statues. ᶜAyyūqī in his novel entitled *Varqe va Golshah* (Tehran 1956:6)writes of his beautiful heroine that "she was.... a Buddha in a temple full of offerings." Further on we find the crescendo in stanzas 2138-2142 where she is addressed as *Bot* (Buddha), then *lo'bat* (statuette), and finally as *nowbahar*, the Buddhist monastery which was well known for its graceful statues in Iranian literature (both in the Persian and Arabic languages) upto the time of Yāqūt in the13th century. In early Persian poetry, young beauty whether masculine or feminine, is constantly referred to by the poet or addressed by various characters in their

romance as *Bot* (Buddha). Early Persian literature as we know it, is a creation of the Eastern Iranians and till the 11th century Persian poetry was exclusively written in Khorasan, Sogdiana and adjacent lands — areas once steeped in the Buddha. The Buddhist overtones of Persian poetical vocabulary were memories of a time when the images were loaded with their full emotional and aesthetic import. No wonder that the metaphor of the *Bot* is the term that the description of beauty spontaneously calls for.

The second element of the name, Buḍur, has been unconvincingly derived from Malay *buduă,* or Skt. Buddha. Moens (1951:333) has rightly come to the conclusion that *-ur* is the South Indian suffix for a city, settlement. In Tamil *putu/budu* means 'new'[6], and *putūr* refers to a 'new settlement'. There is a town called *Budoor* (PTG. 1954:125a) in the Chingleput district in south India, and eight towns with the name Pudur (PTG. 1954:566) and Pudur-palayam, Pudur-Ramnad, Pudur-Uthamanur, not to mention about a hundred city names with Pudu-. Thus the word Buḍur is the Tamil term for a new settlement, and Bara Budur means the New Monastery or Nava-vihāra like its Central Asian counterparts of the contemporary period.

14. SOUTH INDIA

The phonetic transformation of Bara (pronounced Boro) and the etymology of Budur lead us to South India as the main inspiration. Tantric Buddhism was carried to East Asia from Kanchi. Yoga-tantras were a development of the Avataṁsaka system. The last sūtra of the Avataṁsaka is the Gaṇḍavyūha where the spiritual journey of the young aspirant Sudhana takes him to a number of south Indian cities — thus establishing the locus of the final phase of Avataṁsaka. Kanchipura was a great seaport of India, as stated by Hsüan-tsang (Watters 1905:1.227). It was from here that Vajrabodhi, the son of the royal preceptor of the Pallavas whose capital was at Kanchi, travelled to China in 719 on board a Persian merchant vessel. He had taken with him the STTS which was lost in the confusion of the fatal storm on the high seas, in which 29 ships out of 30 were lost. Only the abridged japa version survived, which he translated into Chinese. Kanchi was a centre for the dissemination of Tantras.

The Twin Maṇḍalas of Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu, known in Japanese as *ryōbu mandara* 'mandalas of both (*ryō*) the divisions (*bu*) of the caryā and yoga tantras', had been transmitted to China from Kanchi. They were a characteristic feature of Vajrayāna in the eighth century. The Vajrayāna of the Śailendras too seems to have been derived from southern India. There are a number of traces in the Śailendra monuments which stem from Tamil nuances of phonetics and vocabulary. From the ruins of Chandi Sevu

[6] *Tamil Lexicon,* Madras 1932, vol.5(1).2764b.

a fragmentary inscription bears the words: *tiruraṇu* (Casparis 1950:115). Casparis considers it to be the designation of an official. Tamil *tiru* is *śrī* and *raṇu* corresponds to Tamil *rāṇuvam* 'army' (Tamil Lexicon 6.3423). It may refer to king Samaratuṅga, who reigned 812-832 (Casparis 1950:201). It could have been his pet family name (tiru=śrī, rāṇuva=samara). A small bronze from Chandi Sevu reveals a definite affinity with the main image in the cella of Chandi Mendut (Fontein 1971:150 no.34). It clearly points to a close relationship between Sevu and Mendut temples.

The Inscription of Śrī Kahulunnan dated Śaka 764 = AD 842, begins with the date and the day is *canaiścaravara* (Casparis 1950:86), instead of *śa°*. *Ca* in place of *śa* is a *common* phenomenon in Tamil, where *śani* is *cani*.

A highly significant phrase occurs in the beginning of the two inscriptions:

I line 4

sīmā niṅ kamūlān i bhūmi sambhāra

II lines 2,3

sīmā niṅ kamūlān <i bhūmi> sambhara

Casparis interprets this expression on the assumption that Śailendra Buddhism was "orthodox" Mahāyāna, "corresponding to the later treatises ascribed to Maitreya-nātha Asaṅga, viz. the Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra, Abhisamayālaṅkāra, and Uttaratantra. It should not be called Tantric, as several of the main characteristics of Tantric Buddhism do not appear in the Çailendra documents" (p.202). Hence his interpretation of the expression *kamūlān* by which the sanctuary is indicated is: "Comparison of some loci in Old-Javanese inscriptions suggests that *kamūlān* refers to a building symbolizing the origin of a royal dynasty. If we remember that the name of the Çailendra dynasty means "Lord of the Mountain", it is possible to distinguish a clear thread connecting the dynasty with the great monument (p.202-3). Its "hidden meaning" implies a representation of the preceding Çailendra princes, each in their proper place on the road leading to Buddha-hood, the first ancestor, the "root" (*mūla*) of the dynasty, the Çailendra, "Lord of the Mountain", at the final momentary meditation before obtaining Buddha-hood" (p.204). "The name of that sanctuary shows that it must refer to a Buddhistic building, representing the "Accumulation of the elements of Virtue on the ten Stages of the Bodhisattva". There cannot be any doubt that this sanctuary should be identified with Tjandi Barabudur. Next paragraph shows that according to phonological development of the Javanese language the present name is derived from the one mentioned in the inscription of 842, only the name given there is not complete: the full name of the sanctuary must have been Bhūmi-sambhāra-bhūdhara, "the Mountain of Accumulation of Virtue on the ten Stages of the Bodhisattva" (p.202). This interpretation of the word *kamūlān* has to be viewed in a new light. *Kamulan* is a homonymic counterpart of *mūla-sthāna* where *ka-....-an* denote

sthāna. In Tamil this word occurs as *mula-t-tāṉam* (from *mūla-sthāna*) 'sanctum sanctorum of a temple' (Tamil Lexicon). *Tiru-mūlaṭṭāṉam*(tiru=śrī + *mūlasthāna*) refers to the sacred shrine of Tiruvārūr (Tamil Lexicon, p.1913). The renowned north Indian geographic name Multan, which is derived from Sanskrit Mūlasthāna, also means '[The City of the] Temple'. In Srilanka too, *mūla=ārāma* (*Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* 3.22, 24). *Kamūlān* refers to any sacred complex and has nothing to do with the origins of the Śailendra dynasty.

The compound *bhūmi sambhara* is a proper name, a toponym. It means the 'land/ country of the sambhara'. With it we may compare the geographic name Bumi-ayu (Fontein 1971:149 no.30) in Brebes, Central Java, whence a bronze of seated Tārā has been discovered with a Sanskrit inscription. It may be noted that the vowel length in the two inscriptions varies *sambhāra* and *sambhăra*. In Tamil *sambara* refers to the Buddhist community. *Sambara* is *saṁvara* meaning 'the Buddhist vows'. The transition from *sambara* to *sambhara* was an orthographic variation where *bh* lent the word dignity of hyper-sanskritism. It could also have been influenced by the Buddhist term *sambhāra* (puṇya-sambhāra, etc. in the Dharmasaṅgraha 117).Thus *bhūmi sambhara* meant the land of the sambhara i.e. Indian Buddhists. The whole expression *kamūlān i bhūmi sambhara* means 'a monastic foundation of Indian Buddhists'. It is pertinent to cite the lead-bronze inscription discovered on the plain west of the Borobudur, which refers to a locus on a hill of the southern region (*dakṣiṇāpathasya parvvatasthale*). Boechari (Preliminary report on some archaeological finds around the Borobudur temple, cyclostyled paper 1976:11) poses the question "Does this text refer to the Borobudur?" We feel that it does. Dakṣiṇāpatha in Sanskrit is south India: the same as *bhūmi sambhara; parvatasthala* refers to the Borobudur, the replica of Mount Sumeru. The Borobudur is in the village Bumisegoro (Skt. sāgara-bhūmi) which alludes to it as the settlement of people from beyond the seas, i.e. India. As late as the 11th century, Śailendras had intimate relations with south India: they founded a vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭinam, to which the Chola king granted the income of a village for support (Fontein 1971:33).

The Javanese script is a derivative of a south Indian script. We have already seen that Tiru-mangai went to Indonesia to get the secrets of the construction of the Buddhist vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭinam from a *sthapati* who had gone there.

The Nāgabāyu-sūtra is a reminder of the close contacts of Indonesian Buddhists with Kanchi. The Nāgabāyu-sūtra is a hymn to the Five Tathāgatas. Nāgabāyu is a corruption of Nāgāhvaya (Nagavaya→Nagavayu). Nāgāhvaya is the outstanding teacher in the final gāthā chapter of the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra (ed. Bunyiu Najio 1956:286):

Dakṣiṇāpatha-vedalyāṁ bhikṣuḥ śrīmān mahāyaśāḥ /
Nāgāhvayaḥ sa nāmnā tu sad-asat-pakṣa-dārakaḥ //165

prakāśya loke mad-yānaṁ mahāyānam anuttaram /
āsādya bhūmiṁ muditāṁ yāsyate 'sau sukhāvatīm //166

In Vedalī in south India, of great renown, was Nāgāhvaya by name, who vanquished the one-sided view of being and non-being, illumined My way of Mahāyāna, attained the stage of muditā and passed onto Sukhāvatī. Suzuki (1930:24) translates: "In the southern part of this country called Vedalī there will be a Bhikshu of great and excellent reputation known as Nāgāhvaya, who will destroy the one-sided view of being and non-being. He will, while in the world, make manifest the un-surpassable Mahayana, and attaining the Stage of Joy, pass to the Land of Happiness".

"In the Sanskrit text we have Nāgāhvaya, instead of Nāgārjuna, and of course we do not know whether they are one person, or whether there is a mistake on the part of the scribe".

Nāgāhvaya may be the tantric Nāgārjuna who appeared eight hundred years after the death of the Buddha. By the blessing of Mahāvairocana he opened the Iron Stupa, found himself face to face with Vajrasattva, received the abhiṣeka, collected the 'great sutra of the two principles' and was able to spread it in the world (Tajima 1959:24).

Nāgārjuna was the teacher of Nāgabodhi, who should have lived in the beginning of the eighth century. Nāgabodhi hailed from south India. Nāgabodhi's disciple Vajrabodhi lived from 671 to 741. Vajrabodhi entered the religious order in the Nalanda monastery, studied with Śrībhadra in Kapilavastu for three years, and at the age of thirtyone went to south India to become a disciple of Nāgabodhi.

The Mahāvyutpatti begins the names of ancient teachers (*pūrva-upādhyāya*) with Nāgārjuna (Tib. Klu.sgrub) and Nāgāhvaya (Tib. Klus.bod, Sakaki's ed. 3474, 3475).

Vedalī may be associated with Vaidalya, one of the ten great mountains of the earth in the Daśabhūmika-sūtra (Rahder's ed. 96.2,15). Kumārajīva and Buddhabhadra render Vaidalya by Khadiraka. It was a source of precious stones.

15. BOROBUDUR IS A MAṆḌALA

Omura Seigai

(Chapter 11 of his book entitled "Borobudur, the Buddhist site in Java and its explanation", April 1925).

Translation from Japanese into English by Dr. Chikyo Yamamoto, Koyasan

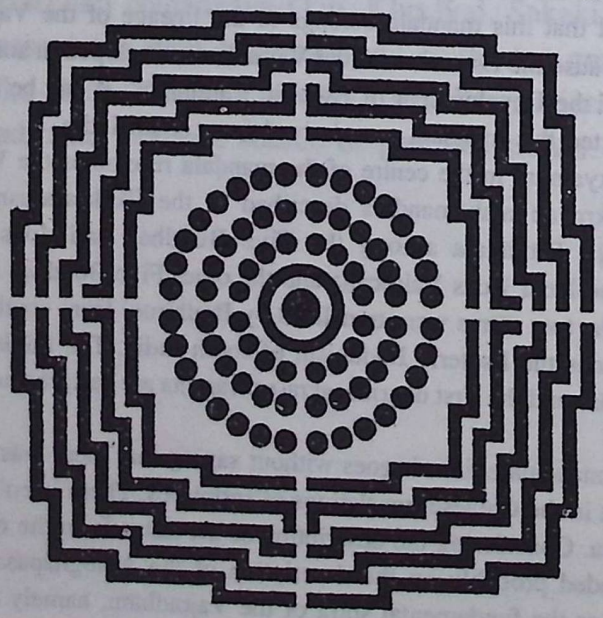
This architecture is an extraordinary construction. It has no room to admit a man, it has no building, but it has galleries that enable one to circumambulate the five stories. So it is not a vihāra, neither is it a caitya. It is not a stupa either. It is not an ordinary construction. It is a three-dimensional karma-maṇḍala, one of the four maṇḍalas of Esoteric Buddhism. It has many statues of divinities as sculptures. Now the term maṇḍala is translated as altar. Since the term Borobudur means "thousand Buddhas", I regard it as a 'Thousand-Buddhas-altar'. There is no specimen of it in Japan. There are wooden specimens of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in small size in Tibetan Lamaism. There is no extant example in India. Thus the Thousand-Buddhas-altar of Java is the only karma-maṇḍala in stone in the world. No scholar in the world has noticed it so far because they did not know Esoteric Buddhism. The organization of a maṇḍala consists of the disposition of divinities. Let us see the disposition of divinities on the Thousand-Buddhas-altar. The inner quarter is a circular altar. The main divinity in the center is Śākyamuni in Enlightenment by conquering Māra. Seventytwo statues of Śākyamuni in dharmacakra-mudrā encircle the central statue. The outer quarter is a rectangular altar with five stories furnished with passages. There are statues of Vairocana Buddha of Vajradhātu in each niche on the four sides of the uppermost passage. In the four stories are enshrined Akṣobhya in the east, Ratnasambhava in the south, Amitābha in the west, and Amoghasiddhi in the north. What kind of maṇḍala is it? There is no similar example in Japan. But the form of a circle inside and rectangle outside resembles the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The Five Buddhas beginning with Mahāvairocana and their corresponding mudrās in the four cardinal points are the same as in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The number of 72 divinities in the inner quarter also suits the number of divinities of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. So it can be recognised that this maṇḍala belongs to the lineage of the Vajradhātu among the Esoteric Buddhist maṇḍalas. Because the Esoterism of the Vajradhātu developed in south India, as I have discussed in my work 'History of the Development of Esoteric Buddhism', it can be conjectured that the Esoteric Buddhism that constructed this maṇḍala was derived from south India.

Enshrining Śākyamuni in the centre of the maṇḍala resembles the Vaipulya-mokṣa-maṇḍala and the Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakravatī mahāmaṇḍala described in the Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣa-cakravarti-sūtra. But the former places Lokarāja Tathāgata among the Five Buddhas and does not mention the name of Amoghasiddhi, while the latter lacks Vairocana and the other Five Buddhas are similar to the Buddhas in the Garbha-maṇḍala. The two sūtras were translated by Bodhiruci from south India. So it is clear that the Thousand-Buddhas-altar is the Esoteric Buddhism of south India. The mudrā of Śākyamuni's Enlightenment by subjugating Māra and the first dharmacakra-pravartana are in agreement with the ordinary tradition of Exoteric Buddhism.

Now that this maṇḍala exists, it goes without saying that there was a sūtra which explained this maṇḍala, but it was lost in the Chinese translations of scriptures. There is no trace of such a sūtra in Japan but it exists only in Java. Considering the description of the Sūtra from the organisation of the Thousand-Buddhas-altar, it depended probably on the description of the Amoghapāśa-mantra-sūtra, the Ekākṣara-Uṣṇīṣacakravarti-sūtra, or the fundamental sūtra of the Vajradhātu, namely the Tattva-saṅgraha.

Besides statues enshrined in the niches, are exhibited scenes from the life of Śākyamuni or jātakas and the pilgrimage of Sudhana-Kumāra to 53 sages as described in the Avataṁsaka on the side-walls of the galleries. The 72 statues of the incarnations of Śākyamuni in the dharmacakra-mudrā are very similar to the padmakośa-loka described in the Avataṁsaka. It can therefore be assumed that this maṇḍala is the maṇḍala of Śākyamuni established by the thought of Avataṁsaka. There was probably an ācārya who was not satisfied to see Śākyamuni not respected or forgotten, while Vairocana dharmakāya was too much respected although Amoghasiddhi was identified with Śākyamuni. He established Śākyamuni above the Five Buddhas and put sambhoga-kāya in place of Enlightenment in the center. Moreover, he added the scenes of Buddha's life or jātakas and the description of Avataṁsaka. He established this maṇḍala in order to harmonise Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism.

The date when this maṇḍala came into existence would not be long after the Amoghapāśa-sūtra, or Uṣṇīṣacakravarti-sūtra, or the Tattva-saṅgraha as I have mentioned above. The sūtras of Amoghapāśa and Uṣṇīṣacakravarti were translated by Bodhiruci. The first translation of the Tattva-saṅgraha was done by Vajrabodhi from south India. The fundamental sūtra of the doctrine of the Thousand-Buddhas-altar was written by someone from south India, like the two ācāryas who hailed from south India, by the end of Early T'ang or the beginning of Flourishing T'ang. Let me go a step back and contemplate. The construction of the body of this Thousand-Buddhas-altar would not be very old. Why? If the grand construction were there in those days, it would have been reported in the T'ang period at the latest, because Vajrabodhi visited Java and Amoghavajra served him as his disciple and later he visited India again. In fact it was not reported in China. Looking at the style of the sculptures, it is not Javanese. It belongs to the technique of south India. The reliefs are very similar to the stone sculptures in Odra etc. They could only be made by Indians. The scale of the building was immense and the years spent in building it were very long. The construction of the Thousand-Buddhas-altar was planned by a great ācārya who was very capable and was well versed in Buddhist dharma and who led a big group of people. They came from south India and were naturalized in Java. There were many artisans among them. When Buddhism was oppressed by other religions in India and was persecuted by foreign invasions, it was almost on the point of being annihilated. It was probably in later T'ang (late 9th century) or in the beginning of Sung (late tenth century).



6. IDENTIFICATION OF THE ṄAÑJUK BRONZES

(in collaboration with Mrs. Sudarshana Devi Singhal)

The discovery of several bronzes from the Candi Rějo hamlet in the Ṅañjuk district of East Java in 1913 sparked off an ongoing enquiry into their identification. Krom (1913:59f.) studied 39 of the bronzes and came to the conclusion that they constituted a group. Bosch (1929:109f.) rightly recognised in them the central Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala and he identified the pūjā-devīs and four saṅgraha-devīs. He was precluded from the identification of more statuettes by the absence of "original Japanese pictures" wherein the attributes could be seen clearly in "minor details of importance". Kempers (1959:63-64 pl.168-171) added no new identifications, but reproduced exquisite pictures of Gītā, Dhūpā, Puṣpā and Vajratīkṣṇa. Krom 1913:64 felt that the principal image of the group with four faces does not represent Vairocana but a special hypostasis of Mañjuśrī. Scholars have compared the group only with Japanese iconography which shuns multifaced deities in favour of one-faced anthropomorphy. The Chinese and following them the Japanese chose the one-faced, two-armed Vairocana from the root tantra. The Niṣpanna-yogāvalī specifies the four-faced Vairocana as the main type, with the one-faced form as an alternative variation. The one-faced Vairocana was taken up in the East Asian tradition. The Indonesian and Tibetan traditions kept faithful to the original Indic texts. The credit goes to K.W. Lim (1964:337) who rightly perceived that the central deity belongs "to the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala of the Ānandagarbha-type". Ānandagarbha is one of the three fundamental commentators on the root tantra, Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha (STTS). The repetition of a deity in the Ṅañjuk hoard indicates that the duplicates originate from a metal-caster's atelier or a monastic storehouse. Some of them contain gold plates which means that the duplicates were consecrated. One of them bears an 'indecipherable inscription' (Fontein 1971:151). It may contain bījākṣara(s). Anyway, it can be deciphered after careful scrutiny. The photographs of all the statuettes in the National Museum at Jakarta should be published. It will be possible to establish their identity with the Tibetan data at our disposal and also with the large-size reproductions of the prints of the deities in the author's *Esoteric Iconography of Japanese Maṇḍalas* (size 38 × 56 cm). Alongwith the Chandi Sevu niches, the Ṅañjuk series constitutes an important proof of the prevalence of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in Indonesia.

Kempers (1950:63) speaks of 90 bronzes of this collection in the Jakarta Museum, some of which were lost in the fire in the Colonial Exhibition at Paris in 1931. Scheurleer and Klokke (1988:32) reckon 38 bronzes described by Krom in 1913, to which 17 more statuettes were added in 1915, so that the Museum at Jakarta should now have 55 of them.

The Vajradhātu-maṇḍala is represented in several configurations, with varying iconography of the individual deities, besides addition or substraction of groups of deities.

The basic model is the first Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala in the STTS. This is described at length in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī of Abhayākaragupta. The Indonesian text of Nāgabāyu-sūtra and Kalpabuddha also detail this maṇḍala. It is illustrated in the Rita-sōgyara-gobu-shingan, a scroll drawn under the personal supervision of Śubhākara-siṁha who arrived in China in 716 and worked there till his death in 735. Its extant Japanese copy is dated 855.

The maṇḍala comprises (i) the innermost sanctum, termed *garbha-kūṭāgāra* in the Niṣp., with (ii) an enceinte running around it called *paṭṭikā* in the same text. It has 37 deities +16 Bodhisattvas of the Bhadrakalpa. These 53 deities are arranged as follows:

Innermost sanctum

Centre:	1	*Vairocana*[1]
	2	Sattvavajrī, 3 Ratnavajrī, 4 Padmavajrī (Dharmavajrī),
	5	Karmavajrī
East:	6	*Akṣobhya*
	7	*Vajrasattva*, 8 Vajrarāja, 9 *Vajrarāga*, 10 *Vajrasādhu*
South:	11	*Ratnasambhava*
	12	*Vajraratna*, 13 Vajrateja, 14 *Vajraketu*, 15 Vajrahāsa
West:	16	*Amitābha*
	17	*Vajradharma*, 18 *Vajratīkṣṇa*, 19 Vajrahetu, 20 *Vajrabhāṣa*
North:	21	*Amoghasiddhi*
	22	*Vajrakarma*, 23 *Vajrarakṣa*, 24 *Vajrayakṣa*, 25 *Vajrasandhi*
Corners:	26	*Vajralāsyā*, 27 *Vajramālā*, *28 Vajragītā*, 29 *Vajranṛtyā*

Outer Enceinte

East:	30	*Maitreya*, 31 Amoghadarśin, 32 Sarvāpāyajaha
	33	*Sarva-śoka-nirghāta-mati*
South:	34	*Gandhahastī*, 35 Śūraṅgama (Śauraya),
	36	Gaganagañja, 37 *Jñānaketu*
West:	38	*Amitaprabha*, 39 *Candraprabha*
	40	*Bhadrapāla*, 41 *Jālinīprabha*
North:	42	*Vajragarbha*, 43 Akṣayamati, 44 Pratibhānakūṭa,
		45 Samantabhadra
Corners:	46	*Vajradhupā*, 47 *Vajrapuṣpā*, 48 *Vajrālokā*, 49 *Vajragandhā*
Portals:	50	E. *Vajrāṅkuśa*, 51 S.*Vajrapāśa*, 52 W. *Vajrasphoṭa* (chain)
	53	N. Vajrāveśa (bell)

As the maṇḍala is constituted by three-dimensional bronze statuettes it should be the Vajradhātu-karma-maṇḍala (I.4), used for sacred rites in which water, flowers, incense, lamp, unguents and offerings are employed. This is supported by the Sixteen Bodhisattvas of the

[1] Names of extant statuettes have been italicised.

Bhadrakalpa, which occur in the samaya-, sūkṣma-, and karma-maṇḍalas, but not in the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala (I.1). The latter (I.1) has Thousand Buddhas in their place and this is its contradistinctive feature. In the Vajradhātu-karma-maṇḍala, Vairocana is not surrounded by the four Goddesses: Sattva-, Ratna-, Padma-(Dharma-), and Karma-vajrī. They are absent in the Ṅañjuk bronzes, while the images of two to four Boddhisattvas surrounding each of the other four Tathāgatas are extant.

1 Four-faced Mahāvairocana (Krom fig.1, Scheurleer 33) is the main form in the Niṣp.44. His mount is a lion. The other four Tathāgatas are also on their respective mounts. In the Ṅañjuk maṇḍala, only the Five Tathāgatas have mounts, while in the Gobu the Tathāgatas as well as the surrounding bodhisattvas are on mounts. The Tathāgatas have seven of each mount in the Gobu: thus Vairocana rides seven lions (Gobu p. 54). Krom has illustrated the backslab separately, while Scheurleer shows it fixed to the back of the image. The back-slab in the illustration in Krom shows elephants on both sides. Five animals have been identified by Scheurleer (1988:34): "On top it features a kāla, behind which the curving handle of the parasol is attached. At each end is a makara head, its mouth opened outwards. Lower down on both sides of the backslab yet another mythical animal is depicted. A wyālaka, a horned lion, stands on the back of an elephant, which appears to be in the act of kneeling". In Tibetan thaṅka paintings, the backrest of the throne of a Tathāgata has the *khri drug ḥgyogs* or six beings representing the six pāramitās.The garuḍa represents the first pāramitā of charity (*dāna)*. The nāga stands for *śīla* or moral behaviour. The makara is symbolic of forbearance (*kṣānti*). The vāmana or dwarf under the load of huge wings represents *vīrya* or endurance. The hastī or elephant stands for meditation (*dhyāna*). The Lion, represents the highest perfection *prajñā*-pāramitā (Palden Thondup Namgyal, *Rgyan.drug mchog.gnyis,* Gangtok, 1962).

6. Akṣobhya (Krom fig.2,3), identified by his mount the elephant (Niṣp.44, Gobu 56). His right hand in bhūmi-sparśa mudrā and the left resting on the lap with the palm upwards corresponds to the description in the Niṣp. Bosch 1929 pl. IIa had identified him correctly.

Krom fig.8 seems to be an Akṣobhya from another series as its measurements are different (pedestal 3.5, lotus 1.7). It could also have been done as an individual image, without reference to a maṇḍala.

7. Vajrasattva (Krom fig. 29), already so recognised by Krom. Scheurleer/Klokke 1988:103 bronze 51.

Illustrated in Gobu 6, Esot.412, Snodgrass 2.604.[2]

9. Vajrarāga (Krom fig. 15) holds the bow and arrow as in Niṣp.44.

Illustrated in Gobu 8, Esot.414, Snodgrass 2.606.

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[2] The illustrations of deities of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in the Japanese tradition have been referred to in their earliest form in the Gobu-shingan by Śubhākarasiṁha (AD 637-735) as well as in the Genzu maṇḍala brought by Kōbō Daishi to Japan in AD 806 (Esot., Ishida, Snodgrass).

10. Vajrasādhu (Krom fig.25), exclaiming *sādhu* "well! well done!" applauding with both hands at the level of the heart (Niṣp.44).

Illustrated in Gobu 9, Esot.415, Snodgrass 2.606.

11. Ratnasambhava (Krom fig.7), recognisable by his mount the horse. His right hand holds a jewel in varada mudrā while the left rests upright in the lap. The statuette follows the Niṣp.44 literally. It comes from another set, because it measures 12.9 cm while the previous statuette is 15.7 cm. Krom's identification as Ratnapāṇi needs to the changed. Compare bronze 5494 in the Jakarta Museum which has the same characteristics.

12. Vajraratna (Krom fig.32), right hand has a jewel, and the left is in wisdom fist. The Hizōki says that he holds a jewel in the right hand, but in the Genzu and Toji maṇḍalas he merely makes the gesture of holding the jewel, which is not shown (Snodgrass 1988:2.608). Illustrated in Gobu 10, Esot.417.

14. Vajraketu (Scheurleer/Klokke 1988:104 bronze 52), 9 cm, not illustrated by Krom.

Illustrated in Gobu 12, Esot.419, Snodgrass 2.609.

16. Amitābha (Krom fig.5) is in samādhi-mudrā. Like no.6 his image measures 9.7 cm and pertains to the Five Tathāgatas.

17. Vajradharma (Krom fig.34), his right hand opens a partially blossomed lotus held in the left (Niṣp.45). The bronze described by Krom is without a halo but bronze 5402 in the Jakarta Museum has a halo. The Eilenberg Collection (Lerner/Kossak 1991:201 fig.158e) shows his consort named Vajrāmbujā in Gobu 52.

Illustrated in Gobu 14, Esot.422, Snodgrass 2.611.

18. Vajratīkṣṇa (Krom fig.28, Kempers 1959 pl. 169), his right hand holds aloft a sword and the left hand has a manuscript of the Prajñāpāramitā (Niṣp.45).

Illustrated in Gobu 15, Esot.423, Snodgrass 2.612.

20. Vajrabhāṣa (Krom fig.36), his right hand holds a tongue (Niṣp.45).

Illustrated in Gobu 17, Esot. 425, Snodgrass 2.613.

21. Amoghasiddhi (Krom fig.4). Both his hands are broken. His mount is a garuḍa, which can be seen on Krom fig.6. The figures 4 and 6 seem to pertain to him.

The sixteen bodhisattvas (*ṣoḍaśa-bodhisattvāḥ* Niṣp.46) surrounding the four Tathāgatas can be distinguished by their size and the lack of a pedestal.

22. Vajrakarma (Krom fig. 10), his right hand has a viśvavajra and the left a bell (Niṣp.45).

Illustrated in Gobu 18, Esot.427, Snodgrass 2.615.

The image Eilenberg 158b holds a viśvavajra in the right hand across the chest and the stem of a lotus in the left. He can be Vajrakarma. The Eilenberg Collection has another bronze with the same characteristics (it has not been published in Lerner/Kossak 1991, but Prof. Eilenberg sent its photograph to the authors). It has no halo and is 9.2 cm. Krom 10

has a halo and is 11.1cm. The two belong to different sets of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. There are two deities with a viśvavajra in the right hand: Vajrakarma and Vajrarakṣa. They are distinguisted by their left hands. Vajrakarma has a bell in his left and Vajrarakṣa wields a sword. The lotus must have held these two attributes. It is likely that these specific characteristics were cast separately and affixed.

The following statues hold the stem (of a lotus or of another flower) in their left hands:

Krom	cm.	right hand	left hand	Nisp.
9	11.1	viśvavajra	lotus with	Vajrarakṣa 23
12	11.1		lotus with sun	Amitaprabha 41
13	11.1		lotus with moon	Candraprabha 39
14	11.1	near the head	lotus	
24	11.1	near the head	lotus with stūpa?	
30	9.1		stem	Vajrayakṣa 24
31	9.1		stem	
32	9.1		lotus with jewel?	Vajraratna 12
33	9.1		lotus with stūpa	Maitreya 30
Eilenberg 158a	9.0	vajra	three-pronged stem?	
Eilenberg 158b	9.2	viśvavajra	lotus with	Vajrakarma 22

23. Vajrarakṣa (Krom fig.9), his right hand holds a viśvavajra and the left a sword. In Gobu 19 the right hand has a viśvavajra and the left is a wisdom-fist. In the sūkṣma-maṇḍala, Vajrarakṣa wields a sword in the right hand (TZ.38.158). Krom's identification as Mañjuśrī needs to be changed. Another bronze is found in the Eilenberg Collection (Lerner/Kossak 1991:199 fig. 158b: its sword on the lotus upheld in the left hand has been lost).

Illustrated in Gobu 19, Esot. 428, Snodgrass 2.616.

24. Vajrayakṣa (Krom fig.30) is fearsome by the two tusks projecting from his mouth to subdue evil demons (Nisp. 45). The Japanese translate the name Vajrayakṣa as Kongo-ge 'Diamond Tooth' referring to his sharp fangs (Snodgrass 2.616). In Gobu 20 he holds the tusk in his right hand, and his alternate name is Vajradaṁṣṭra.

Illustrated in Esot.429.

25. Vajrasandhi in the Eilenberg Collection (Lerner/Kossak 1991:200 fig. 158d) holds two severed hands clenched in fists and up to the foreams. Sandhi is joint, junction, connection, or binding. Hence the image is not shown with clenched fists but holds two separate fisted hands upto the forearm to emphasise the sandhi aspect of the deity. Sandhi-citta is an intermediate point between one bodhisattva-bhūmi and the next (Mahāvastu 1.91.5). Vajrasandhi represents the final stage in the sixteen stages of progress to Buddha-hood represented by the Sixteen Bodhisattvas (Snodgrass 1988:2.617-19). Vajrāmoghasamayasattva holds the samaya forms of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas: Vajrasandhi

is represented by a diamond fist (ibid 1.267). In the Garbhadhātu, Vajramuṣṭi occurs in the quarter of Vajrapāṇi, where his right hand holds a rod (*daṇḍa*) topped by a karma-vajra and the left forms the diamond fist with the palm turned upward (ibid. 1. 317).

26. Vajralāsyā (Krom fig. 38, Bosch 1929 pl. IIc) is the only goddess with a smiling face, true to her person. She is the apsarā or celestial woman of the joy of love's pleasures who transforms them into the perfect joy of undefiled love (Snodgrass 2.623). Lāsya is a dance representing the emotions of love performed dramatically. This dance-form was invented by Pārvatī, in contrast to the tāṇḍava of Śiva. The statue seems to hold a long scarf over the hands in allusion to a danceuse offering her upper garment in the gaiety of abandon. Illustrated in the Japanese Gobu 26, Esot. 431.

Three figures of goddesses, namely Krom 21, 23 and Eilenberg 158f, share common characteristics: their heads are inclined to the left and are endowed with a halo, they have a similar lotus pedestal with the hem of garment pendent on their left and right instead of front, and all are 11.1 cm. Krom 21 is Vajranṛtyā and Eilenberg 158f can be Vajralāsyā, though both her arms are broken.

The statues of the Dance and Worship Goddesses are in two different sizes. Vajralāsyā (26, Krom 38) and Vajragītā (28, Krom 37) are 9.1 cm. Vajragandhā (49, Fontein 1992: 67c) is 10.2 cm. Vajradhūpā (46, Krom 22) is 11.1 cm but without a halo. Vajramālā (27, Krom 18), Vajranṛtyā (29, Krom 21), Vajralāsyā? (26, Eilenberg 158f), Vajrālokā (48, Krom 23) are 11.1 cm. and have a halo. This points to a number of sets of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, and to Ñañjuk having been an atelier for casting metallic images.

27. Vajramālā (Krom fig. 18) is about to put the necklace of jewels (*ratnamālā,* Niṣp. 46) around her neck.

Illustrated in Gobu 27, Esot.432, Snodgrass 2.624.

28. Vajragītā (Krom fig. 37), already identified by Fontein (1971:79 pl. 45, 151) as Gītā. Kempers (1959:63) uses the vague expression "a musical Tārā from the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala" which needs to be avoided. Bosch 1929 pl. IIb identifies her as Tārā with makaraviṇā.

Illustrated in Gobu 28, Esot. 433, Snodgrass 2.625.

29. Vajranṛtyā (Krom fig. 21) is in a vigorous movement of dance, holding a three-pronged vajra in the right hand (Niṣp. 46). She is absorbed in the "samādhi of the dance of divine powers" (Snodgrass 2.626) which is so expressively conveyed by the face of the statuette lost in the mood of her movements.

Illustrated in Gobu 29, Esot. 434.

30. Maitreya (Krom fig. 33) as one of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas. In the Japanese maṇḍala he holds a kuṇḍikā/vase (Esot. 661).

33. Sarva-śoka-nirghāta-mati (Bosch 1929 pl. IIId) holds the branch of an aśoka tree in his left hand (Snodgrass 2.664). In Esot. 829 his symbol is the aśoka branch on a lotus. The deity is not Puṣpā. The Eilenberg Collection too has an image (Lerner/Kossak 1991: 200

fig. 158a).

34. Gandhahastin (Krom fig.19) recognisable by the bowl of scent. Gandhagaja or Gandhahastin 'scent-elephant' is an elephant during rut. The esoteric symbol of the bodhisattva in the samaya-maṇḍala of the Vajradhātu is a bowl (Esot. 655).

37. Jñānaketu (Krom fig. 11) holds the jewel-pennant in the left hand (Esot. 653).

38. Amitaprabha (Krom fig. 12), left hand holds the orb of the sun against the shoulder. Krom's identification as Kṣitigarbha has to be changed.

Illustrated in Esot. 586, Snodgrass 2.664.

39. Candraprabha (Krom fig. 13) holds the disc of the moon in the left hand. In the sūkṣma-mandala of the Vajradhātu he holds the disc of the full moon in the right hand (Esot. 589). Compare bronze 5916 in the Jakarta Museum whose right hand holds the disc.

40. Bhadrapāla holds the vase of intelligence in the right hand. Compare his Japanese illustration in Snodgrass 2.664. Bronze 5910 in the Jakarta Museum seems to be Bhadrapāla. Bronze 5930 holds a vase on a long stem in the left hand: can it be Bhadrapāla?

41. Jālinīprabha is represented by the Jakarta Museum bronze 5912.

42. Vajragarbha (Krom fig. 35, Lerner/Kossak 1991:200 fig. 158c) holds a uterus. In the Japanese maṇḍala it is a square formed by four vajras.

Illustrated in Esot.665, Snodgrass 2.664.

46. Vajradhūpā, so identified by Krom fig. 22, Bosch 1929 pl. IIIb, Kempers 1959: pl. 170, Fontein 1971:80 pl. 47.

Illustrated in Gobu 30, Esot. 435, Snodgrass 2.626.

47. Vajrapuṣpā (Fontein 1971:81 pl. 49) holds a tray of flowers in both hands, as in the Japanese representation in Gobu 31, Esot. 436, Snodgrass 2.627. Fontein identifies her as Gandhā (?) which stands revised. There is another bronze in the Jakarta Museum.

48. Vajrālokā/Vajradīpā (Krom fig. 23, Bosch 1929 pl. IIIc). Krom has already named her Dīpā.

Illustrated in Gobu 32, Esot. 437, Snodgrass 2.628.

49. Vajragandhā (Bosch 1929 pl. IIIa, Kempers 1959:pl. 171 Puṣpa-Tārā, Fontein 1971:81 fig. 48, 151 Puṣpā). She is spraying perfume from the tray in the left hand. "She holds a dish of powdered incense in the left hand, while the right hand makes the gesture of sprinkling incense" (Snodgrass 2.629).

Illustrated in Gobu 33, Esot. 438.

50. Vajrāṅkuśa holds a goad (aṅkuśa) in bronze 5931 in the Jakarta Museum.

51. Vajrapāśa (Krom fig. 17) holds a serpent. Krom p. 68 identifies the statue as Varuṇa who holds a coiled serpent noose.

Illustrated in Gobu 35, Esot. 440, Snodgrass 2.632.

52. Vajrasphoṭa (Krom fig. 20) holds a chain, as already identified by Fontein 1971:80 fig. 46. Fontein considers her a goddess, but he is a male deity.

Illustrated in Gobu 36, Esot. 441, Snodgrass 2.632.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The name of the hamlet where the Ṅañjuk bronzes were found is Candi Rejo, which must have been a prominent Vajrayāna monastery famous for its exquisite images and as an atelier for the casting of three-dimensional maṇḍalas. The OJ *arĕja* (base *rĕja)* means "nice, pretty, handsome, beautiful, attractive" (Zoetmulder 1982:2.1530). Its derivative *amaharja, pinharĕja* means "to embellish, put in order etc". (Zoetmulder ibid.). The elegance of Vajrayāna statues, especially of goddesses, done at this monastery could have provided its name. We have a similar instance in the case of the Nav Bahar monastery in Balkh. The equation "ideal beauty = Buddhist image" was an established fact in the East Iranian world, even when Buddhism had faded away. Early Persian poetry continued to cultivate abstract mental forms poignantly recalling ideals of the grace of Buddhist statues. 'Ayyūqī in his novel entitled *Varqa va Golshah* (Tehran 1956: 6) writes of his beautiful heroine that "she was...a Buddha in a temple full of offerings". Further on, we find the crescendo in stanzas 2138-2142 where she is addressed as *Bot* (Buddha), then *lo'bat* (statuette), and finally as *nowbahar*, the Buddhist monastery itself which was well known for its graceful statues in Iranian literature (both in the Persian and Arabic languages) upto the time of Yāqūt in the 13th century.

The ateliers of Candi Rejo must have issued several sets of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, being a premier place of their manufacture. The statues discovered so far exhibit certain distinctive features of various sets of maṇḍalas. Krom 1-6 form one set, while Krom 7 is from another. Images with a halo (Krom 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24) stem from a third set. Vajrasattva had his own maṇḍala (Scheurleer 1988:105).

The discovery of small gold plates inside the pedestals, sometimes with undeciphered inscriptions (Fontein 1971:151), is a clear indication of the consecration of the images. The inscriptions should bear mantras or bījas and can provide invaluable help to identify the images, or to confirm the identifications arrived at by their characteristics.

The mudrā of the right hand of statues 7, 12, 13, 22, 23, 24 is the posture of holding the vajra, and statue 7 is actually that of Vajrasattva. A Mongolian statue of Vajrasattva done by Zanabazar (=Sanskrit Jñānavajra) has a charming representation of this mudrā in N. Tsultem, *The Eminent Mongolian Sculptor G. Zanabazar* (Ulanbator 1982). It is a gilded bronze, which means that it is a consecrated image. When consecrated, a statue is gilded.

Tārā is a specific goddess, but it has been loosely used as a generic expression for a goddess, as in 'Tārā with makara-vīṇā, Reading Tārā, etc. etc.' As precise Sanskrit designations of all the goddesses from the fundamental tantra Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha, Niṣpanna-yogāvali, and other Sanskrit texts are available, the appropriate name of the goddess should be used, and the word Tārā should be avoided.

The measurements of the figures in Krom are as follows:

Group	Fig.		pedestal	cm.
1	1	Mahāvairocana	yes 5.2	21.5
2	2-6	Tathāgatas	yes 3.7	15.7
3	7	Vajrasattva	yes 3.4	12.9
4	9-27		no	11.1 (image 9.0, lotus 2.1)
5	28-38		no	9.1 (image 7.8, lotus 1.3)

As suggested by Dr. Pauline Scheurleer, we append the English translation of the original article of Krom written in Dutch in 1913. She feels that it is "still useful as it provides rather precise descriptions of the statuettes, also of what one cannot see in the illustrations. Some of the statuettes lost their halos, so that their original height was more than now. It seems to me that the presence of a base or a halo indicates the hierarchical position of the figurine in the maṇḍala" She has read the translation and has found it excellent.

11. Ratnasambhava, Inv. 5494

17. Vajradharma, Inv. 5402

24. Vajrayakṣa, Inv. 5416

39. Candraprabha, Inv. 5916

39. Candraprabha, Inv. 5399

40. Bhadrapāla ?, Inv. 5910

40. Bhadrapāla ?, Inv. 5930

47. Vajrapuṣpā,

41. Jvālinīprabha, Inv. 5912

50. Vajrāṅkuśa, Inv. 5931

7. THE BRONZE-FIND OF ṄAÑJUK

by

Dr. N.J. Krom

(Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië, 1913)

[59] It is a well-known fact that many remarkable archaeological discoveries were made thanks to chance. The famous trilinguis of Rosetta, which for the first time made it possible to decipher the Egyptian script, was found by chance during entrenchment. A farmer who was looking for stones discovered the necropolises of Sidon. During this year, the number of this kind of discoveries on Java was increased by one: the bronzefind near Ṅañjuk, about which some further particulars can be mentioned here.

The history of the discovery itself is very simple: it was made by some inlanders who were working in the fields and so in this respect it is comparable to the other important bronzefind, forty years ago, that of Puger Wetan in Bondowoso[1]. The objects were partly sold immediately to private persons and partly became the property of the Civil Administration, which sent it to Batavia and which mediated the repurchase of the other part, which was in the possession of private persons. At the moment, the whole collection can be found in the museum at Batavia[2].

The find-spot is noteworthy, because it itself is already of historical importance. The desa Candirĕjo, on whose ground the discovery was made, is situated near the remnants of an Old Javanese temple, the so-called Candi Lor. The first mention of this monument was made by Raffles, about which is found the following statement in his *History of Java*[3]:

"I discovered, in a direction almost due east from Manuspati, in the district of Anjog a monument with an inscription in a more perfect state. In form this, as well as the others, resembles the common tomb stones of [60] our burial grounds, exceeding them only in size: its dimensions have been carefully taken. Four sides are covered with characters; two of these were in a state sufficiently preserved to be copied with only occasional deficiencies. This stone was placed near a chandi, of which the ruins only remain. It was two stories high, built of elegant bricks, according to the usual plan and distribution. In size, it nearly agrees with that of Jabung, near Probolinggo. It is obvious, that both the dimensions and the general plan of the numerous chandis found in these eastern districts, built of these materials, are similar; at least they do not exhibit that

[1] See Notulen Bat.Gen.1874: 3f., 57f, 85-89 and 99f.
[2] Invent. nos. 5387, 5427.
[3] II.235f.

variety, both in size and distribution, that is observed among the larger edifices built of stone".

Although in 1815 the temple was already a ruin, it was possible to ascertain that it was a tower temple of the same size as Candi Jabung. In 1866 Hoepermans visited Candi Lor and he reported thereof in his manuscript, which is now in the Archaeological Archives:

"Near this dessa one finds the remains of a redstone temple, which are mostly overgrown by the trunks of a big wariñin-tree. This temple belongs to the territory of the dessa Candi Lor and is also situated nearby dessa Candi Kidul (4 paal = 6028 metres from Berbek).

This temple is built on a raised hill of 5 el, which terrain overlooks a vast plain, but has a beautiful view at Mount Wilis.

It is impossible to give a description of this heap of stones, because no ornament or something of the kind is left. The only thing they are able to determine is that the entrance has been on the west side and that the temple has had a considerable height (see Candi Prudoong in Papar district).

On this spot there are still some statues. They are all mutilated. They have suffered a lot from the teeth of time. There are 14 statues and they are not chiselled beautifully. Among them one finds:

a large number of standing and sitting statues with four arms,
two elephants with human bodies — Gaṇeśa, and
a lying bull — Nandī (may have been brought to Kediri in June 1866).

Around these ruins everything is planted with sugarcane and the unkept condition of the temple is mainly due to the sugar factory of Jati. Persons from this factory come daily to plunder the ruins in order to use them for dams.

The statue standing in the garden of the Residency of Kediri, described above, originated from here".

[61] So far Hoepermans. The statues are apparently Śivaite, which is important in connection with the Buddhist character of the bronzes found till now.

In his 'Antiquities of Java' Dr.Verbeek speaks of "a candi, completely entangled by the roots of a big wariñin-tree; the candi is almost completely fallen into decay"[4]. Since then the decay has continued. Mr. Knebel gives the following description of the condition in which the Archaeological Commission found this monument in 1908:[5]

"At a height, on the side of the road which leads from the postal road to desa

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[4] p. 256 no. 513.
[5] Rapp. 1908: 313.

Papungan, there is a sepreh-tree. Its roots entangle a heap of bricks, the remains of Candi Lor.

"On the incline a statue without head and without any characteristics has been found.

At the foot of the hill there is a grave of bricks, with a piece of a yoni, or recåpådå".

So almost nothing is left of the temple. The stone described is preserved. It is the same stone, which according to the notes of Hoepermans[6], was later situated in Kediri and since 1887 is part of the collection of the museum in Batavia as D59. The stone is 2.35 metres high, on the top it has a breadth of 1 metre and below it has a breadth of 83 cm, on top it is 17 cm, a bit lower 23 cm, and at the foot 35 cm thick. The foot, which has the shape of a lotus cushion on a round stone slab, is 49.5 cm high, 77 broad and on top 75 cm thick. On the back and front side, on top the stone has a decoration in relief. In front it has a royal parasol, under which there is a snake, a disk and a winged shell. On the back side is a monster-head, which because of its broad lying claws reminds us more than elsewhere of the shape of a lion, in the midst of leaf and tendril ornamentation. The photographer van Kinsbergen took not less than six pictures of this stone[7].

As to the contents of the inscription, till recently only the dating in 8.7 was known[8]. Dr. Brandes made an inventory of the stone as belonging to 857 Śaka and at present one of the transcriptions left behind by this scholar has been published[9]. From this it appears that it is a praśasti issued by H.M. pu Siṇḍok śrī Īśāna Vikrama Dharmmotuṅgadeva, in the month of caitra of 857, and refers to a "saṅ hyaṅ prāsāda kabhaktyan saṅ hyaṅ dharmma śrī Jayāmṛta". The last was the [62] old name of this sanctuary. There is no need to work out the inscription further. It is only necessary to mention that in it occurs *rāma iy Añjuk-laḍaṅ*. In the first half of this name one can easily recognize the modern Ṅañjuk.

We will now begin to describe further the bronze-find itself, not because, as one will see, we think we are already capable of showing to full advantage the meaning of one thing or the other, but only because the remarkableness of the objects found, makes it desirable to point it out to all interested colleagues as soon as possible. As will be clear, there are only very few examples which can be given their rightful place in the Buddhist pantheon directly. So generally we will confine ourselves to giving a description, which must supplement that which is not or not clearly seen in the attached reproductions. Even

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[6] See above and in Verbeek 1.1.
[7] Numbered 212 1, m, w, o, p.
[8] Verbeek p. xviii.
[9] Oud-Javansche Oorkonden, VBG. LX no XLVI:84-89.

if it would be possible for more statues to decide with certainty what they represent, one must realize that the importance of a find does not depend so much on what each piece represents separately, but on what the collection as a whole teaches us about the religious notions, which must have existed at the time these statues were worshipped.

There are two points, which will soon become apparent by themselves, but which are mentioned here in brief. In the first place, one is not dealing here with separate statues which perhaps originally had nothing to do with each other and had come together at the same place in the ground by coincidence. No, the collection belongs together as a whole: this becomes clear from all kinds of small things in the technique, workmanship, etc., the uniform size of the various categories, the complete concurrence of the different categories, covering of the head and such things, the uniformity of the lotus-cushions and so on. So we believe we are allowed to state, that doubt about the belonging together of the collection is not justified. The second point, which can also be accepted as an established fact, is the Buddhist character of the collection: if one has recognized Mañjuśrī and a Vajrasattva, it is obvious that one is dealing with Buddhist bronzes.

As one can see, there is not one Buddha in the whole group. All the beings represented are wearing the so-called vestments of Bodhisattvas or of gods, the royal costume of those days. All of them harmonize too with each other in sitting in the Indian way (vajrāsana) on a regular kind of double lotus-[**63**]cushion, which with the well preserved examples is very beautifully finished and is of good proportions.

Now follows a short description. The numbers refer to those on the plates and the numbers added in brackets are those by which the pieces are marked in the Inventory of the Museum at Batavia.

No. **1**(5387). The biggest example and apparently the main statue. The god has four faces, in the usual way as it is known from the representations of Brahmā, united in one whole. Between every two faces there is an ear-drop in the shape of a rosette. The faces wear the ūrṇā and a headgear decorated with a rim, which looks like a diadem. In the middle of the headgear it passes into a mukuṭa, which is part of all the four faces and is covered with a knob in the form of a jewel. Besides this the god has a necklace, wrist- and forearm-rings, the upavīta, breast-band, belly-band, belt and a sarong with flower design; flaps of these last garments hang over the lotus-cushion. The figure has two arms: the hands hold a vajra in front of the breast, while they are in the usual position in which the fingers of the right hand lie on the back of the fingers of the left hand. The forefinger of the right hand rests higher than the other fingers on top of the vajra. The upper knob of the vajra is worn off, the knob below, however, is very clear to see.

The beautifully finished lotus-cushion lies on a square pedestal with regular in- and out-jumping edges. The middle band is carved open and on every side it shows a

lying cross between two upstanding gaps. The upper band is decorated on three sides (the back side not) with ornaments like the antefixes. Above that there is a holy object on a small independent lotus-cushion in the middle of every side of the upper band. In front there is a vajra, on the right side a temple-bell with a grip in the shape of a vajra and on the left side the remnants of a viśvavajra, the emblem of two crossed vajra's. In front of the pedestal the half body of a lion appears out of a niche. The lion has a rich mane and two forward-directed curled up horns, which make the head resemble the head of a monster. A back-piece was situated at the back, which consisted of, firstly: the lower part, which shows a cross between two upstanding gaps, with a monster-like lion on both sides, standing on a lying elephant, and secondly: the upper part, which consists of an arch, which is used for niches in temples, decorated with leaf-motifs and kāla-makara ornament, the upper part the head of a monster and on both sides the makara with lifted trunks. Because the 'niche' itself is totally open, [**64**] the back face of the god can be seen through it. On top of this backpiece is the forward-directed shaft of a parasol connected with a caitya-shaped cover, but its top is missing.

The measurements in centimetres are: base of pedestal 12 x 11, height 5.2, height of lotus-cushion 2.8, biggest diameter 9, height of statue itself 13.5, height of backpiece 19.6, diameter of parasol 6.7.

In our opinion it can be assumed that the god represented is a form of Mañjuśrī: as for the four heads—Mañjuśrī is in many ways comparable to the Hindu god Brahmā—and his normal animal-mount the lion indicate this. Which form of Mañjuśrī is specially meant, has still to remain uncertain; as one knows Dharmadhātu (whose eminent position in the Buddhist pantheon apart from all else would justify his presence as the main statue) has four heads, but eight arms[10].

A comparable representation is found in a bronze in the Museum at Batavia coming from Surakarta. This too has four heads, its hands are situated in front of the breast in the same manner and an animal appears out of the pedestal. This animal — whose origin had to remain uncertain in the discussion of the bronzes in the Batavia Museum[11] — is likely to represent a lion. In another respect too the description given earlier needs revision: it was denied, that the object looking like a tassel, which appears above the hands and lies against the necklace, can be a vajra; now one must find, due to the statue of Ṅañjuk, that the manufacturer must have meant a vajra. The statue in question is represented on plate 160 of the Rapport on 1910.

Nos. **2-6** (5388-5392), three statues and two pedestals, which apparently belong

[10] Compare Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, 1900:138; Foucher, *Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, 1900:1.119, 1905: 2.18, 46.

[11] Rapport 1912:63.

to one group. The pedestals have in a small way the same workmanship and decoration as that of the big statue; they have the same ornament on the middle band and the same decorations on the upper rim; only the three objects on the lotus-cushions in the middle of the sides are missing. On the back side there was a possibility to put a (now missing) back-piece. On the front side again an animal appears halfway out of a niche. On no.3 an elephant, on no.6 bird, probably a peacock, whose head is broken off.

[65] Statue no.2 belongs to the pedestal with the elephant. This appears totally from the fact that the flat plate, on which it sits, precisely fits the lotus-cushion of the pedestal, but also from the fact that the slips on the cushion completely link up with the statue. The statue corresponds, as concerns decoration etc, with the big statue no.1, except for the fact, of course, that it has one normal head. The right hand rests on the right knee with its back upwards and holds a vajra too, the left hand lies, opened upwards, in the lap.

As the representation itself is concerned, one could think that the elephant indicates Samantabhadra. However, the statue does not have any of the characteristics of this Bodhisattva. On the contrary, he reminds us of the Vajradhātu, shown as no. 77 in Pander's Pantheon[12], except for the fact that he does not rest the vajra on the knee, but lifts it up in front of his breast.

It is not possible to decide whether one of the two statues belongs to the peacock pedestal, because of their bad condition; the peacock which as is known is the mount-animal of the Hindu god Kārtikeya, appears also in Buddhist representations. In Nepal he is connected with Amitābha and in Japan too as a mount-animal.[13] Both the statues are a little bit thicker than no.2, but apart from that they correspond to it; all three have the ūrṇā. Both hands of no.4 are broken off; no.5 holds them in its lap with an object on it. This object could represent a small caitya, a clock or a jewel. Due to this uncertainty it would be of no use to search elsewhere for equivalents.

The pedestals are 3.7 high with a base of 9 × 7.8; the lotus-cushion is 2.3 high, the largest diameter is 7; the statues are 9.7 cm high.

No.7 (5393) is again completely saved. Its measurements are smaller, but apart from that it again corresponds largely with the other numbers. The pedestal has only openwork crosses in the middle band; the upper rim is ornamented again in the same way. From the middle of the pedestal a horse appears, however not from a niche. The backpiece is connected with the pedestal; it is worked up à jour and on both sides it changes into a stylised makara-ornament. The godhead, which is decorated in the regular

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[12] *Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu,* herausgegeben von A. Grünwedel, Veröffentl. Kön. Mus. f. Völkerkunde 1890:I.2/3.64, 66f.

[13] See for example Von Siebold's *Pantheon von Nippon,* 1832 fig.166 and p.76.

way and which has the ūrṇā too, keeps the right hand open, with a jewel in it, on the right knee. The left hand lies [**66**] open in the lap. One can compare this to figure no.79 of Pander, which holds the hands in the same way, but which has the jewel in the left hand. As this figure is holding a jewel in its hand and as the horse belongs to Ratnasambhava, it does not seem too bold to regard this as a form of Ratnapāṇi.[14]

The pedestal is 3.4 high with a base of 6.8×6.2, the lotus-cushion is 1.5 high, the largest diameter is 5; the backpiece is 11 high; on top of the back side there is a small ring to fix the parasol. The statue itself is 8 cm high.

Of no.**8** (5394) very little is left: a pedestal, which is decorated with in- and out-coming edges only. Its upper rim is narrower and shorter than the rim below. Above that there is a lotus-cushion with the lower part of a body: the rest is gone.

One can still see both hands: the right one lies in bhūmisparśa-mudrā on the knee, the left one lies opened in the lap. As it appears from the measurements, the square fragment of a backpiece should belong to this statue, that should be a so-called flaming rim and the outline of a gloria.

The pedestal is 3.5 high; the base below is 6.7×6, above 5.3 × 4.4; the lotus-cushion is 1.7 high, the biggest diameter is 4 cm.

Nos. **9-27** (5395-5413) again form a group. Pedestals are nowhere present; the figures sit just on a lotus-cushion.

The decoration is overall as usual, except for the fact that with the female statues the upavīta is replaced by the so-called strings for women. [Strings are the band crossed over the breast that women and children wear in Indonesian sculpture.] All have the ūrṇā and bear or have borne a gloria: where it has disappeared, the remains of the connection with the statues are clearly seen. In one of the statues (no.10) a golden plate was fixed in the hollow underpiece. This plate had a length of about 3 cm and a breadth of 1.7 cm and it had undecipherable remains of inscribed letters.

Such a plate seems to have been present in other examples too, so that they were present probably in all examples. The statues themselves (without the gloria) are 9 cm high, on a lotus-cushion of 2.1 cm height and with a largest diameter of 5.3; the gloria are 4.5 long and 3.1 wide.

The numbers 9-23 are, apart from some small things, complete. The last three numbers are feminine statues. Nos. 24 and 25 are only upper parts of the body, broken at the middle; nos. 26 and 27 are lotus-cushions with the lower part of the body. These upper and lower parts, apparently, do not belong to each other.

[**67**] Concerning the positions of the hands and the attrtibutes we state the following.

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[14] One can compare also lunar mansion, illustrated by Von Siebold, no. 327 p.108.

No. **9** has the right hand opened upwards with the thumb turned inwards in front of the breast; the top of a viśvavajra rests on the middle-finger. The stem of a lotus is held by the left hand, which rests on the thigh. On its top there is an upstanding oblong square object, which looks most like a truncated sword but in that case has no hilt. It is not clear to us what the combination of these attributes represents: the viśvavajra in front of the breast, but without a sword, appears at Dharmavajra[15]; the sword on the lotus, but without viśvavajra is very common with Mañjuśrī, and is also found with Ākāśagarbha[16].

In the same way the viśvavajra is held on the right hand side by no.**10**. Here the left hand however rests on the side, in a mudrā, wherein the thumb is folded inwards between the closed fingers. The forefinger and little finger point outwards more than the other fingers. No object is seen in or around this hand.

The next example, no.**11**, holds with its right hand the normal vajra in front of the breast. A stem is held in the left hand. The stem is broken halfway, so it is impossible to know what has been on top of it: perhaps no.32 (see below) could have thrown a little light on it, but there the vajra is held in a different way. The vajra as an attribute held by the hand, well-known in combination with a temple-bell, also appears without the temple-bell many times, specially in Japan, where however the left hand does not hold a stem[17].

Both nos.**12** and **13** apparently represent the same. In the right hand opened in front of the breast there is a lotus-bud which is flattened from above, in the left hand the stem of a lotus is held on which a solar disc is situated. In no.12 this solar disc is surrounded by three flame-ornaments, in no.13 it has no further decoration. The statements about the godhead, which is characterised by the sun on a lotus, are very doubtful. One finds it with Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhī but also with Ākāśagarbha and Samantabhadra[18]. Āditya can naturally be represented by a sun[19]. Finally it is impossible too, that the flaming disk has to represent the sun, and the undecorated one the moon. All however is uncertain.

[68] The same is the case with no.**14**. In the uplifted right hand it holds an object above the forehead. It is possible to describe this object as the end of a stem (some part is broken off), which has a pear-shaped thickening. This in its turn passes into a knob, the same as one finds on a vajra. The left hand holds the stem of a lotus, again what was

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[15] Grünwedel fig. 80.

[16] Grünwedel fig.92, 102, 113, p.134, 141; Foucher II fig.2;p.32. So also in Siṁhanāda-Lokeśvara; Grünwedel p.130; Bhagvanlal Indraji, *The Bauddha Mythology of Nepal*, Arch. Surv. West India IX fig.15.

[17] See Von Siebold no.193 and 289: p.78 and 92.

[18] Grünwedel fig.114, p.109, 141; Pander no.149, 150, 153; Von Siebold fig. 190, 191, 285 (with vajra), 333, 336, p.78, 91, 107f.

[19] Von Siebold fig.409 p.114.

on its top is broken off. Fragment no.24 shows exactly the same object in the right hand as no.14 and here the lotus is also preserved: there is a *jewel* on it. Because of further similarity it is possible that this has been the same as no.14. However we do not become wiser by this as long as the meaning of the baffling object in the right hand is not clear; the jewel on the lotus appears as an attribute of Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhī[20] and is for instance also found in the Prambanan.[21]

No.**15** has no object in the right hand. It is lifted up to the chin in a mudrā, wherein the middle finger and ring-finger are laid upon the thumb which is folded inwards. The left hand is held up and holds an *arrow* and the fragment of a *bow*; the point of the arrow is of the same kind as elsewhere, like the knob of a vajra. The arrow and bow as attributes in combination with others are very common too, but rare as the only emblem[22].

No.**16** has in the left hand the very short stem of a *lotus-flower*, it ends in a point, which is in front of the body on the level of the stomach; above that the right hand is held in front of the breast, with its back upstanding and the middle and ring fingers bowed downwards to the front over the inward-folded thumb. The right hand does not touch the lotus, just like no.34 which is exactly alike. This representation is comparable to fig.79 in Grünwedel, called Karmavajra, and fig.93 in Von Siebold registered as a form of Avalokiteśvara[23]. In both figures however the mudrā of the right hand deviates a little.

Of numbers **17** and **18** the first has the right hand in front of the breast, the left stretched to the left; together they hold a *snake*, whose head rests against the right underarm. The representation is thus in the same manner as that of Varuṇa, as it appears in Pander[24], there however it is seated on another snake. No.18 is more or less [**69**] damaged; in the hidden right hand it holds a fragment, which looks much like a snakehead of no.17 and whose continuation is broken off on the other side of the hand. The left hand which is also lifted up to the face, holds a broken-off fragment of the same kind as the body of a snake. It is, however, not possible to be certain.

No.**19** supports the left hand on the side and with the right hand holds a shallow bowl in front of the breast. The disc is round and on four sides it shows a kind of flaming ornament and also has four round holes situated in a regular square. A pātra could be meant by this disc; it is also wellnigh possible that something else had been fixed in these four holes.

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[20] Grünwedel fig. 88 and p.141, Von Siebold fig. 45, p.57.
[21] Rapp. 1909 pl. 128.
[22] Compare Von Siebold fig. 466, (469), 483; p.133f., 136.
[23] p. 64.
[24] No.288, p.104.

No.**20** is also strange. It holds both arms in front and in the hands has the ends of a chain, of which six links are present. The chain exists more in the Lamaist pantheon as an attribute[25]; it is however again not possible to figure out who is represented here.

Now three feminine statues follow. No.**21** is completely twisted and so it is not known what was the original direction of the arms. In each of both hands it holds a very remarkable attribute, consisting of a handle, with a *small hand* with pulse-ring, which in its turn holds a *vajra*. Nowhere else have I seen this emblem.

No.**22** supports with the left hand on the knee and the left hand holds an immediately broken-off stem. The right hand supports its wrist on the knee and holds the handle of an *incense-burner*, the same that one sees so often represented on the old monuments, and by which one can remember, that the goddess Dhūpā in Waddel also carries an incense-burner[26]. In the same place a Dīpā, characterised by a lamp, is mentioned, this is of some significance for no.**23**, which has in both hands, in the left hand in front and in the right hand with its wrist supported on the knee, a *lamp* of a high model, with a long trunk resting on a small base; the actual lamps are very simple and have one wick.

Of the upper parts of the (male) body which also belong to this group, no.**24** has already been discussed with no.14. No.**25** holds both hands with the back upwards and the fingers knitted in front of the breast and at the same time holds in the hands *two vajra's*, in which of course only the ends can be seen. [**70**]A left land, supported on the sides, is connected with the pedestal with a lower part of the body of no.**26**. Nothing is to be seen in no.**27**.

The numbers **28-38** (5414-5424) also form one integral group. These figures too have no pedestal and are just sitting on a lotus-cushion; but they also lack the gloria. They are much smaller than the foregoing category: the lotus-cushion is 1.3 high with the biggest diameter of 5 cm; the statues themselves are 7.8 high. Nine statues represent males, two females. The last two carry a double necklace, a peculiarity which is also found in the male statue no.35. The other decoration is similar to the decoration of the former group.

The first number no.**28**, is one whose identification is possible; it is the well-known Mañjuśrī with the *sword* in the outstretched right hand and the *kropak* in the left hand in front of the breast. The representation is in complete accord with the famous statue from 1265, nowadays in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Berlin[27], a form which

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[25] Pander p. 109 no. 26.
[26] Lamaism p. 366; compare Foucher II.69.
[27] See *Tjandi Singasari* 1909:101f. with plates.

was so far lacking in the bronze collection of the Batavia Museum[28]. This way of representing Mañjuśrī is known in the whole of Buddhist art, so it is not necessary to name the places where it exists.

The same applies to no.**29**. It is the regular representation of Vajrasattva with a *vajra* in the right hand in front of the breast and a *temple-bell* in the left hand, which leans on the side. This representation too is very well-known; in Java too it appears many times in bronze[29] and is nowadays also found in the Museum at Mojokĕrto[30]. With our bronze the vajra leans on the middle finger of the right hand; no Buddha-statue is found in the head-dress, which however is the case elsewhere.

No.**30** also has the right hand in front of the breast; on the middle finger however leans, as with no.10, the *viśvavajra*. Again as in no.10, the left hand leans on the side, with no.10 there were no signs of any object, with no.30 however the hand holds a stem, which is broken off at the level of the shoulder. The emblem carried by the statue is unknown.

Both the nos. **31** and **32** can again be examined together. Both have the usual vajra on the middle finger of the right hand in front of the breast [**71**] and in the left hand they have in the usual way a stem, which in the first example is broken off at the shoulder, but in the second one shows the lotus with a *jewel*. About the latter emblem we have already spoken in no.14 (and 24); a vajra carried in the same way was also found with Vajrasattva.

No. **33** has in the right hand in front of the breast an unclear object, pear-shaped with a knob on top of it, perhaps this is a very big jewel, but is also comparable to the emblems in the right hand of nos.14 and 24, although there exists a shaft, which is absent here. Of the greatest importance is in any case the attribute in the left hand; a stem with lotus, on top of which there is a *caitya* or stūpa covered by a sevenfold parasol. Generally this attribute pertains to Maitreya, who carries it in his head-dress; separately it exists in Lamaism in Virūpākṣa[31], in Japan in Kuvera-Vaiśravaṇa[32], in both cases however it is combined with other emblems.

No. **39** is already mentioned with no.16.

No. **35** holds a kind of *armour*, a stiff jacket to cover the upper part of the body, with openings for the neck and arms. The object, which is only 1.5 cm long, is naturally much too small to be worn by a person of the same size as the statue which holds it.

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[28] Rapport 1912:37.
[29] ibid. p.42-44.
[30] Oudh. Versl. 1913, 2de kw. p.35.
[31] See Grüwedel p.181; Pander 1889:63.
[32] Grünwedel 1.1 and fig.153; Von Siebold fig.404, 414, 505, 585; p.114, 116, 141, 153.

So it is only a model or represented so small to favour the composition. It rests on the left hand, which is in front of the breast and from above it is held by the right hand.

The next statue, no.**36**, has nothing in the left hand, which leans on a lotus-cushion. The right hand is opened upwards in front of the breast and from it hangs a *narrow strip* ending in a point; it looks mostly like a strip of cloth, a belt or so, of which only some part can be seen. It is possible that something has been stitched in the lower part at the point.

Both the last two numbers, 37 and 38, are feminine statues. No.**37** is the usual representation of the goddess Sarasvatī. A *lute* with seven strings lies on the lap, its upper part is held by the left hand and the right hand is ready to play the strings: at the crossing of the sounding-board and the neck of the musical instrument there is a beautiful tendril-ornament. The goddess, who is the consort of Brahmā in Brahmanism and accordingly **[72]** the consort of Mañjuśrī in Buddhism, appears here in her simple form, which is followed by her in Tibet and Japan too, while in India she is later represented mostly in different forms[33].

No.**38** actually holds both hands in the front, opened from above, in which it has a doubled up *cloth*, which hangs downwards from between the hands till the knee of the goddess, where it curls in the form of a so-called swallow-tail.

Finally there are three fragments, two of which (5426 and 5427) are of no further importance: a gloria and a piece of a lotus-cushion, belonging to group 9-27. Only no.**39** (5425) deserves some further attention: it is a lotus-cushion which is 1 cm high and its biggest diameter is 4.3. It is smaller than one of those mentioned before, so apparently some smaller examples have belonged to the collection.

As follows from the cataloguing given here, there are still many representations, apart from those determined immediately, which have an uncertain determination. In times to come they will make their contribution to the study of Buddhist iconography. The collection derives its main significance — as already mentioned — from the fact that it belongs together and forms one whole although an incomplete whole: it is certain that some pieces are missing and it is also well nigh possible that there are more in the ground, or that some parts of the find are now in wrong hands. But already as it is the collection is noteworthy enough and so we think it is desirable to make it well-known as soon as possible, although still a lot remains to be solved. Probably, later this will be clear and that this will demand a new definitive publication.

Postscript. During the printing of this article two more statues belonging to the same collection came to the Batavia Museum. The first, a male statue, belonging to group

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[33] Foucher II.89; Pander fig.157; Grünwedel p.152; Von Siebold fig.255, 319, 487, p.88, 89, 125.

28-38, holds a *viśvavajra* with his right hand in front of the breast and with his left hand a *bell* against his side. The second is a female statue, sitting on an oval plate as the upper part of a missing lotus-cushion, with a gloria, and the left hand is in the lap and the right hand has *two small globes* and rests on the knee. The latter statue is 7.5 cm high; the plate corresponds with the measurements of no.39.

8. THE BUDDHIST BRONZES OF SUROCOLO

(in collaboration with Mrs. Sudarshana Devi Singhal)

Jan Fontein's *The Sculpture of Indonesia* is a masterpiece of descriptions and photographs of the statues of the Islands. It presents identifications of twentytwo statuettes discovered from the hamlet of Surocolo in 1976. Like their counterparts from Ṅañjuk they show fine and detailed technique and share stylistic commonality with them. Though identified, they pose problems *prima facie*. The four statuettes on pages 224-225 are evidently goddeses, but they have been identified as Vajrarāga, Vajrarakṣa, Vajrakarma?, and Vajrabhāṣa? Fontein is not sure about these ascriptions and he has question-marked two of them, though he has rightly realised that they form a group. To find a clue to the re-identification of these and, if need be, of other statuettes, the largest statuette was chosen for detailed study. It is 10.2 cm and pertains to Vajrasattva. The sizes can be divided into three categories:

1. the largest 10.2 cm (only one statuette)
2. the medium 7.6, 7.9, 8.2, 8.9 cm
3. the smaller 5.5, 5.6, 5.8, 5.9, 6.0 cm

Fontein doubted the identification of Vajrasattva because of its "larger size than almost all pieces found in this hoard" (1990:230). Ever since Bosch identified the Sevu and Ṅañjuk bronzes with the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, the Vajradhātu has dominated all subsequent identifications. This has overshadowed other maṇḍalas and has, for example, precluded the primacy of Vajrasattva as the main deity of a maṇḍala. The size of the Surocolo statuette strongly posits the possibility of his being the *maṇḍaleśa*. Only this statuette has a nimbus, while it is absent in all other deities of the Surocolo hoard. The royal canopy and throne found in other Indonesian bronzes of Vajrasattva seem to have been lost. The other five bronzes of Vajrasattva from Indonesia are:

(1) 13.9 cm., Museum Pusat, Jakarta, no. 602a.
1912 Krom, ROD. p. 43 pl. 17.
1971 Fontein p. 15 no. 43, illus. on p. 79
1990 Fontein p. 220 (large and clear plate in colour)
Jewel-shaped nimbus, canopy and rectangular throne from whose base an elephant emerges, flanked by two lions.

(2) 13.5 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RM 1970-2, silver figure on a bronze throne, Ṅañjuk style
1919 Krom fig. 11
1926 Stutterheim fig. 48

1985 Scheurleer p. 175
1988 Scheurleer/Klokke p. 105
1990 Fontein p. 223 (clear full-page plate)
No nimbus or canopy. Rectangular throne without his mount the elephant.

(3) 12.0 cm, Muśee Guimet, no. 2173
1971 Bonheur p.138-140
Nimbus, but no canopy. Rectangular throne without mount.

(4) 9.0 cm, Linden Museum, no. SA 35228 L
1984 Leeuw p. 38
Nimbus around the whole body, remnants of a canopy (*chattra*) behind the figure. Rectangular throne supported by an elephant in the centre and a lion on either side.

(5) Leiden Museum 1403-3049
1971 Bonheur p. 139 (illustration)
Nimbus around the body, canopy, rectangular throne without mount.

All the above statuettes pertain to Vajrasattva as a Tathāgata and not as a Bodhisattva. Vajrasattva as a bodhisattva is represented by an early East Javanese bronze of Ñañjuk style (MAK 1168, Scheurleer et al. 1985:176, Scheurleer & Klokke 1988:103).

Mallmann (1965:226) has indicated an iconographic confusion between the Vajrasattva of the group of Sixteen Bodhisattvas of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala and Vajrasattva the Buddha. Bonheur (1971:138) points out that the Muśee Guimet statue 2173 of Vajrasattva corresponds to the description of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala of the NSP 19. But it is supported by a pedestal provided with antefixes analogous to the fleurons of the Musée Guimet statue no. 18290 of Vajradhātu Vairocana himself. These fleurons are found only in the representation of a rather small number of divinities and accentuates their character of supreme beings (ibid. 140). Bonheur also indicates that supreme beings as principal divinities of the maṇḍala, have a symmetric disposition of fleurons, which are not merely decorative motifs (ibid. 125).

Fontein (1990:223) has distinguished two different beings who bear the name Vajrasattva: Ādibuddha Vajrasattva and Vajrabodhisattva Vajrasattva. The Ādibuddha Vajrasattva "occupies the supreme position in the pantheon", and the Vajrabodhisattva Vajrasattva is one of a group of Sixteen Bodhisattvas in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala.

The two Vajrasattvas are clearly differentiated in the Chinese captions and sitting postures of the Pao-hsiang Lou pantheon:

4A50 Vajrasattva Bodhisattva/Chin-kang-yung-shih p'u-sa
in the maṇḍala of Vajradhātu Vairocana
In sattva-paryaṅka posture

4B27 Vajrasattva Buddha/Chin-kang-yung-shih fo
In vajra-paryaṅka posture

In the Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan pantheon of Lalitavajra the same distinction in nomenclature is maintained in the Chinese names (B69, B193, Clark 1937).

Vajrasattva the Bodhisattva is one of the four acolytes of Akṣobhya in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (Ishida 2.115).

Vajrasattva the Buddha/Tathāgata is the main deity in four maṇḍalas of the yoga- and anuttara-yoga-tantras:

YOGA-TANTRAS

1. Nayasūtra, chapter 1
   Vajrasattva, two arms: r. vajra, l. bell
   Mitrayogin 40 (Darba p.81): white, maṇḍala of 17 deities
   Shūei's maṇḍala of Great Bliss based on chapter 1 of Amoghavajra's Rishūkyō, translated by him around 774.
2. Paramādya
   Vajrasattva, white, two arms: r. vajra, l. bell
   (a) Mitrayogin 34 (Darba p. 69): maṇḍala of 61 deities
   (b) Saṁkṣipta-kula Paramādya maṇḍala of 319 deities
   Ngor maṇḍala 25
   (c) Paramādya Vajrasattva, maṇḍala of 77 deities
   Ngor maṇḍala 26, based on the following two root texts:
   Paramādya-nāma-mahāyāna-kalparāja (Toh 487)
   Paramādya-mantra-kalpa-khaṇḍa (Toh 488)

ANUTTARA-YOGA-TANTRAS

3. Guhyasamāja-tantra
   NSP maṇḍala 1 (text p. 2: *Bhagavān Vajrasattvo Mañjuvajra-rūpaḥ....*)
   Darba p. 137 terms him Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra.
   Six arms: two original arms embrace the consort, r. sword, arrow, l. lotus, bow.
   Red-yellow.
4. Samputa-tantra
   Vajrasattva of the Samputa-tantra
   NSP. 3 (text p. 8: *śrī-samputa-tantra-okta-vajrasattva-maṇḍale....*).
   Darba (p. 145) terms him Saṁvara Vajrasattva
   Six arms: two arms with vajra and bell embrace the consort, r. sword, hook, l. cranium, lasso. White.

Thus Vajrasattva is supreme and independent as the chief of maṇḍalas. That is why his statuette is the largest in the Surocolo hoard, and with the nimbus. The difference in style and technique of the statuette can be due to the fact that it was an earlier image that could have belonged to the ancestors of the donor of the Surocolo hoard. As an heirloom, it lent special sanctity to the maṇḍala. Vajrasattva was the main deity in the Nayasūtra which was very popular in the tenth century. In AD 960 the Nayasūtra was read by priests at the outer gates of the palace to consecrate the new place of residence of the Japanese Emperor (Visser 2.511).

The Surocolo maṇḍalas may pertain to the reign of Siṇḍok, who ruled AD 929-947. The anthology Saṅ hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan (SHK), by Sambhara-sūryāvaraṇa, is attributed to his period. King Siṇḍok founded a Buddhist monastery named Jayamĕrta in AD 935 (Śaka 857) according to the Añjug Laḍang Inscription found near Candi Lor. The inscription names the locality Añjuk, which is known as Ṅañjuk, with the addition of the definite article *ṅ*. The Ṅañjuk bronzes were discovered near Candi Lor. He was succeeded by his daughter who ruled as queen Īśānatuṅgavijayā. The Calcutta inscription of Airlaṅga gives her the epithet *Sugata-pakṣa-sahā*, which refers to her association with the Buddhists (*Sugata*).

The name Vajrasattva (written Bajrasattva) occurs only twice in Old Javanese, namely in the Mantranaya of the SHK, according to Zoetmulder's *Old Javanese-English Dictionary*. In the 12th stanza divine samaya is equated with Vajrasattva (*saṅ hyaṅ samaya ta sira sinaṅguh bhaṭāra Bajrasatva*, Kats 21.23, Wulff p. 23). The 19th stanza points out the immaculate nature of Vajrasattva, who pervades the mind, who lords over all the Buddhas, and is self-being (*sarva-buddh-ādhipaḥ svayaṁ*). He is perfect, pure, and flawless being unstained by rāga, dveṣa and moha, the three poisons of the mundane world. He is supreme among all the Tathāgatas (*pinaka-pradhāna saṅ sarva-tathāgata sira*, Kats 23.18, Wulff p. 26). While stanzas 1-22 pertain to the Mahāvairocana-sūtra, these two stanzas 12 and 19 are not found therein (Jong 1974:469). They have neither been located in the Nayasūtra by Jong.

The cult of Vajrasattva of the Nayasūtra was very popular from the seventh century onward. The sūtra was translated six times into Chinese:

Hsüan-tsang	(w.645-664)	T 220/10, Nj 1j
Bodhiruci	(w.693-713)	T 240, Nj 18
Vajrabodhi	(w.723-741)	T 241, Nj 1033
Amoghavajra	(w.723-774)	T 243, Nj 1043
Dharmapāla?	(w. 973-1001)	T 244, Nj 1047
Dānapāla	(w. 980-1000)	T 242, Nj 862

Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra had been to Java before they arrived in China to spread

Mantrayāna. Both of them translated the Nayasūtra. In Japan, the Nayasūtra is recited daily, morning and evening. The first chapter of the Nayasūtra is dedicated to Vajrasattva, followed by Mahāvairocana in the second chapter. It shows the primacy of Vajrasattva over Mahāvairocana (Astley-Kristensen 1991:213). The Nayasūtra could have been a text for daily recitation in ancient Java and the larger statuettes of Vajrasattva distinguished by the nimbus, sitting posture, throne, and mount should pertain to the Naya-maṇḍala. The Surocolo statuettes, in fact, are of the Naya-sūtra.

The maṇḍala of Vajrasattva in the Nayasūtra is as follows:

Inner enclosure

Central deity : 1 *Vajrasattva*

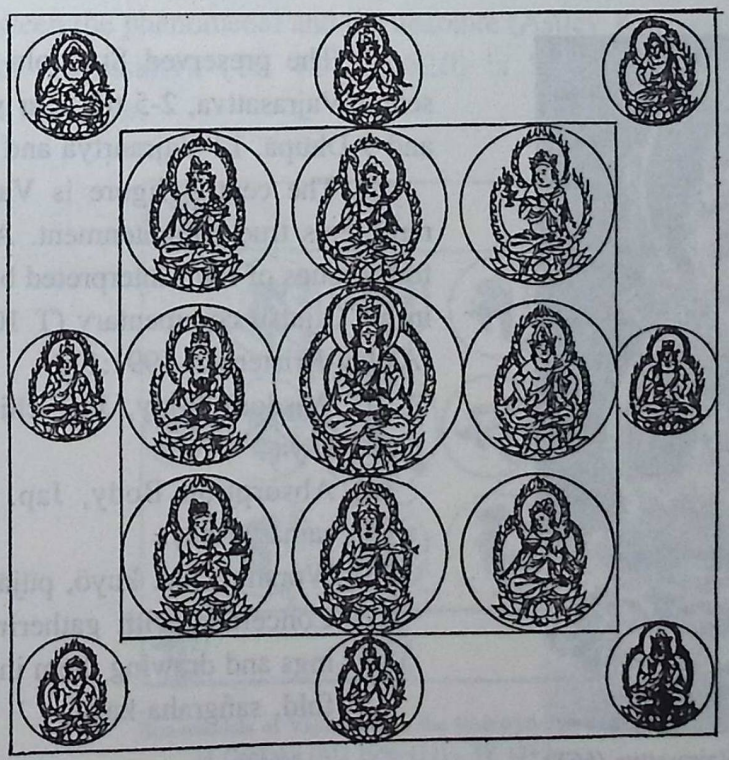
Surrounded by : 2 *Rāgavajriṇī*, 3 *Kelikila-vajriṇī*, 4 *Manoja-vajriṇī*, 5 *Māna-vajriṇī* (in the four directions)
6 Puṣpā, 7 *Dīpā*, 8 Gandhā, 9 *Dhūpā* (in the corners)

Outer enclosure

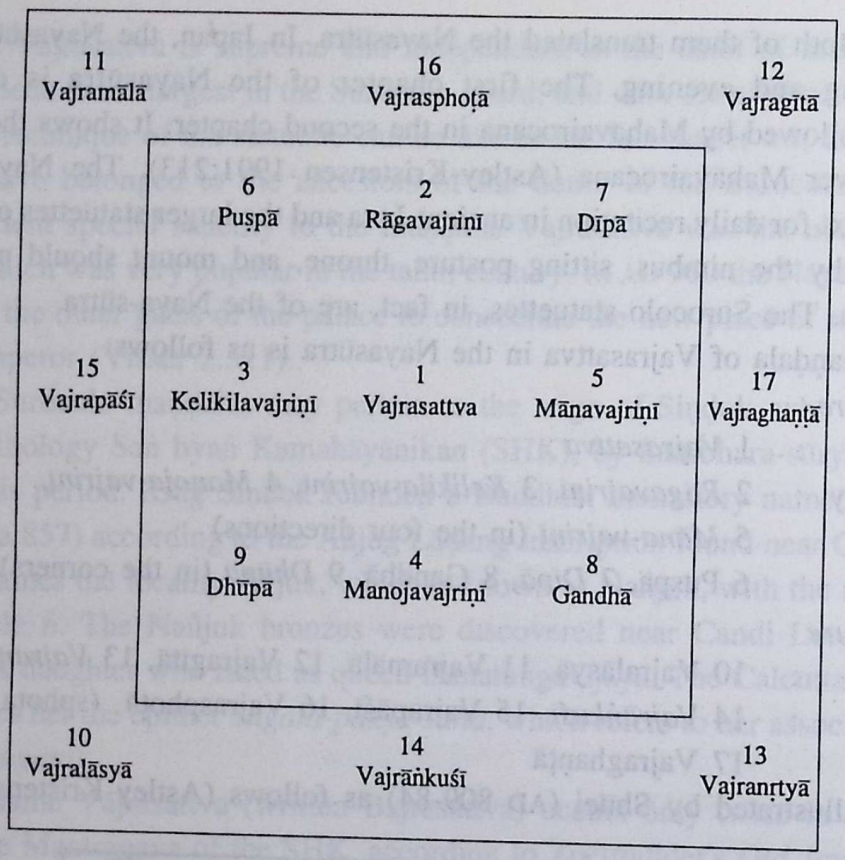
Corners : 10 Vajralāsyā, 11 Vajramālā, 12 Vajragītā, 13 *Vajranṛtyā.*

Gate-keepers : 14 *Vajrāṅkuśī*, 15 Vajrapāśī, 16 Vajrasphoṭā (sphoṭa 'chain'), 17 Vajraghaṇṭā

It is illustrated by Shūei (AD 809-84) as follows (Astley-Kristensen 1991:112, 220):



See identifications on p.126



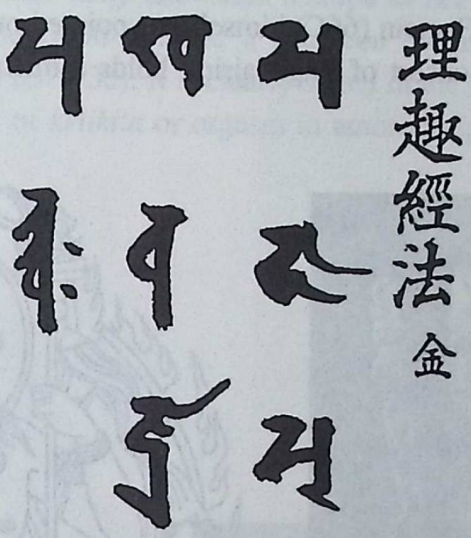
1. Mahāsukha Vajrasattva (66T)

The preserved Surocolo bronzes represent 1 Vajrasattva, 2-5 the four vajriṇīs, 7 Dīpā and 9 Dhūpā, 13 Vajranṛtyā and 14 Vajrāṅkuśī.

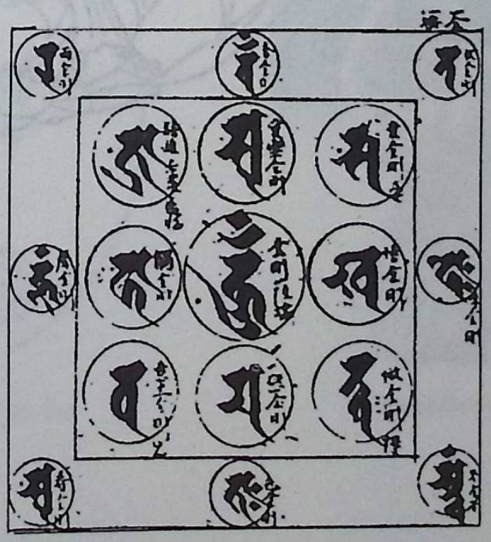
The central figure is Vajrasattva[1], who represents true enlightenment. Around him are four groups of four, interpreted by Amoghavajra in his Gijutsu commentary (T 1004) as follows (Astley-Kristensen 1991:17):

(i) Wisdom Body, Jap. chi-shin = jñāna-kāya
(ii) Absorption Body, Jap. sammai-shin= samādhi-kāya
(iii) Worship, Jap. kuyō, pūjā-kāya
(iv) Concerned with gathering sentient beings and drawing them into the Buddhist fold, saṅgraha-kāya.

1. Vajrasattva is accompanied by sixteen goddesses in the prime of youth. He is called Mahāsukha-Vajrasattva in the Rishūkyōbō/Nayasūtra-kalpa by Kōbō Daishi (AD 774-835):



His cycle is known as the 'maṇḍala of Great Bliss'/Mahāsukha-maṇḍala in Shūei. "Human desires and delusions are here revealed as the energies of enlightenment" (Yamasaki 1988:144). Vajrasattva is the absolute realm, and the vajriṇīs are the principle of the relationship between the phenomenal and the absolute (Astley-Kristensen 1991:120). The bīja-maṇḍala of Vajrasattva (TZ 124.2/5.820) is *Vajrasattva mahāsukha bahu-suratastvaṁ jaḥ hūṁ hoḥ*:



Bīja-maṇḍala of Vajrasattva in the Rishūkyō-mandara of Gonkaku (AD 1056-1121), TZ 124.2.

2. Rāgavajriṇī is identical with her representation in the Japanese maṇḍala illustrated above. She is clearly a goddess and cannot be the male bodhisattva Vajrakarma. Vajrakarma does not hold a bell. In the pūjāmaṇḍala he holds aloft a viśvavajra in both hands (Ishida 2.118). Fontein (66C) himself has pointed out that she is a female divinity. Rāgavajra, the male consort of Rāgavajriṇī, holds a makara-pennant.

2. Rāga-vajriṇī (66C)

3. Kelikila-vajriṇī has been tentatively identified as the male bodhisattva Vajrabhāṣa (?) by Fontein 66D. Vajrabhāṣa holds a tongue (*bhāṣa*) on a lotus, and not a stūpa. She is definitely a female deity and holds a stūpa in her right hand. The stūpa is an ithyphallic symbol in the Gobu-shingan, a pantheon of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala drawn by Śubhākarasiṁha (AD 637-735). It is clearly stated in the caption *stabdha-liṅga*. Kelikila-vajriṇī as the goddess of *kelikila* or orgasm in amorous sport, holds the stūpa a symbol of the ithyphallus.

Stūpa as *stabdha-liṅga* in the Gobu-shingan

3. Kelikila-vajriṇī (66D)

4. Manoja-vajriṇī has been identified as Vajrarāga by Fontein (66A). Her male consort Iṣṭavajra holds an arrow of Cupid:

4. Manoja-vajriṇī (66A)

5. Māna-vajriṇī corresponds to the Japanese maṇḍala. She has been identified as Vajrarakṣa by Fontein (66B). Māna means 'approval': she is showing approval by clapping her hands. Her male consort Mānavajra has a similar mudrā:

5. Māna-vajriṇī (66B)

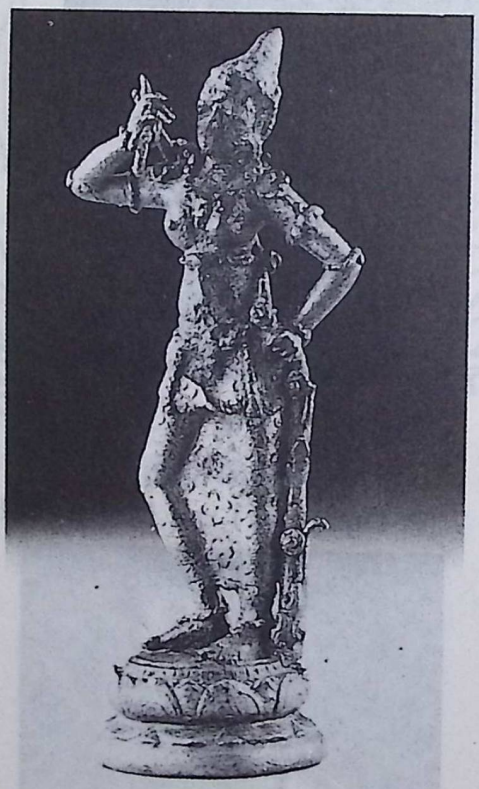
7, 9. Dīpā (66F) and Dhūpā (66E) have already been identified by Fontein.

7. Dīpā (66F)

9. Dhūpā (66E)

13, 14. The two statuettes 66R and 66S have small round lotus pedestals, different from others. They are from the outer circle of the maṇḍala, and hence their pedestals show another pattern. They are Vajranṛtyā (66R) and Vajrāṅkuśī ?(66S). The statuette 66S has been tentatively identified as Vajralāsī (?) by Fontein. She holds a sharp object which seems to be an *aṅkuśa*.

13. Vajranṛtyā (66R)



14. Vajrāṅkuśī (66S)

THE 17-DEITY MAṆḌALA OF SIXTEEN-ARMED HEVAJRA

The remaining statuettes can be assigned to the maṇḍala of Sixteen-armed Hevajra (NSP.5, text p.14). This maṇḍala has the following 17 deities:

1 Hevajra, on Four Māras
2-9 Gaurī, Caurī, Vetālī, Ghasmarī, Pukkasī, Śabarī, Caṇḍālī, Ḍombinī
10-13 Corners: Vaṁśā, Vīṇā, Mukundā, Murajā
14-17 Gates: Hayāsyā, Sūkarāsyā, Śvānāsyā, Siṁhāsyā.

Hevajra is not found in the Surocolo hoard. He belongs to the family of Heruka. He is refered to as Heruka in the Niṣpannayogāvalī (text p. 14). Zoetmulder (1982:1.621) records only one occurrence of the word Heruka in Sutasoma 125.10 in the description of yoga among the corpses on the battlefield: *sumādhya ri turuna bhaṭāra Heruka.* A stone statue of Heruka has been found in Bahal II, Padang Lawas (Kempers 1959:75-76 plate 228). Heruka (an epiphany of Akṣobhya) includes five deities in the anuttara-yoga tantras: Saṁvara, Hevajra, Buddhakapāla, Mahāmāya and Ārali.

Fontein (1990:223) points out: "The three largest statuettes have lotus pedestals of a type that is quite different from that of the smaller bronzes, and are of markedly inferior workmanship. One of these three represents Śiva. It could not have been part of the original Buddhist ensemble, which constitutes the remnants of a three-dimensional maṇḍala". These three statuettes are firstly the largest, and secondly their workmanship is far inferior to the other 19 statuettes. They could have been deposited under the pedestal of an image, and hence their inferior quality. From under the stone pedestal of the monumental Avukana Buddha in Srilanka five bronze images were discovered in 1952. They were placed inside a garbhapātra cavity of the rock. They were Brahmā, Kubera, Indra, Yama and Varuṇa (Schroeder 1991:158, 302-303). Bronze images used as deposits in garbhapātras were generally less finely modelled (ibid. 302).

The Sixteen-armed Hevajra stands on Four Māras (NSP.5, text p.14), who are:

Brahmā	yellow	Skandha-Māra
Viṣṇu	black	Kleśa-Māra
Maheśvara	shining (*śubhra*)	Mṛtyu-Māra
Śakra	white (*gaura*)	Devaputra-Māra

The four feet of Sixteen-armed Heruka are placed on the Four Māras (*Māra-catuṣṭaya*) who are in the form of Hari, Hara, Hiraṇyagarbha, and Purandara, lying supine (*uttāna*, NSP.8, text p. 20).

Vajrāsana Buddha sits on a throne constituted by the images of the Four Māras (SM.3 p.20, 5 p.24):

		SM3	SM5
Skandha-Māra	white	gaura	gaura
Kleśa-Māra	red	rakta	rakta
Mṛtyu-Māra	blue	kṛṣṇa	nīla
Devaputra-Māra	dark	śyāma	śyāma

Thus Śiva of Surocolo corresponds to Maheśvara, Hara, or Mṛtyu-Māra in the above maṇḍalas. He and the other two must have been placed under a Buddhist statue. Their workmanship is inferior on purpose, to denigrate their status in the Buddhist context.

Gaurī has four arms in the maṇḍala:

right hands : draw the arrow, vajra-chopper (*vajra-kartrī*)

left hands : bow and cranium

Fontein's 66P on p. 229 is a two-armed Gaurī with her right hand drawing an arrow on the bow in the left. Four severed heads dangle from the left hand holding the bow. They are the cranium of the NSP. Fontein has identified the statuette as Vināyaka with bow and arrow (?). Vināyaka has the head of an elephant without exception. The statuette does not have an elephant-head and cannot be a Vināyaka. She is clearly a female divinity with a serene and beautiful face: no chance of her being a Vināyaka.

Caurī has four arms in the maṇḍala with vajra, ḍamaru, hook and cranium. The statuette 66N holds a vajra in the right hand, while the outstretched left hand held "a now-broken and unidentifiable attribute" (Fontein). The left must have held a hook (*aṅkuśa*).

Statuette 66Q holds a "mirror or the disk of the sun, while a few links of a chain, cast separately and probably made of silver, are attached to it. Edi Sedyawati has identified this figure as Vajrasphoṭā"(Fontein). The disk has an extension like a foot and thus it cannot be the disk of the sun. It could have been a mirror with a handle, but she is not in the posture of looking at a mirror. It can be a bowl with a handle and she can be Vetālī who holds a bowl (*karoṭaka*) in her left hand. In the Pañcaḍāka maṇḍala she has a chain (*sphoṭa*, NSP.p. 75). The chain cast separately and attached to the Surocolo statuette may have been affixed subsequently to identify her definitively as Vetālī.

The four corners of the maṇḍala of Hevajra are occupied by four goddesses of music:

10	Vaṁśā	5.8 cm	66G
11	Vīṇā	5.8 cm	66K
12	Mukundā	5.8 cm	66H
13	Murajā	5.4 cm	66J

The four statuettes of Vaṁśā, Vīṇā, Mukundā and Murajā, the four goddesses of music, have been correctly identified, but statuette 66K has been designated Vajragīti by Fontein, as he locates her in theVajradhātu-maṇḍala, even though the other three goddesses of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (Vajralāsyā, Vajramālā, and Vajranṛtyā) are absent. Fontein says that she "accompanies herself on the harp (vīṇā)...shown with seven pegs". She clearly belongs to the set of four goddesses of music and is none else but Vīṇā.

The statuette 66M has been identified by Sedyawati as Hayāsyā. She holds an elephant hook (aṅkuśa) in the right hand and the head of a boar in the left. As her head has porcine fangs and as she holds the severed head of a boar, Fontein would like to identify her as Sūkarāsyā. Because she holds a boar's head, she cannot be Sūkarāsyā, who already occurs as 66L. Hayāsyā carries a hook (aṅkuśa) like Vajrāṅkuśī (NSP text p. 15) and has a distorted face (*vikṛta-vadanā*, Sādhanamālā p. 179). The Surocolo statuette carries a hook in the right hand and her face is disfigured by the fangs. She seems to be Hayāsyā.

Sūkarāsyā (66L) grasps a vajra near the chest, and the attribute of the right hand is broken. It should have been a noose (*pāśa*). Sūkarāsyā holds a pāśa like Vajrapāśī (NSP. p. 15).

The confusion in the identification of the Surocolo and other bronzes arose out of the effort to accommodate them only in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. It was not realised that other maṇḍalas were also prevalent in Indonesia. This is evident from the discussion of Fontein (p.227) on 66K who is in reality Vīṇā, but has been identified as Vajragīti to accommodate her in the Vajradhātu system: "Vajragīti is usually accompanied by Vajralāsī, Vajramālā, and Vajranṛtyā. In some types of maṇḍala these goddesses have been replaced by the four heavenly musicians, Vaṁśā, Mukundā, Murajā, and Vīṇā. As the first three of this group are represented in Surocolo, it is possible that the goddess of song, who accompanies herself on the vīṇā, is in reality the goddess Vīṇā, the fourth goddess of this group. This same uncertainty applies to the statuette from Nganjuk, for one of the Nganjuk pieces photographed by the Archaeological Service in the Termijtelen collection represents Mukundā or Murajā, indicating that the Nganjuk maṇḍala may also have contained a set of the heavenly musicians".

Maṇḍala of Sixteen-armed Hevajra

2. Gaurī ? (66P)

3. Caurī ? (66N)

4. Vetalī ? (66Q)

Maṇḍala of Sixteen-armed Hevajra (continued)

10. Vaṁśā (66G)

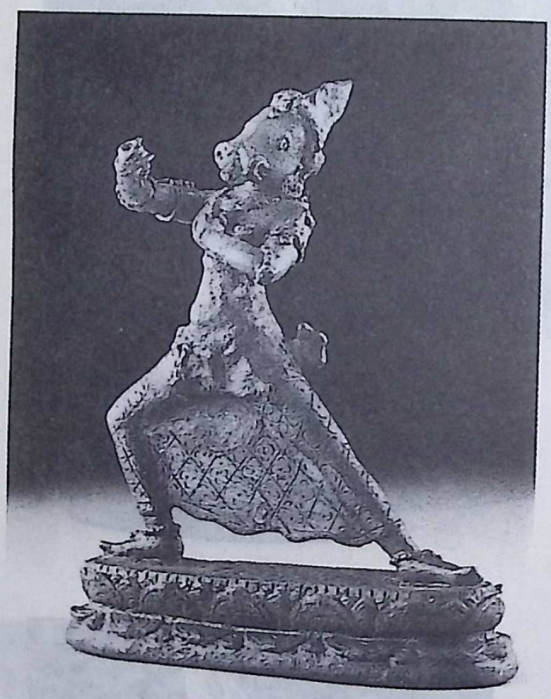
11. Viṇā (66K)

12. Mukundā (66H)

13. Murajā (66J)

Maṇḍala of Sixteen-armed Hevajra (concluded)

14. Hayāsyā (66M)



15. Sūkarāsyā (66L)

SUROCOLO

The name of the hamlet Surocolo is Sanskrit Surācala, that is Sumeru. The Jain Harivaṁśa-puraṇa 5.373-376 gives Surālaya and Suragiri as the synonyms of Sumeru. Suracala means the 'Mountain of the Gods' like Sura-giri. The maṇḍala of Vajrasattva was on the Sumeru (NSP. p.8). Likewise other maṇḍalas were also on the Sumeru (e.g. NSP. p. 27). Surocolo must have been like the Ri.bo.che in Tibet. Ri.bo.che means the Great (*che*) Mountain (*ri.bo*), like Surocolo the Divine (sura) Mountain (acala). The expression mountain connotes the rising monumental form of tashigomangs in Tibet, which were complexes of cave entrances with myriads of icons, either painted or sculpted. They were also known as kumbum (sku-ḥbum). They were a specific architectural type, and were consecrated with several kinds of maṇḍalas. Such maṇḍala complexes could be seen in the Maṇḍala Hall at Tabo (erased by time), and at Tholing (now vandalised). The maṇḍala complexes are spread all over the Tibetan-speaking world, like

the ones at Alchi, the Jo.nań Thoń.grol.chen.mo of about AD 1330 (Vitali 1990: 126, pl. 82 on p. 128, fig. 16 on p. 129), Dpal Ri.bo.che constructed in AD 1449-56 (Vitali 1990:125, pl. 75 & 76 on p. 129), Rgyań-bum-mo-che of the 15th century (Vitali 1990: 126, pl. 83 on p. 128, fig. 17 on p. 129), Dpal.ḥkhor.chos.sde "Śrīcakra temenos" or the Gyantse Kumbum constructed in the 15th century, the Kumbum Jambaling in Amdo at the birthplace of Tsongkhapa, and so on. The sacred precincts of the Gyantse Kumbum are called Dpal.ḥkhor bde.chen in the Myań.chuń chronicles. It means "Śrīcakra Mahāsukha". Mahāsukha Vajrasattva was a dominant deity in the Buddhist world. The presence of his maṇḍala in the Surocolo bronzes is no wonder. The central principle of the Gyantse complex is symbolised in its highest cella by Vajradhara.

NOTE ON VAJRASATTVA

Vajrasattva is the Supreme Tathāgata in a number of Buddhist Tantras. He is vajra the indivisible and sattva the quintessence of Three (Body, Speech and Mind, or the unity of the three universes kāmadhātu, rūpadhātu and arūpadhātu) in the Hevajra-tantra:

abhedyaṁ vajram ity uktaṁ sattvaṁ tribhavasyaikatā/
anayā prajñayā yukto vajrasattva iti smṛtah // (1.1.4)
sukhaṁ prajñā sukhopāyaḥ sukhaṁ kundurujaṁ tathā /
sukhaṁ bhavaḥ sukhābhavo Vajrasattvaḥ sukha smṛtaḥ // (2.2.33)

In the Jvālāvalī-vajra-mālā-tantra, śūnyatā is vajra, and all manifestation in form is sattva. Vajrasattva implies the identity and the unity of the two (Dasgupta 1958:78):

śūnyatā vajram ity uktam ākāraḥ sattvam ucyate /
tādātmyam anayor aikyaṁ vajrasattva iti smṛtaḥ //

In the Advayavajra-saṅgraha (p.24) He, the Adamantine Being, is the ultimate unity of the universe: vajra means śūnyatā, and sattva implies pure knowledge: the identity of the two follows from the nature of Vajrasattva:

vajreṇa śūnyatā proktā sattvena jñāna-mātratā /
tādātmyam anayoḥ siddhaṁ vajrasattva-svabhāvataḥ //

Advayavajra begins his work Caturmudrā (1927:32) by an obeisance to Vajrasattva who is pure knowledge:

Vajrasattvaṁ praṇamy-ādau viśuddha-jñāna-tanmayam/

So also his Pañcākāra (1927:40) begins with a salutation to Him:

Vajrasattvaṁ namaskṛtya niṣprapañcam anuttaram/

His Mahāsukha-prakāśa also commences by an obeisance to Vajrasattva (1927:50):

Vajrasattvaṁ namaskṛtya prajñopāya-svarūpiṇam /
Mahāsukhādvayaṁ vakṣye vastu-tattvam samāsataḥ //

Vajrasattva originates from HŪṂ. He is white in colour, two-armed, one-faced

and holds the vajra and vajra-bell in his hands. He represents the astringent taste, the autumn season, the letters ya, ra, la and va, and the time from midnight to day-break. His second name is Dharmadhātu (Advayavajra 1927:41, Bhattacharyya 1958:74): *Vajrasattvas tu Hūṁkāra-janmā śuklo dvibhuja ekavaktro vajra-vajraghaṇṭā-dharo kaśāya-rasa-śarīraḥ śarad-ṛtu-viśuddho yaralavādy-ātmakaḥ ardharātrataḥ prabhātakāla-paryanto Dharmadhātu-paranāmā.*

The Pañcakrama says that though Vajrasattva is free from all existence and non-existence, nevertheless he is endowed with the potency of all forms and existences and is himself the embodiment of loveliness:

bhāv-ābhāva-vinirmukto Vajrasattvaḥ sucintitaḥ /
sarv-ākāra-varopetaḥ āsecanaka-vigrahaḥ // (Dasgupta 1958:79)

Vajrasattva is the state of non-duality, he is the supreme bodhicitta, the adamantine truth, the Perfectly Enlightened One (sambuddha) as well as Enlightenment:

etad advayam ity uktaṁ bodhicittam idaṁ param /
vajraṁ śrī-Vajrasattvaṁ ca sambuddho bodhir eva ca //

Prajñ-opāya-viniścaya-siddhi 4.17.

Sampuṭika or Sampuṭ-odbhava-kalparāja (Dasgupta 1958:80) says: Salutation to you the śūnyatā-essence, free from all constructive imagination, producing right knowledge, perfect wisdom personified. Oh remover of illusion, the preacher of the pure truth, born of the non-essential nature of dharmas, O Vajrasattva. You are the three jewels, the great way to salvation, the reality in all the static and the dynamic, all that are the transformations of the three elements:

namas te śūnyatā-garbha sarva-saṅkalpa-varjita /
sarva-prajñāna-sandoha jñāna-murte namo'stu te //
jagad-ajñāna-viccheda śuddha-tattv-ārtha-deśaka /
dharma-nairātmya-sambhūta Vajrasattva namo'stu te //
ratna-trayaṁ mahāyānaṁ tattva-sthāvara-jaṅgamam /
traidhātukam idaṁ sarvaṁ jagad-vira namo'stu te //
suviśuddha-mahājñānaṁ sarva-deva-svarūpakam /
Vajrasattva iti khyātaṁ paraṁ sukham udāhṛtam //
svayambhū-rūpam etat tu dharma-kāya-svarūpakam /
tasyaiva sahajā prajñā sthitā tadgata-rūpiṇī //

In the Vyakta-bhāvānugata-tattva-siddhi (Dasgupta 1958:80), Vajrasattva is saluted as the Lord to be realised by every soul, the Lord without parallel, all-moving, the only doer and the only destroyer, the Lord of the world, the revealer of potentialities.

pratyātma-vedyo bhagavān upamā-varjitaḥ prabhuḥ /
sarvagaḥ sarva-vyāpi ca kartā hartā jagat-patiḥ //

śrīmān Vajrasattvo 'sau vyakta-bhāva-prakāśakaḥ /

In the anuttara-yoga tantras he is the sixth Buddha (Tucci 1949:331), as is clear in the Pradīpoddyotana commentary (Wayman 1977:114). Vajrasattva is Rāhula (289). Vajrasattva the yogin dwells anywhere to instruct the advanced Bodhisattvas (310). Vajrasattva is in women and in men at all times (356). He is the cittavajra or vajra of the mind (341), he dwells in the heart (364). Vajrasattva-hood (*vajrasattva-tva*) is non-dual knowledge (*advayajñāna*), and nirvāṇa (312).

Candrakīrti cites in the Pradīpoddyotana (223):

sarvayogo hi bhagavān Vajrasattvas tathāgataḥ /
tasyopabhogaṁ sarvaṁ vai traidhātukam aśeṣataḥ //

Lord Vajrasattva the Tathāgata is all yoga. All the three worlds, without remainder, are his enjoyment.

Vajrasattva's activities are summarized in Pañcakrama 3.31, Śrī Lakṣmī (63.39-2,3):

śṛṅgārādyupabhogaṁ ca gītavādyādisevanam /
kalāsu ca pravṛttiṁ ca kuryād udakacandravat //

He should practise the experience of the 'erotic' etc. (the nine sentiments), the recourse to (the three adamantine) songs and instrumental music (the four beginning with vīṇā), and so on, as well as engagement in the kalā (or kāmakalā) (in each case) in the manner of the 'moon in the water' (i.e. while in the illusory-like samādhi, *māyopama-samādhi*) (327).

Tucci (1949:331) says that Vajrasattva is the sambhoga-kāya aspect of Akṣobhya and hence blue in colour. "Therefore in the Bar.do, on the sixth day, when the deities of the pentad appear to the deceased's conscious principle, Akṣobhya's name is substituted with Vajrasattva's". Wayman (1977:35) explains Vajrasattva as a yogin of Akṣobhya, on the basis of Candrakīrti's commentary on Guhyasamāja 12.76. "'By the praxis of Vajrasattva (*vajrasattva-prayogataḥ*)' means Akṣobhya's yogin. 'Shining like Vajrasattva' (*vajrasattva-sama-prabhaḥ*) refers to Ratnasambhava's yogin" (316). 'The Lord who roams wherever' is Śrī Vajrasattva, the Lord of the five who are Akṣobhya, etc. (317).

Nāgārjuna's Piṇḍīkṛta-sādhana states (131): Following upon Akṣobhya he should develop a Vajrasattva, three-faced, radiant with six hands, and shining with sapphire light" (... *atha atiyogaṁ samārabhet/*
akṣobhyānupraveśena trimukhaṁ ṣaḍbhujojjvalaṁ/indranīlaprabhaṁ diptaṁ vajrasattvaṁ vibhāvayet/).

Vajrasattva holds a vajra, wheel, padma, bell, cintāmaṇi gem, sword, and embraces Vajradhātvīśvarī looking like himself (130). The philosophical significance of

these six symbols are set forth by Ratnākaraśānti in his Piṇḍīkṛta-sādhanopāyikā-vṛtti Ratnāvalī (130).

THE EXTENDED VERSION OF THE MAṆḌALA OF MAHĀSUKHA VAJRASATTVA IN THE SINO-JAPANESE RISHŪKYŌ OR NAYASŪTRA

The Nayasūtra is essentially a text of the Inner Tantras. The Tibetan Nyingma sect divides the Tantras into two divisions :(i) Outer Tantras and (ii) Inner Tantras.They are further subdivided at length. The Outer Tantras are based on light cults, and their main deities are Amitābha, Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu Vairocanas. They are phototropic. The Inner Tantras originate in orgiastic traditions, and can be termed erototropic. Vajrasattva as a prime deity is surrounded by four passions (as in the Pañcaguhya maṇḍala of Profound Mystery, JAK p. 236). Herein saṁsāra becomes nirvāṇa. The word *naya* corresponds to Sanskrit *praṇaya* 'love, affection, passion'. The protecting deity of the maṇḍala is Aizen myōō (Rāga-vidyārāja) who holds the vajra and bell in his main hands and has other characteristics in the remaining four hands (Toganoo pl.2). The bow and arrow in the second pair of hands relates him to the God of Love, to Cupid, of whom they are the basic attributes.

Every Tantric system has two aspects: prajñā and upāya. Prajñā means the feminine principle, the goddess, and not only Prajñāpāramitā. Vairocana represents upāya, and Vajrasattva represents prajñā. To complete the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, which represented the upāya, the seventh Naya maṇḍala of Vajrasattva was added to provide for the prajñā aspect.

There are three major representations of the Naya-maṇḍala :

1. In the Gobu-shingan. The nomenclature is different.
2. In the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (Rishū-e).
3. Shūei (809-84) and others (JAK 1991:112).

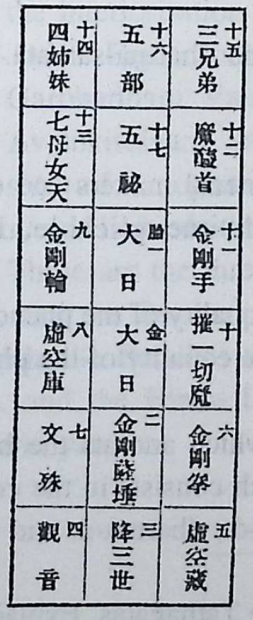
The Gobu-shingan represents the earliest graphic representation with the four vajra/vajriṇī in conjugal togetherness. Under the influence of Confucian ethics they are depicted separately in the Rishū-e.

The 17 chapters of the Rishūkyō are a more evolved version. The illustrations of every chapter must have been given at the end and they become 18 maṇḍalas including one for the opening assembly. This must have happened already at the time of Amoghavajra in about AD 770. A fully integrated maṇḍala was not delineated, and separate sections got the status of maṇḍalas. A clear pattern of a single maṇḍala is discernible in the Naya-sūtra:

Central Deity	:	Vajrasattva	Ill.2
Originating Deities	:	Garbhadhātu Vairocana	Ill.1

	:	Vajradhātu Vairocana	Ill.3
Eight Bodhisattvas	:	Trailokyavijaya to Sarva-māra-pramardin	Ill.4-11
—	:	(Samantabhadra)	Ill.12
Hindu deities	:	Maheśvara & his consort Devī	Ill.13-14
		Trinity of Maheśvara, Nārāyaṇa and Brahmā	I11.15
		Four Goddesses	Ill.16

The placement of the seventeen chapters is shown as a consolidated maṇḍala by Toganoo 1927:45:



14 Four Sisters	16 Five Families	15 Three Brothers
13 Sapta-mātṛkā	17 Five Mysteries	12 Maheśvara
9 Gaganagañja	1 Garbhadhātu Vairocana	11 Vajrapāṇi
8 Sacittotpāda	1 Vajradhātu Vairocana	10 Sarvamāra-pramardin
7 Mañjuśrī	2 Vajrasattva	6 Vajramuṣṭi
4 Avalokiteśvara	3 Trailokyavijaya	5 Ākāśagarbha

It is interesting that the Implements and Mystery (Ill.17,18 representing chapters 16, 17 of Amoghavajra) are lacking in Shūei (AD 809-84), but were added in the Futaraku-in maṇḍala of 1770.

The functions of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are clearly defined. The Buddhas are the Teachers, the Eight Great Bodhisattvas are the audience and also discourse on an element of the Doctrine, while the Hindu Devas are the converted, to applaud and adore the Doctrine.

Vajrasattva is the principal deity of the Naya-maṇḍala. He essentially belongs to the erototropic Tantras, as against Vairocana who pertains to the phototropic Tantras. The followers of Vairocana have the following interpretation:

Svabhāva-cakra-kāya-maṇḍala	Vairocana
Saddharma-cakra-kāya-maṇḍala	Vajrasattva

According to them Vairocana assumes the form of Vajrasattva to convert beings by means of the Good Doctrine (sad-dharma, Tajima 1959:207-8). In the Naya-sūtra, the Opening Assembly or preliminary section preceding ch.1 of Amoghavajra's text is the Garbhadhātu-Vairocana and his second chapter on Attaining Enlightenment is Vajradhātu Mahāvairocana (JAK. 1991:219, 221). The deities and philosophical categories of the chapters of the Naya-sūtra are as follows:

Tathāgata

1. Vajrasattva	Discourses on the 17 pure states or spiritual stages by fulfilling which a person attains the truth (*naya*) or the identity of desire and enlightenment.
2. Mahāvairocana	Explains the identity of vajra-, artha-, and dharma-samatā.

Bodhisattvas

3. Trailokyavijaya	Discourses on the equality of all phenomenal matters and events. Explains the truth with the fourfold, unexplicable, reality (aprapañcatā)
4. Avalokiteśvara	Discourses on how to observe freely the quality of the phenomenal world. Explains how to observe freely the equality of the phenomenal world.
5. Ākāśagarbha	Explains the truth of the real wisdom which anoints the head of every Tathāgata. The fourfold dāna which consists in the contents of the said truth is abhiṣeka-dāna, artha-d., dharma-d. and āmiṣa-d.
6. Vajramuṣṭi	Explains the symbol of wisdom of all the Tathāgatas. Explains this truth with the four mudrās, i.e. sarva-tathāgata-kāya-mudrā, vāṅ-m., citta-m. and vajra-m.
7. Mañjuśrī	Explains the truth of the fourfold wheel of the truth.
8. Sacittotpāda-cakrapravartin	Explains the reality of entering into the great world or the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. This spiritual state is also said to consist of fourfold equality.
9. Gaganagañja	Explains the truth of how to complete the end of reverence (pūjā). The contents of this highest reverence are said to consist of four kinds of reverence.
10. Sarva-māra-pramardin	Explains the truth of how to destroy all kinds of evils. This supreme spiritual stage is said to consist of four aversions to evil.

The Hindu Devas (ch.12-15) have devotive functions. The 12th chapter has the samādhi of the miscellanenous deities of the outer yard of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala which explains how to maintain all sentient beings. The next three chapters are adorations by the Nine Goddesses (ch. 13), by the Trinity of Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa and Maheśvara (Three Brothers, ch. 14), and the Four sisters or guardian goddesses: Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā and Aparājitā (ch.15). (Kanaoka Shūyū, EBu.1.209-11).

The Shūei maṇḍalas represent the three families (kula), and in fact constitute a comprehensive maṇḍala.

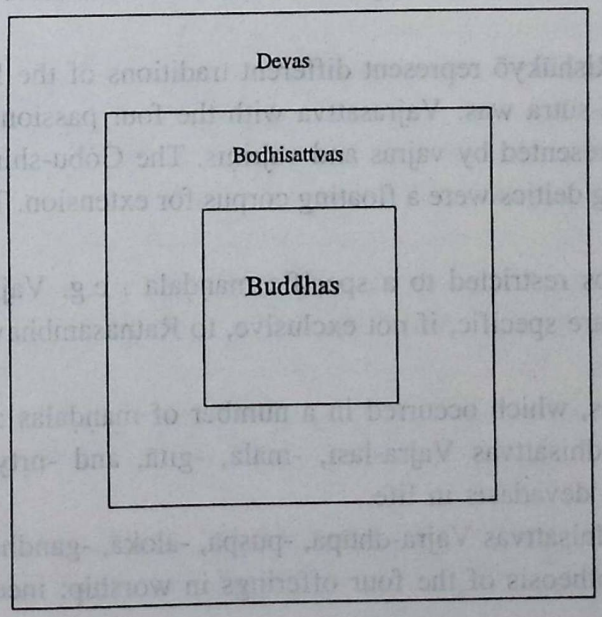
Buddha-kula : Vajrasattva

The two Vairocanas have been added by their followers to sanctify and legitimate the interiorisation of Vajrasattva from the other tradition of Inner Tantras.

Padma-kula : Eight Bodhisattvas. They can be seen with Amitābha and also with the Garbhadhātu Vairocana (Mañjughoṣa, Kṣitigarbha, Ākāśagarbha, Nīvaraṇa, Avalokiteśvara, Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī). Compare Aṣṭa-maṇḍalaka-sūtra of Amoghavajra (T1167).

Vajra-kula : Hindu deities (as in the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala).

These are the three levels of theogony : the Tathāgatas or Buddhas, the Bodhisattvas, and the Devas or Hindu deities who come lowest in the rung. When placed in a maṇḍala the Buddhas are located in the sanctum sanctorum, the Bodhisattvas in the middle, and the Hindu Devas in the outer section. A maṇḍala has, basically, three concentric yards :



This is also the underlying structure of the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala. The origin of Dharma is Śākyamuni in the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala, and two Vairocanas in Shuei's maṇḍala. The Eight Bodhisattvas differ in the two. The four naya-maṇḍalas of Hindu deities (ill.13-16) seem to have been intended for the four cardinal points.

Gobu-shingan represents Vairocana as follows in the four maṇḍalas (see illustration on p.):

	Maṇḍala	Gobu	Trikāya
I.1	mahā-maṇḍala	1	sambhoga-kāya
I.2	guhya-dhāraṇī-m.	39	consort Vajradhātvīśvarī
I.3	sūkṣma-m.	72	dharma-kāya (addorsed by vajras)
I.4	karma-m.	105	nirmāṇa-kāya (monk with robes)

The three maṇḍalas (I.1, 3, 4) are patterned on the trikāya. The second maṇḍala (I.2) represents the consort (dhāraṇī) of Vairocana. The trikāya system also underlies the four maṇḍalas (mahā-, samaya-, dharma-, karma-) in Kobo Daishi's Rishukyō-kaidai (JAK 1991:29):

mahā-m.-kāya	Manifestations of deities	sambhoga-kāya
samaya-m.-kāya	Emblems held by deities	nirmāṇa-kāya
dharma-m.-kāya	Recitation of bījas of deities	dharma-kāya
karma-m. (without kāya)	Expounding with mudrās	---

As there were only three kāyas, the term kāya was not suffixed to the karma-m. The present analogy is one of the various permutations of certain basic patterns which were constantly applied.

Rishū-e and Rishūkyō represent different traditions of the Naya-sūtra. The core structure of the Naya-sūtra was: Vajrasattva with the four passions. In the Rishū-e the four passions are represented by vajras and vajriṇīs. The Gobu-shingan depicts them as pairs. The surrounding deities were a floating corpus for extension. Two groups of deities can be discerned:

i. Specific groups restricted to a specific maṇḍala : e.g. Vajra-ratna, -teja, -ketu, -hāsa (p.208) are specific, if not exclusive, to Ratnasambhava in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala.

ii. General groups, which occurred in a number of maṇḍalas : e.g. Vajralāsī, etc.

The Inner Bodhisattvas Vajra-lāsī, -mālā, -gītā, and -nṛtyā are "Dance Goddesses". They are the devadāsīs in life.

The Outer Bodhisattvas Vajra-dhūpā, -puṣpā, -ālokā, -gandhā are "Offering Goddesses". They are apotheosis of the four offerings in worship: incense, flowers, lamps,

and unguents.

Another general group was of "Security Goddesses", called "Saṅgraha Bodhisattvas". They are Vajra-āṅkuśa, -pāśa, -sphoṭa, -āveśa, that is : goad, noose, bell and chain.

The general groups were added to any maṇḍala of Buddhist deities (ill. 1-12) to show their respected status. They are missing in the maṇḍalas of Hindu deities except that of Maheśvara.

9. THE JAKA DOLOG INSCRIPTION OF KING KṚTANAGARA

(in collaboration with Mrs. Sudarshana Devi Singhal)

The Sanskrit inscription on the base of the Jaka Dolog statue at Simpang (Surabaya), dated 21 September 1289 (Damais 1952:73) has been discussed since it was noticed by Verbeek in 1891. Eminent historians of Indonesia, like Brandes (1898), Kern (1910), Krom (1913, 1919), Bosch (1920), Poerbatjaraka (1922), Moens (1924), Berg (1959), have treated it at length. In a recent discussion, Nihom has tried to specify the type of Tantric Buddhism followed by King Kṛtanagara and to locate the original site of the Jaka Dolog statue.

The inscription can be divided into seven parts:

Verses 1-2 Salutation and declaration.

Verses 3-6 Division of Java by Ārya Bharāḍa into two realms of Jāṅgala and Pañjalu.

Verses 7-9 Viṣṇuvardhana united the country. His queen was Jayavardhanī.

Verses 10-13 The son of Viṣṇuvardhana and Jayavardhanī consecrated the image in accordance with the rites of Mahākṣobhya.

Verses 14-16 Chronogram yielding Śaka 1211=AD 1289.

Verse 17 Consecration for the well-being of the people, their King and his family.

Verses 18, 19 Nādajña, Head of Ecclesiastical Affairs, wrote the inscription, by order of the King.

1. *ādau namāmi sarbajñaṁ jñānakāyan Tathāgataṁ /*
   sarvvaskandhātiguhyastham sadasatpakṣavarjjitaṁ //

In the first verse, the word *atiguhya* refers to the *Guhya*samāja, whose main deity is Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhya. For details see remarks on verse 13.

2. *anv atas sarvvasiddhiṁ va vande 'haṅ gauravāt sadā/*
   Śakakālam idaṁ vakṣye rājakīrttiprakāśanaṁ //

In the second verse, the reading is *anvatas sarvasiddhiṁ vā vande 'haṁ*. The first word *anvataḥ* can be *antataḥ* in apodosis to *ādav* in verse 1. Firstly I pay homage to the Tathāgata who is an embodiment of jñāna and finally (*antataḥ*) I salute with due respect (*gauravāt*) Sarvasiddhi, that is Amoghasiddhi, for unfailing success. Amoghasiddhi is the final of the Five Buddhas in the 22nd chapter of the Amoghapāśa-sūtra as well as in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in the STTS. The final part of the STTS is devoted to all kinds of transcendent and worldly siddhis.

The second half is a proclamation that the present inscription is a royal edict (*śakakāla*) to manifest the glorious royal palladium. Supomo (1993:164) translates *nāhan*

don mpu Sĕḍah makīrtya śakakala (1.6) "with this in mind, I, mpu Sĕḍah, compose a chronogram". Here *śakakāla* does not mean a chronogram, but the historical kakavin Bhāratayuddha. Pigeaud (Nāgarakṛtāgama 94.3) translates *śakakāla* as chronicle. The word *śakakāla* is used again in verse 19 in the sense of an edict. The compound *rājakīrti-prakāśana* is not just the recording of praiseworthy and meritorions deeds of the King but the consecration of the palladium of the State for its continuance in perpetuity. The royal palladium was an accepted part of the web of power. Kīrti=prāsāda (a palace) L (MW) in Sanskrit, and in Old Javanese it refers to a pious foundation, monument, or work of poetry (Zoetmulder 1982:878). Here it means the image of Akṣobhya as a palladium of the State, on which depended its safety and stability. Thus the second half of the verse means: "I will promulgate (*vakṣye)* this charter (*śakakāla*) proclaiming (*prakāśana*) the setting up of the royal palladium (*rājakīrti*) [for the consolidation of the country].

3. *yo purā paṇḍitaś śreṣṭha āryyo Bharāḍ abhijñātaḥ /*
   jñānasiddhiṁ samāgamyābhijñālābho munīśvaraḥ //

Arya Bharāḍa is an honorific designation of the Master. Bharāḍa is a variant of bharāla, which occurs in the SHK.29.7 *inarpaṇakĕn ika kabeh i bharāla guru,* 45.28 *bharāla riṅ ākāśa*. The word bharāla is bhaṭāra 'a venerable or worshipful person, used of gods and of great or learned men'. The sage was considered divine and hence he was addressed with an epithet applied to the highest Gods: bhaṭāra Buddha (Sutasoma 4.1 etc.), bhaṭāra Karaṇa (Śiva) in Sutasoma 23.1, bhaṭārī Vidhi (Durgā) in Ghaṭotkacāśraya 34.5 (see Zoetmulder 1982:1.224-225 for more references), SHK 45.12 bharālī Locanā, 48.12 devī bharālī Prajñāpāramitā. He was a past-master in tantras (*pgat riṅ tantra*), a yogīśvara, who practised rites in the Lĕmah Citra cemetery, had come treading the waters of the sea, who knew for certain all the three times of past, present and future (Nāgarakṛtāgama 68.2)

Bharāḍa was endowed with Supernatural knowledge, intuition and powers, which is specified by two expressions in this stanza: *abhijñātaḥ* and *abhijñā-lābhaḥ*. Abhijñā are the five supernatural faculties of a Buddha: taking any form at will, hearing to any distance, seeing to any distance, penetrating men's thoughts, knowing their state and antecedents (MW). The Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra has these six supernatural faculties with the tenfold self-control (*vaśitā*) and the ten powers (*bala*) as possessed by a full-fledged Bodhisattva. The six abhijñās are:

1. *Divyaṁ cakṣus*, divine sight
2. *Divyaṁ śrotram*, divine hearing
3. *Paracitta-jñāna*, the faculty of reading others' thoughts
4. *Purvanivāsānusmṛti-jñāna*, the faculty of remembering one's former abodes or lives.

5. *Ṛddhi-vidhi-jñāna*, the knowledge that transforms one's modes of life at will.
6. *Āsravakṣaya-jñāna*, the knowledge that destroys the evil outflows (impurities) (Suzuki 1930:383).

4. *mahāyogīśvaro dhīraḥ satveṣu karuṇātmakaḥ /*
siddhācāryyo mahāvīro rāgādikleśavarjjitaḥ //

The characteristics of the ācārya who performs the rites have been given by Aśvaghoṣa in the Guru-pañcāśikā (Toh. 372 "Steadfast [in body], controlled [in speech], intelligent, forbearing, just, and without deceit; skilled in the praxis of mantra and tantra, compassionate, and learned in the expository texts; experienced in the ten categories, expert in drawing the maṇḍala; who can explain the mantras, is devoted and ruler of his senses, so should be the hierophant (ācārya)":

dhīro vinīto matimān kṣamāvān ārjavo 'śaṭhah /
mantra-tantra-prayogajñaḥ kṛpāluḥ śāstra-kovidaḥ //8//
daśatattva-parijñātā maṇḍalālekhya-karmavit /
mantravyākhyākṛd ācāryaḥ prasannaḥ syāj jitendriyaḥ //9//

(Sylvain Lévi, Autour d'Aśvaghoṣa, *JA* 1929:260, quoted in Lessing/Wayman 1968:272).

5. *ratnākarapramāṇān tu dvaidhīkṛtya Yavāvanīṁ /*
kṣitibhedanasāmarthya-kumbhavajrodakena vai //
6. *parasparavirodhena nṛpayor yuddhakāṅkṣiṇoḥ /*
athāsmāj Jāṅggalety eṣā paṁjaluviṣayā smṛtā //

The tantric rites potent enough for the bifurcation of the country were performed: *kṣiti-bhedana-sāmarthya-kumbha-vajrodakena*. Kern 1910.190 notes the absence of a case-ending after *sāmarthya*. As a compound it is not declined. The kumbha ritual had full efficacy for the royal rites and the consecrated water therefrom was endowed with supernatural powers to ensure permanency of the desired results. The rites of vijaya-kalaśa, karma-kalaśa, recitation of the word *udaka* ('water') to render it into vajrāmṛta water are detailed in Mkhas.grub.rje's fundamentals of the Tantras (Lessing/Wayman 1968:287f.). The Guhyasamāja specifies eleven types of kalaśa-initiations, which together with the higher initiations, make fourteen. The kumbha rites performed by Bharāḍa were specific to the requirements.

7. *dinayasmāt rarakṣemāṁ Jayaśrī-Viṣṇuvarddhanaḥ /*
śrī-Jayavarddhanī-bhāryyo jagannāthottamaḥ prabhuḥ //

The verse begins with a doubtful reading: *dinayasmāt* (Kern), *kintu yasmāt* (Krom). The context supposes words that would indicate since the day, or ever since, Viṣṇuvardhana came to the throne. Jayaśrī-Viṣṇuvardhana is the full name of the King: in the Maribong (Trawulan II) Inscription of AD 1264 it is Śrījaya-Viṣṇuvardhana. The role of his queen Jayavardhanī in the consolidation of the kingdom must have been an

important one or she came from a powerful family, as is evident from the compound *śrī-Jayavardhanī-bhāryaḥ* 'whose wife was J.' The other half of Java may have come in the dowry of Jayavardhanī. She is again referred to in verse 10.

8. *ājanmapariśuddhāṅggaḥ kṛpāluḥ dharmmatatparaḥ /*
pārthivānandanaṅ kṛtvā śuddhakīrttiparākramāt //

Nihom 1986:488 translates *ājanma-pariśuddhāṅga* as "he who has a body diminished since birth". He further adds: "This is certainly not the easiest reading". He arrives at this meaning on the basis of MW who translates *pariśuddha* "cleaned, purified, pure, cleared off, paid, acquitted, discharged, MBh.; Kav.; (ifc) diminished by, that from which a part has been taken away, MBh". In Sanskrit the root *śudh* means "to pay, to clear (debts)". This has been taken from PW: *ṣaḍ-bhāga-pariśuddha* "von dem das sechstel (für den Fürsten) abgezogen ist" MBh. 13.5550. It refers to the fact that the sixth part due to the state as tax has been deducted. It is a specific term of state revenue and does not apply to the body of a person. The verse in the MBh. I3.113.16 (Pune ed.) reads:

ṣaḍ-bhāga-pariśuddhaṁ ca kṛṣer bhāgam upārjitam /
vaiśyo dadad dvijātibhyaḥ papebhyaḥ parimucyate //

A vaiśya who donates to brāhmaṇas , from earned agricultural income after the due sixth part has been paid as state revenue, is absolved of sins. The income donated has to be pure to earn merit. The word *pariśuddha* can never mean that King Viṣṇuvardhana was "physically compromised". The virtuous qualities of the King are lauded: he was of pious inclination since birth, kind, dedicated to dharma. The word *aṅga*, here as well as in verse 12, does not mean 'a limb of the body', but refers to the components of dharma, as in *ārya-aṣṭāṅgika-mārga* which is the eight-fold path pointed out by the Buddha. These eight divisions (*aṅga*) are the virtuous life. In the yoga-tantras, there are sixteen ways (*aṅgas*) to evoke a deity (Lessing/Wayman 1968:236-7). Yoga is *aṣṭ-āṅga* or *ṣaḍ-aṅga*. The context of *ājanma-pariśuddhāṅga* and *jñāna-raśmi-viśuddhāṅga* is spiritual and not physical, from the linguistic point of view. Both the expressions emphasise the purity and piety in every way (*aṅga*), in every respect. The *pañcāṅga mantra* are the five components of counsel: 1. *karmaṇām ārambhopāyaḥ*: means of commencing operations, 2. *puruṣa-dravya-sampad*: providing men and materials, 3. *deśa-kāla-vibhāga*: distribution of place and time, 4. *vipatti-pratikāra*: counteraction of disaster, 5. *kārya-siddhi*: successful accomplishment.

The familial nobility of Viṣṇuvardhana is stressed in the phrase *ājanma-pariśuddhāṅga*. He came to power by killing Tohjaya, the real son of Rājasa, to avenge the murder of his father Anūṣapati. Anūṣapati himself had gained power by murdering Rājasa, the second husband of his mother. Viṣṇuvardhana gained legitimacy and nobility through his grandmother Ḍĕḍĕs, the queen of Rājasa. Hereby Rājasa became his dynastic

grandfather. His copperplate bears the expression: *sva-pitāmah-āstavan-ābhinn-āśrānta lokapālaka* 'the King never tired of ceaselessly praising his grandfather' (Majumdar 1936:1.296, from OV.1918:169). This is stated in the present inscription too: *Pārthiv-ānandanaṁ kṛtvā* 'having pleased Pārthiva'. Here Pārthiva is a synonym of Rājasa. By his might and prowess in uniting the Land, he had acquired purity of renown (*śuddha-kīrti*). The internecine assasinations were absolved by virtue of ushering in an era of peace and prosperity, kindness to the people (*kṛpālu*), and fervent devotion and dedication to Dharma (*dharma-tatparaḥ*).

9. *ekīkṛtya punar bhūmīṁ prītyarthañ jagatāṁ sadā/*
dharmmasaṁrakṣaṇārthaṁ vā pitrādisthāpanāya ca//

Viṣṇuvardhana completed the process of national unification initiated by Rājasa, the founder of the dynasty, who had brought together the kingdoms of Jāṅgala and Kaḍiri. He integrated (*ekīkṛtya*) the Land (*bhūmiṁ*) again (*punar*): that is he once again strengthened and ensured the unification, by providing a strong and stable government, ensuring the well-being of the people (*jagatāṁ*) and thereby earning their goodwill (*prīti*), due to his promotion of Dharma and he also ensured appropriate obsequial rites of forefathers (*pitrādisthāpanāya*). The past acts of coming to power had been blood-stained and their expiation was to ensure the continuance of his dynasty by political, social and religious achievements. Nihom interprets *pitrādhiṣṭhāpanāya* as: "Viṣṇuvardhana united the land, in order to effect the firm establishment of (his) father(s)".

10. *yathaiva kṣitirajendraś Śrī-Harivarddhanātmajaḥ/*
Śrī-Jayavarddhanīputraḥ caturdvīpeśvaro muniḥ//

Nihom 1986:487 translates verses 10-13 as follows:

Just as the Indra of the kings of the earth is the sage, the master of the four continents, (so) he is the son of Śrī Jayawarddhanī (and) born of the essence of Śrī Hariwarddhana.

Endowed with the complete truth, he is the teacher of the doctrine of the Dharma. Actively engaged in the ritual actions which redeem the fallen, he is the best of those who know the lawbooks.

Named Jñānaśivavajra, he is fully conversant with the gnosis of enlightenment. One who has the limbs (of the ṣaḍaṅgayoga) purified by the rays of Insight, he is adorned with the jewel which is mind.

With devotion having erected this (image conformable to the nature of Mahākṣobhya, in the cemetery named Wurara he had previously had consecrated himself.

It has to amended to the following, excluding the ornate expressions of kāvya style: Where as the king of the Land, the son of Harivardhana (Viṣṇuvardhana) and Jayavardhanī, the lord of the four islands, a sage, perfect in all metaphysical lore (tattva), the best of those who knew the law-codes (dharmaśāstra), engaged in restoration projects, the promulgator of dharma, [with the initiation name] Jñāna-śiva-vajra, adorned by a jewelline mind, purified by the rays of knowledge, coversant with the knowledge of

Enlightenment, consecrated with devotion the image he had earlier consecrated himself, in the cemetry named Wurara, according to [the rites of] Mahākṣobhya.

To read the triguhya of body, speech and mind, into verses 10-12 as a system is straining the words too far. The triguhya are not transformed into Mahākṣobhya. The words *ātmaja* and *putra* in verse 10 are used synonymously, without any extraordinary notions of descent, nor does father refer to Vajradhara as pointed out by Nihom 1986:487-488. The use of *putra* in 10c is for metrical reasons. The inscription intends to point out that Kṛtanagara was the son of Viṣṇuvardhana from his chief queen Jayavardhanī, and thus not only inherited the kingdom but also the nobility of both parents. It is common in Indian inscriptions to name the mother along with the father, specially when she comes from a renowned royal family. Jayavardhanī is mentioned twice (in verse 7 as queen-consort and in verse 10 as royal mother), which means that she was from an eminent royal house and added lustre to her new family into which she was wedded. The Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta says: *mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Candraguptaputrasya Licchavī-dauhitrasya mahādevyāṁ Kumāradevyām utpannasya* "son of Mahārājādhirāja Candragupta, grandson of the Licchavīs, born of the Paramount Queen Kumāradevī" (*Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*1981:214-215.). Distinguished dynastic descent of the mother added to the quasi-divine splendour of the king and endowed him with greater substance of kingship, the effulgence of deep-rooted royalty.

While Viṣṇuvardhana was responsible for the consolidation of the kingdom, Kṛtanagara effected extension of the realm by military exploits to far-off islands. He established supremacy over Bali, Malayu (now Jambi), Sunda, Madura, and other islands. This is referred to in the phrase *catur-dvīp-eśvara* 'the lord of the four islands', or islands in the four directions. By them he attained the state of *kṣatram.* The Ṛigveda speaks of *brahma ca kṣatraṁ ca*, the bipartite conception of sovereignty. They are the regnum and flamonium of the Roman state. The two existed in a symbiosis, for values had to be inherent in the functioning of the State. Now Kṛtanagara devoted himself to his *brahma* or religious duties.

11. *aśeṣatatvasampūrṇṇo dharmmaśāstravidāṁvaraḥ/*
jīrṇṇoddhārakriyodyukto dharmmaśāsanadeśakaḥ//

As the country had been unified, a nation-wide facelift and restoration of the religious establishments was undertaken to strengthen national integrity. The restoration of monuments (*jīrṇoddhāra-kriyā*) was in enthusiastic swing (*udyukta*).

Nihom (485) has himself spoken of the "unfortunate choice of nomenclature which led to incorrect conclusions". The Tantras share common rituals and terms, like gaṇacakra, gaṇamaṇḍala, the trinity of kāya, vāk and citta, the two utpanna and sampanna

krama, śmaśāna, etc. These terms are a common heritage of the various classes of tantras. Variations in the same ritual or location are also possible: thus there are a number of eight śmaśāna and separate rites connected with them. Simple-looking terms like jñāna and vijñāna become highly specific and distinguish two Vairocanas in two maṇḍalas:vijñāna relates to Vairocana of the Garbha-maṇḍala and jñāna to Mahāvairocana of the Vajradhātu. The term *jīṃoddhāra* is linked by Nihom specifically to Śaiva contexts, but it is a general term and refers to repair and restoration in general.

12. *Śrī-Jñānaśivabajrākhyaś cittaratnavibhūṣaṇaḥ /*
jñānaraśmiviśuddhāṅgas sambodhijñānapāragaḥ //

Kṛtanagara's initiation name in the inscription is Jñāna-śiva-vajra. It is Jñānabajreśvara in Nag. 43.2, and Jñāneśvarabajra in the Singasari inscription of 1351 (line 11). In Jñāna-śiva-vajra, *Śiva* stands for *Īśvara*; so it is a synonym of Jñaneśvara-vajra. Īśvara means śiva, so Jñān-eśvara-vajra became Jñāna-śiva-vajra. The word jñānavajra occurs in an abhiṣeka in Guhyasamāja-tantra 15.98. As pointed out earlier Mahākṣobhya refers to the mahāyoga-tantra Guhyasamāja. The initiation of Kṛtanagara must have been according to the rites of Guhyasamāja-tantra whose main deity is Akṣobhya. That is why he got the name Jñānavajreśvara 'the lord (Īśvara) of jñānavajra' or one who has attained the full empowerment of the jñānavajra of Guhyasamāja. Here Īśvara refers to attaining the powers, the endowments, the puissance of Tantra rites. Īśvara also refers to a king. The Singasari inscription changed the sequence of the words in the compound to Jñāneśvaravajra. Nihom 1986:495 says that "Bhaṭāra Śivabuddha is of course the abhiṣeka name for Kĕrtanagara in the Pararaton 18.15-16: *sirāji Kĕrtanagara sira añjĕnĕṅ prabhu abhiṣeka bhaṭāra Śivabuddha.* It is better to interpret the passage as: "Kṛtanagara performed his royal consecration with Śivabuddha rites". *Jĕnĕṅ* "being in function, reign, being established" (Zoetmulder 739a). Kṛtanagara had performed consecrations and he had been purified by the luminosity of knowledge (*jñāna-raśmi-viśuddhāṅgah*) which made him ever more dedicated to Dharma. National stabilization was achieved through cosmic powers.

Nihom works out a rationalisation of verses 10-12 on a syncretic presupposition:

Verse 10 : Kṛtanagara is Viṣṇu as identical in essence with his father Viṣṇuvardhana

Verse 11 : As teacher of the dharma identical with Buddha

Verse 12 : As fully conversant with the gnosis of enlightenment, he is Śiva.

Nihom (492) himself says that it "is so palpably adventitious that it cannot be taken seriously. Not so: association of the trivajra with Hindu divinities may be found in the indubitably Buddhist Guhyasamāja. The correlations are different, but the idea is the same". Kāya-vajra is Brahmā, vāg-vajra is Maheśvara, and citta-vajra is Viṣṇu. Analogi-

cal thinking is ubiquitous in the tantras. Nihom's correlations are remarkably ingenious but apparently forced. The verses are simple statements and have no symbolic pretensions, Viṣṇuvardhana in verse 10 can hardly refer to Viṣṇu, for he was apotheosised as a Śaiva statue at Weleri and a Buddhist image at Jago. Though his name begins with Viṣṇu, he is not associated with Viṣṇu as Erlaṅga is, clearly evidenced by his portrait statue in the form of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa (Kempers 1959: pl.202).Verse 11 is identified with Buddha by Nihom, but it is too general. Nihom is working on the basis of the Hindu trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Nihom has overlooked that sambodhi in verse 12 pertains to Buddha and not to Śiva. So the correlation of verse 12 with Śiva is not tenable.

13. *subhaktyā taṁ pratiṣṭhāpya svayam pūrvvam pratiṣṭhitaṁ /*
śmaśāne Vurarenāmni Mahākṣobhyānurūpataḥ //

Kern 1910:187 has identified the image as that of Mahākṣobhya and Poerbatjaraka 1922:426 follows him (*mahākṣobhy-ānurūpataḥ*). *Anurūpataḥ* does not mean a portrait statue. Nihom 1986:494 is right in saying that the image was caused to be erected "in conformity with the essence (or, nature) of Mahākṣobhya .... In short, it [Jaka Dolog] is not Mahākṣobhya as such". The Jaka Dolog was consecrated earlier as an Akṣobhya. The inscription commemorates its second consecration according to more powerful rites.

Nihom's identification of Akṣobhya with Viṣṇu is far-fetched in the present context. It rests on Viṣṇu being the first element in the name of Kṛtanagara's father Viṣṇuvardhana and Kṛtanagara as his "spiritual progeny (*ātmaja*)" (488): *ātmaja* from *ātmā* "spirit, soul". Association of ideas has led to wild conclusions.

Nihom 1986:494 proposes "that Jaka Dolog is the reflection, call it a portrait statue if one will of Kĕrtanagara as Śiva-Amoghasiddhi erected as a material reflex of the ineffable Mahākṣobhya". Jaka Dolog was consecrated by Kṛtanagara himself. Portrait statues are done after the passing away of the person depicted. Hence it cannot be his portrait-statue. The Jaka Dolog is not a Śiva-Amoghasiddhi: it has no third eye, characteristic of Śiva. Amoghasiddhi has the right hand in abhaya, but Jaka Dolog is in bhūmisparśa mudrā characteristic of Akṣobhya. The philosophical exposition of Nihom is far-fetched.

Nihom derives wurara (*Wurare* is the locative form apposite to *śmaśāne)* from hypothetical* *wruḍa>wrura>wurara* and correlates it to Gahvara one of the eight cemeteries in Tantric rites. The eight are a group and are not taken in isolation. The deity of Gahvara is Yama: Wurara cannot be Gahvara, because Akṣobhya has been invoked. Wurara seems to be the proper name of the place where the cemetery was situated.

There are several forms of Akṣobhya. The extant image pertains to Akṣobhya as

a primary Tathāgata, while the inscription on its pedestal states that it was consecrated according to the rites of his esoteric (Mahākṣobhya) form:

Image: Akṣobhya (simplicior)
Rites : Mahākṣobhya (ornatior)

In the primary form he touches the earth in *bhūmi*sparśa-mudrā. He is imperturbable (*a-kṣobhya*), unshakeable, the abiding and lasting, the unfailing and unalterable, the enduring forever, the prime permanence. In the centre of the pentapartite crown of Akṣobhya is generally a wheel (Getty 1928:144), the cakra of a cakravartin. All this was related to the land, the Earth, in the earth-touching mudrā. He is the abiding unity of the land (*bhūmi*), the nation. The Earth-Goddess emerges at the feet of Harihara who blesses the king and queen for the continuing stability of their dominions (Pal 1975:66 pl.9). The bhūmisparśa-mudrā symbolises unification and stabilisation of a kingdom: for instance King Munmu (who ruled 661-681) unified the Three Kingdoms of Korea into One State. In gratitude, he constructed the Temple of Sokkuram to safeguard the new State. The colossal Buddha touches the Earth in bhūmisparśa-mudrā as a dynamic symbol of unity. Most of the Silla statues of the Tathāgata are in the bhūmisparśa-mudrā. In 776 monk Yulsa erected a 40 feet gilt bronze statue for national unity: in 1991 the Koreans have dedicated the largest bronze image, a hundred feet high, at the same monastery for the unification of North and South Koreas. Images have been and are symbols of unification.

The King consecrated the image with full faith at the cemetery named Wurara. He had consecrated this image earlier (*pūrvaṁ*) in person (*svayaṁ*). The re-consecration was done according to (*anurūpataḥ*) the esoteric rites of Mahākṣobhya. The word Mahākṣobhya is not attested anywhere in the Sanskrit, Tibetan or Japanese traditions. *Mahā* refers to the *mahā*yoga tantras, whose main tantra is the Guhyasamāja. Thus Mahākṣobhya represents the esoteric system of the Guhyasamāja. The word *mahā* was prefixed to more evolved forms of deities in the continuing processes of Buddhist theogony: e.g. Pratisarā became Mahāpratisarā. The first verse of the inscription reads *Tathāgatam....sarva-skandh-ātiguhya-stham*.The adjective ati*guhya* in verse 1 can stand for *Guhya*-samāja, also termed Tathāgata-*guhyaka*. King Kṛtanagara introduced advanced esoteric empowerments for more formidable power.

Kublai Khan got initiated into Hevajra in 1264 and again in 1269, as a prelude to further conquests. To stem the Mongol threat of aggression, Kṛtanagara imitated Kublai Khan's dedication and tried to develop magical might by taking the empowerment of Akṣobhya. The Hevajra pertains to Mother Tantras and Akṣobhya to Father Tantras. To supersede Kublai Khan who had been initiated into Mother Tantras, he got empowered into the more virile and powerful Father Tantras represented by Guhyasamāja(Wayman 1973:234-235). The first empowerment referred to in the inscrip-

tion could have taken place in 1281, when Kṛtanagara had been invited to come in person to the imperial court and to pay homage to the Mongol Emperor. Kṛtanagara avoided it on one pretext or another till the crisis came in 1289. Unable to bear any longer with the importunate invitation to humiliate himself in the imperial court, Kṛtanagara sent back the Chinese ambassador after mutilating his face (Majumdar 1936:1.300). To avert any serious eventuality the King re-dedicated the same image, which had warded off for eight years the calamitous situation, with more esoteric rites to gain supernatural powers to preempt the aggression.

14. *bhavacakre Śakendrābde māse cāsujisaṁjñake /*
pañcamyāṁ śuklapakṣe ca vāre pa-ka-bu saṁjñake //
15. *Sintanāmni ca parvve ca karaṇe Viṣṭisaṁskṛte /*
Anurādhe'pi nakṣatre Mitre Mahendramaṇḍale //
16. *Saubhāgyayogasambandhe Somye caiva muhūrttake /*
khyate Kuveraparvveśe Tulārāśyabhisaṁyute //
17. *hitāya sarbasatvānāṁ prāgeva nṛpates sadā /*
saputrapotradārasya kṣityekībhāvakāraṇāt //

The inscription says that it was consecrated for the well-being of the people, especially (*prāgeva*) of the King, of his sons, grandsons and queens, and because the country had been united (*kṣity-ekībhāva-kāraṇāt*). It is explicitly stated that the image was conceived of as a symbol of national unity.

Several instances of statues dedicated to the stability of the state can be cited. In the classical Hindu-Buddhist world, an integral interdependence bound a sovereign state and sanctifying scriptures. The state found revitalising syntheses in spiritual manifestations. Buddhist rites stabilised impirium in China and Japan. As early as AD 402-409, Kumārajīva translated the Kāruṇika-rāja-sūtra, a sūtra for the protection of the country by benevolent kings. Ceremonies of this sūtra were national events in Japan from the seventh century onwards (Visser 1935:13). In AD 746 Emperor Shōmu ordered it "to be expounded for the strength and maintenance of the dynasty, the rest of the State, and the welfare of the people" (Visser 1935:117). During the T'ang dynasty Buddhist sūtras were used for "the benefit and advantage of the state" (Ch'en 1964:218). The Vaiśravaṇa-kalpa (T 1247) by Amoghavajra adds in the colophon that during the 'grand troubles of the Five Kingdoms', one tried in vain during eight months all sorts of other ceremonies. Only the rite prescribed in this text proved efficacious for stabilising the country.

In AD 587 Prince Shōtoku built the Shitennōji Temple at Osaka in honour of the Four Lokapālas to overcome the rival Mononobe and Nakatome clans (Matsunaga 1969:40 no. 102). In Japan, Ichiji Kinrin or Ekākṣara Cakravartī is a form of Vairocana identical with the Vairocana described in the Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyusūtra (Bosch 1929:131).

The Japanese emperor Shōmu issued a rescript in AD 743 ordering the construction of the gigantic statue (*daibutsu*) of Rocana, 16 metres in height, at the Todaiji monastery in his attempt to unify the nation in an awareness of its power, as an "apt symbol of the emperor as the controlling head of the state" (Kobayashi 1975:22), as "an especially valuable political and religious symbol" (ibid:25) to consolidate the sovereignty of the nation in a harmony of the emperor and his people on the deeper spiritual levels of a shared awareness: it was a Grand National Temple. When the old capital at Nara was abandoned and a new capital was established at Kyoto in AD 794, the Toji temple was an integral part of the metropolitan masterplan. It was "intended to invoke the protection of the divinities and thereby to assure the peace and prosperity" (Sawa 1972:130) of the kingdom. It was placed in charge of Kōbō Daishi himself, the great master who introduced Mantrayāna Buddhism with its central deity of Vairocana. The temple was significantly termed Kyō-ō-gokoku-ji 'temple for the protection of the state', which popularly came to be known as the Toji (tō=east, ji=temple) as it was built on the east side of the city gate.

18. *athāsya dāsabhūto 'haṁ Nādajño nāma kīrttinaḥ/*
vidyāhīno 'pi sammūḍho dharmmakriyāsv atatparaḥ//

The name of the author of the inscription is Nādajña and not Nāda as given by Nihom throughout his paper (e.g. p. 486).

19. *dharmmādhyakṣatvamāsādya kṛpayaivāsya tatvataḥ/*
śakakālasambandha-Vajrajñānaśiva —//

The reading of the second half of the verse according to Kern is:

śaka-kāla-sambaddha-Vajrajñānaśiva—//

He emends it to: *śaka-kālas sambaddhe 'yaṁ Vajrajñānaśivāśrayaḥ //*
Poerbatjaraka 1922:429 reads:

śaka-kālaṁ sambaddhatya tad-rājānujñayā punaḥ //

The reading is uncertain, and no conclusions can be based on it.

The inscription can be summarised as follows:

PAYING homage to the supreme divine, the source of esoteric empowerment of the kingdom

HEREWITH is the proclamation of a charter announcing the palladium of the State.

KEEPING in view that the bifurcation of the country had been sanctified by the eminent Sage Bharāḍa by specific adamantine rites, and

REALISING that king Viṣṇuvardhana had strengthened the processes of unification of the country initiated by King Rājasa (alias Pārthiva) the founder of the dynasty

and continued by his father (Anūṣapati),

EXPANDING and consolidating the earlier dynastic territories the son Kṛtanagara, who had conquered islands in the four directions, consecrated the Palladium of the State for national security [against the constant threat of Mongol incursions],

ENABLING the people and the ruling house to enjoy peace and prosperity.

In token thereof, Nādajña the Head of Ecclesiastical Affairs, has penned this charter.

King Viṣṇuvardhana must have named his son Kṛtanagara as one who would usher in a golden age (*kṛta*-yuga) in the country (*nagara*). Kṛta-yuga or Satya-yuga is the prime golden age, the first of the four ages of the world. It can also mean the 'maker (*kṛta*) of the country (*nagara)*', in the sense of a great conqueror and consolidator. The spelling Kṛtanāgara reminds of Nāgara an epithet of Kṛṣṇa. The compound can mean the pious (kṛta) Kṛṣṇa (nāgara). This accords with the name of his father Viṣṇuvardhana. Kṛṣṇa was an avatāra of Viṣṇu. Can Nāgarakṛt-āgama mean the chronicle of the descendants of Nāgarakṛta=Kṛtanāgara?

It may be mentioned in passing that the three words *vimba/bimba, arca*, and *pratimā* are synonyms and mean 'image, statue'.

King Viṣṇuvardhana was apotheosised as a Śaiva statue at Waleri and at Jajaghu as a Buddhist statue of Amoghapāśa surrounded by twelve deities, constituting his 13 deity maṇḍala (Kempers 1959:85). Bronze plaques of this maṇḍala were made by King Kṛtanagara. While Viṣṇuvardhana was apotheosised as Amoghapāśa, his son Kṛtanagara was devoted to Akṣobhya. Continuing the liberal traditions of his father who was apotheosised both as a Śaiva and a Buddhist deity, he enshrined a Śiva at Candi Jajava with an Akṣobhya in the crown. Nihom 1986:495 considers this image described in the Nāgarakṛtāgama to be Jaka Dolog. The statuette of Akṣobhya in the crown placed on the head of Śiva cannot be the large and heavy Jaka Dolog. The two images are different. Kṛtanagara must have established a number of Akṣobhya statues in different parts of the kingdom.

THE IMAGE IN CANDI JAJAVA

To put the situation in a correct perspective it is necessary to identify the image at Candi Jajava, described in the Nāgarakṛtāgama 56.1-57.4. We reproduce below the text along with the translations of Pigeaud and Nihom followed by a revised interpretation:

56.1 *ndan tiṅkah nikanaṅ sudharmma riṅ usāna rakva karĕṇö/*
kīrtti śrī kṛtanāgara prabhū yuyut nareśvara sira/

těkvān rakva sirāṅadhiṣṭhita śarīra tan hana vaneh/
etunyaṅ dvaya śaiva boddha saṅ amūja ṅūni satatā//

Translation by Pigeaud:

Now (as to) the arrangement of that eminent dharma (domain) there in olden times, so it is said, according to oral tradition:
it was a kīrti (foundation) of the Illustrious Kĕrtanagara, the Prabhu, the Prince's great-grandfather was He. In fact, so it said, He erected it Himself, there was nobody else.
Therefore were double, Shiwaites and Buddhists, the honoured ones who performed worship in the past, regularly.

Translation by Nihom:

Now the state of that eminent religious domain of old as hearsay says. Śri Kĕrtanagara built it, the Lord, the great-grandfather the lord of men is he. Moreover it is said he magically established a physical reflex to himself, no one else. This is the reason that the two, Śaivites and Buddhists, are those who always reverenced it in the past.

It means: According to ancient oral traditions, the sanctum (Candi Jajava) was a foundation of King Kṛtanagara, the great-grandfather of the King. He consecrated it in person (*śarīra*) and not through anyone else. This is why in the past both (*dvaya*) Śaiva priests and Buddhist monks worshipped here constantly.

The consecration was performed by the King personally and not through a priest. The word *adhiṣṭhita* is not 'erected' (Pigeaud), but 'consecrated". Both the denominations of Śaivas and Buddhists worshipped in deference to the deep reverence in which the King himself held the main statue.

56.2 *cihnaṅ caṇḍi ri sor kaśaivan apucak kaboddhan i ruhur/*
mvaṅ ri jro śivavimba śobhita halĕpnirāparimitā/
akṣobhyapratime ruhur mmakuṭa tan hanolyantikā/
saṅke siddhiniran vināśa tuhu śūnyatatva paramā//

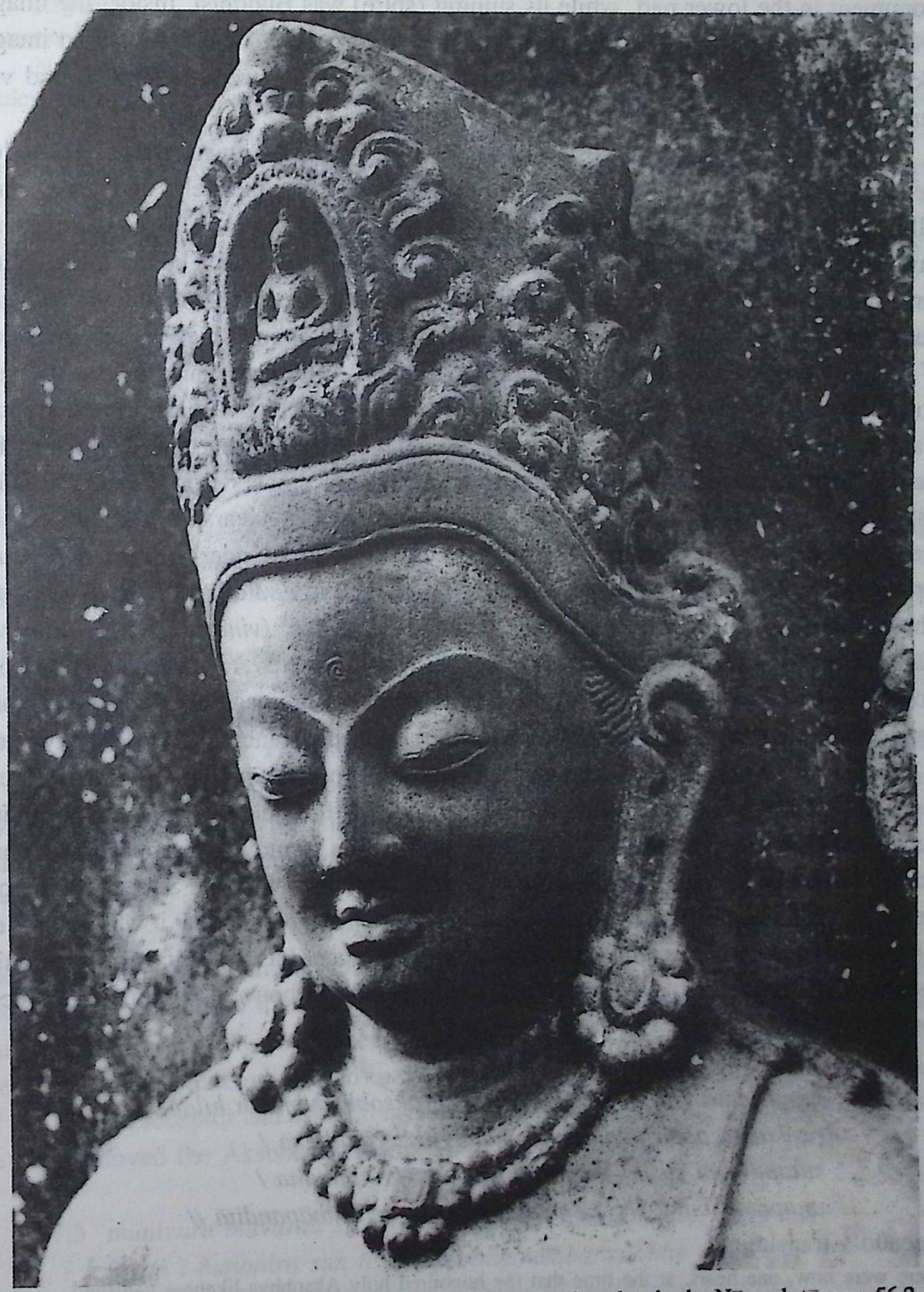
Pigeaud's translation:

The token is: the caṇḍi (monument) is, below, a Shiwaite place. With a top, a Buddhist place, high up, and inside is a Shiva-likeness, splendid, its majesty unmeasured.
An Akṣobhya-pratimā (statuette) was on high, a crown, not otherwise, small was that.
A consequence of His supernatural power was its disappearance, verily the Non-entity's supreme (manifestation).

Nihom's translation:

The mark of the shrine is that: mundanely, it is a Śaivite sanctuary, transcendentally, it has a summit which is a Buddhist sanctuary. And inside there is a statue of Śiva, lovely, of an external beauty which is immeasurable. The likeness of Akṣobhya transcendentally forms the high point, no confusion is there at all. Because of its perfection in that it disappeared (the likeness) is veritably the supreme, the truth which is void.

The verse means: The distinctive feature of the Candi was that it was a Śaiva



The statue of Śiva with an Akṣobhya in the crown, referred to in the Nāgarakṛtāgama 56.2, was like the above statue of Avalokiteśvara with an Amitābha in the crown.

monument in the lower part, while its summit (spire) was Buddhist. Inside, the image of Śiva was splendid, its charm (serenity) was beyond measure. Its crown had an image of Akṣobhya: there is no doubt. Because of its supernatural powers (*siddhi*), it had verily vanished into the supreme absolute Void.

The Candi had a composite architecture: Śaiva in the lower part, with Buddhist elements in its spires. Nihom has inserted the concepts of 'mundanely' and "transcendentally' in the translation. They do not occur in the original verse. This architecture must have been envisaged specially because of the King's predilection. The main image in the sanctum was that of Śiva, whose crown had a miniature image of Akṣobhya. Just as the statue within was of Śiva crowned with a Buddhist Akṣobhya, likewise the architecture of the Śaiva shrine was topped by Buddhist elements. The poet wants to clarify that the image was not syncretic: Śiva was the image, while Akṣobhya was just a statuette in His diadem. Akṣobhya as a small image in the crown can be seen clearly in the Padang Roco Heruka, which can be a representation of Kṛtanagara (Kempers 1959:87 pl. 259, Nihom 485). For a statuette of Amitābha in the diadem of Avalokiteśvara see the illustration on the opposite page. The crown could have belonged to the founder of the Caṇḍi, namely Kṛtanagara, who was a devotee of Akṣobhya. As such it would have been of solid gold. The fourth quarter is a euphemism: the words'disappeared' (*vināśa*) and 'absolute void' (*śūnyatattva parama*) become clear in the following verse 57.1: when His Holiness the Royal Preceptor heard that the Akṣobhya image had disappeared (*hilaṅ*) he set on an inspection tour. The priest wanted to mystify the disappearance of the Akṣobhya crown as a supernatural act of the mergence of Akṣobhya into the supreme absolute. In fact, he had whisked it away (*vināśa*) because of the value of the gold crown. The word *vināśa* has the pejorative meaning 'loss, perdition, destruction, removal, disappearance, annihilation'. It cannot be used for merging or consubstantiation with the Supreme. The priest seems to have melted the crown alongwith its image into gold, so that it was lost for ever, it became totally nothing (*śūnyatattva parama*). The poet has used graceful expressions, but the single depreciatory word *vināśa* makes us read in between the lines and uncover the theft.

57.1 *hana māta karĕñö tĕpĕk saṅ hyaṅ akṣobhyavimban hilaṅ /*
prakaśita pada-pāduka śrī mahāgurvi rājadhikā /
sutapa śuci suśilā boddha-brata-śravaṇ-ānindita /
anupama bahu-śiṣya sāmpun maciryyan mahāpaṇḍitā //

Pigeaud's translation

There were now, one hears, at the time that the honoured holy Akṣobhya-likeness vanished, renowned, the Feet of the paduka (His Magnificence) the Illustrious Mahāguru (Grand Master) of

Rājyādhika,
a superior tapa (anchorite), pure, virtuous, of the Buddhist brata (vow), a Shrawaka (man of learning), blameless,
peerless, with numerous disciples, already having shown the token of being a great paṇḍita (scholar).

It is said that shortly after (*tĕpĕk*) the image of Akṣobhya had disappeared, it came to be known to His Holiness the Royal Preceptor, of superior penance, pure, virtuous, impeccable in Buddhist vows (*brata*) and scriptures (*śravaṇa*), peerless, with numerous disciples, an accomplished (*sāmpun*) and recognised (*macīryyan*) great paṇḍita.

57.2 *sira ta mahās atīrtha seccāmgil riṅ sudharmma ḍalĕm/*
praṇata marĕk i saṅ hyaṅ arccātibhaktyāṅdharāṅastutī/
yataṅ amuhara śalyani tvasniraṅ sthāpakānaṅśaya /
ri vnaṅanira bhaktya ri hyaṅ śivārccātañā ṅakṣama //

Pigeaud translates:
He now made a tour visiting holy places; with pleasure he sojourned in the eminent dharma (religious domain) in the Interior.
Bowing he entered into the Presence of the honoured holy arca (cult-statue), most submissive, humble, praising.
This now was causing irritation in the heart of the worshipful sthāpaka (abbot); having his doubts,
about His being able to show submissiveness to the holy Shiva arcā (cult-statue), he asked a question, praying for forgiveness.

The verse means: He came on a pilgrimage, and of his own he entered the interior of the sanctum, bowed to the image with great devotion, and overflowing with joy (*dhara*) he praised the Lord with hymns (*stuti*). This tormented the heart of the apprehensive temple-priest: who because of his dedicated devotion to Lord Śiva begged forgiveness of Him.

Sthāpaka is 'principal priest, chief guardian of a temple' (Zoetmulder 2.1822). He had stolen and melted the Akṣobhya-crown, tempted by the lure of its precious gold. Moreover, as an ardent follower of Śiva he could not tolerate that a crown bearing the Buddhist deity Akṣobhya be placed on the head of his Lord. When the Royal Preceptor went into the sanctum and prayed to the Lord, the fearing temple-priest sensed the anger of the Royal Preceptor and asked forgiveness from Lord Śiva, to vindicate whose honour he had removed the Akṣobhya-crown.

57.3 *munivara mavarah sire tatva saṅ hyaṅ sudharmmeṅ daṅū /*
mvaṅ i hananira saṅ hyaṅ akṣobhyavimbātisūkṣme ruhur /
ryyulihiran umaluy muvah maṅhinĕp riṅ sudharmmomarĕk/
salahāśa kavṅan sirān ton ri mukṣa hyaṅ ṅārccālilaṅ//

Pigeaud translates:

The excellent muni(sage), He told the state of the honoured holy eminent dharma (domain) in the past, and His presence, of the honoured holy Akṣobhya-likeness, most subtle, high up.

At His going home he returned once again; passing the night in the eminent dharma (domain), he entered into the Presence.

He wailed, amazed, seeing the disappearance of the holiness; the arca (cult-statue) was naked.

The verse means: The noble sage instructed on the significance of the sanctum (*sudharma*) in the past, and on the presence of the divine image of Akṣobhya which was small and on the top. Before returning he came back to pass the night in the sanctum, appeared in the presence (of the image), was overwhelmed (*kavṅan)* by disconsolation *(salahasa* Zoet). on seeing that the holy statuette had completely disappeared.

Alilaṅ 'finished, completely disappeared, swept away' means that the Akṣobhya-crown had disappeared completely, that is, it had been melted into precious metal, and there was no possibility of its retrieval. Verse 56.2d *vināśa tuhu śūnya-tattva parama*, also refers to its total (*parama*) disappearance (*śūnya-tattva*) which was a sad reality (*tuhu*) beyond redemption. This euphemism of a philosophical statement of its theft and melting in 56.2 becomes clear in this verse.

57.4 *pilih anala śarārkka rakva śakābde hyaṅ ārccan hilaṅ/*
ri hilaṅira sināmbĕr iṅ bajraghoṣa sucaṇḍi dalĕm/
pavaravarahiraṅ mahāśrāvakāvas ndatan saṅśaya/
pisaniṅu valuya dhārmma tkvan kadohan huvus//

Pigeaud's translation

Perhaps fire-arrows-sun (1253 = 1331 AD), so it is said, was the Shāka-year of the holiness of the arcā (cult-statue)'s vanishing.

At its vanishing was struck by lightning's violence the eminent caṇḍi (monument) in the Interior.

The various communications of the worshipful the great Shrāwaka (man of learning) were clear and unquestionable.

Let alone that would return the holiness of the dharma (domain), in fact it is deserted for good (by the holiness).

The verse means: The most likely Śaka year in which the image disappeared is 1253 (=AD1331). On its disappearance, thunder and lightning struck the interior of the caṇḍi. The sermons of the Great Śrāvaka were clear beyond doubt that the sanctum will never (*pisaniṅu)* return to its former glory and it is abandoned for ever.

The Royal Preceptor made it clear that even nature had registered its anger by lightning, the sanctum had lost its holiness and royal patronage will be abandoned.

The meaning of words are: *pilih* 'certainly, most likely, about', *bajraghoṣa* 'lightning', *tkwan* 'moreover, furthermore', *kadohan* 'abandon' (Zoetmulder).

The following facts emerge from the Nāgarakṛtāgama:Kṛtanagara created Candi

Jajava. Its central image was that of Śiva, with a powerful statuette of Akṣobhya in the crown. The Akṣobhya disappeared from the crown, probably it was removed by the Śaiva abbot. Shortly after the image of Akṣobhya disappeared, the Mahāguru Rājādhika came to know of it. He visited the sanctum with great devotion. He was dazed by the vanishing of the statuette of Akṣobhya. This caused irritation to the abbot of the candi (57.2). The Buddhist *munivara* told him the real situation of the sanctum in the past and about the presence of the image of Akṣobhya (57.3). As it vanished in 1331, the interior of the candi was struck by thunder and lightning, never to regain its former glory.

Nihom has tried to prove that Jaka Dolog was originally sited at Candi Jajava and it was the vanished image. This misconception has arisen because of the Akṣobhya at this Caṇḍi, which was but a small statuette in the crown, like the Akṣobhya in the Padang Roco image of Bhairava. The large-sized Jaka Dolog cannot be equated with the Akṣobhya statuette, nor can it obviously be this Śiva image. Nihom's (486) proposal that "a link must exist between the disappearance of the Jajava image in 1331 and the displacement of the Jaka Dolog to Majapahit and its rededication in 1351", is not tenable. The statuette of Akṣobhya in the Jajava image disappeared for ever.

THE IMAGE AT SAGALA

Bosch 1918b and Nihom 1986:495 believe that the replica of the Jaka Dolog found in Malang was a mortuary statue of Kṛtanagara in Sāgala. Bosch bases himself on Nāgarakṛtāgama 43.6. The image is described as follows:

lāvan riṅ sākgala pratiṣṭhā jināvimbatyānta riṅ śobhitā /
tkvann arddhanareśvarī mvaṅ ika saṅ śrī bajradevy āpupul /
saṅ rovaṅnira vṛddhi riṅ bhūvana tuṅgal riṅ kriyā mvaṅ bratā /
hyaṅ verocana locanā lviriran ekārcca prakāśeṅ prajā //

Pigeaud translates it as follows:

Also in Sagala is a pratiṣṭhā (divine abode), a Jina likeness, infinite in splendour,
naturally an Ardhanareshvarī, with her, the honoured Illustrious Bajradevī, united,
His honoured associate as to increase in the world, one in kriyā (rites) and brata (observances).
The Holy Wairocana-Locanā was Their aspect, being one arcā (cult-statue), celebrated in the realm.

The above translation is not clear. The poet says that a statue of Jina (here=Vairocana), excellent in splendour, was established at Sākgala. Moreover, the Queen (Ardha-nareśvarī) was united (*apupul*) with him as Śrī Bajradevī. The two together brought prosperity to the land, being one in rites and observances. It was a conjoint image of Vairocana-Locanā, and was celebrated among the people.

Sākgala is the name of a city which has to be identified. It corresponds to the Indian Śākala the capital of Madradeśa in the Mahābhārata 2.32. The city of Sāgala in the kingdom of Madda (Madra) is known from the Kaliṅgabodhi-jātaka (Chalmers

1895:4.144). It is described in the Milindapañha (ed. V. Trenckner 1f.) as a well-known city. Nihom 1986:497 emends the reading *riṅ Sākgala* to *riṅ sāgara*, and adds that we should await the publication of newly discovered manuscripts of the text and he places the image at Bureng-Wĕndit.

Ardhanareśvara and -śvarī is an image of the King and Queen in one body (half male, half female) as a Deity with His consort the Goddess (see Zoetmulder 1.123).

Bajradevī is Vajradhātvīśvarī, the queen of Vajradhātu, the world of Vairocana. In Old Javanese texts, the consort of Vairocana is Vajradhātvīśvarī, and the consort of Akṣobhya is Locanā. Dhātvīśvarī and Locanā are also equated in the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan p. 68: *Dhātvīśvarī Locanekā*. Locanā is originally Rocanā, feminine of Rocana who is the main deity of the Avataṁsaka sūtras, and later evolved as the Abhisambodhi Vairocana (called Vairocana of the Garbha-maṇḍala in Japanese Mantrayāna). The name Rocana is known from the Chinese Avataṁsaka and also from the Sanskrit Gaṇḍavyūha. It has been mistranslated as Vairocana, and that has led to misunderstandings, including the interpretation of Locanā. This is to clarify the doubts raised by Pigeaud 4.133 in his notes.

The Sāgala statue was clearly of Vairocana-Locanā and cannot be the Jaka Dolog Akṣobhya.

10. FROM THE GODDESSES OF PLAOSAN TO THE DHĀRAṆĪ-MAṆḌALA AT ALCHI

(in collaboration with Mrs. Sudarshana Devi Singhal)

The goddess of eternity incarnated in the grace of images in Buddhist maṇḍalas have remained hidden in the folds of time. Their visions have eluded modern research in the wordless beyond. The words of the Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha have not been understood in full measure, though it is the Root Tantra of the 24 Vajradhātu-maṇḍalas. The goddesses at Chandi Plaosan Lor have led us to explore the complex at Alchi nestling in the Himalayas.

The ninth century complex of Chandi Plaosan Lor in Indonesia has only male figures in the northern temple and only female figures in the southern temple (Casparis 1958:32 n.179). The male figures may represent the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala (I.1) and the female figures can be the Dhāraṇī-maṇḍala (I.2). The identification can be done when the reliefs in both the temples are available in photographs. For the present we shall see how the goddesses are configured at Alchi.

Alongwith Ajanta, Angkor, Borobudur, Gyantse Kumbum, Tun-huang and other gems of Buddhist art are the staggering luminant murals of the Alchi monastery, about seventy kilometres west of Leh in Ladakh. Built in the eleventh century, it is situated in fertile alluvial terraces of the Indus. It is the glory of Kashmiri style of Buddhist art. Its three-storeyed Sumtsek building has maṇḍalas of the Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha (STTS), which was translated into Tibetan under the guidance of Rin.chen.bzaṅ.po in the tenth century. Its commentary Tattvālokakarī has influenced the iconograhy of the Alchi maṇḍalas, as shown by S. Toganoo. The Sino-Japanese Kongōkai maṇḍala has conditioned the understanding of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍalas (plural) and that has been a hindrance in the correct identification of the Alchi maṇḍalas. The nine squares in the Genzu are a Chinese configuration to accord with the geomantic considerations of the T'ang capital, and they are specific to the politico-ritual requirements of China at the time. This maṇḍala was copied for Kobo Daishi by the Court painter Li-chên and hence has nine squares. The Tendai Vajradhātu-maṇḍala originates from the monastic tradition and thus has only the central maṇḍala which as the prakṛti or prototype is *the prime* maṇḍala. The Genzu has the second samaya-maṇḍala (I.2) where the goddesses are replaced by symbols. Hence this maṇḍala I.2 on the right hand of the upper floor of Sumtsek, with goddesses as required by the fundamental text STTS, could not be identified correctly.

The Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha has six maṇḍalas in the first samaya:

I.1 Vajradhātu-mahām., mahām. (Amoghavajra, Genzu, Mkhas.grub.rje, Buddhaguhya), mahābhūta-m.(Tajima p. 245)

I.2 Vajraguhya-m., dhāraṇī-m. (Amoghavajra, Mkhas.grub.rje), samaya-m. (Genzu, Buddhaguhya)

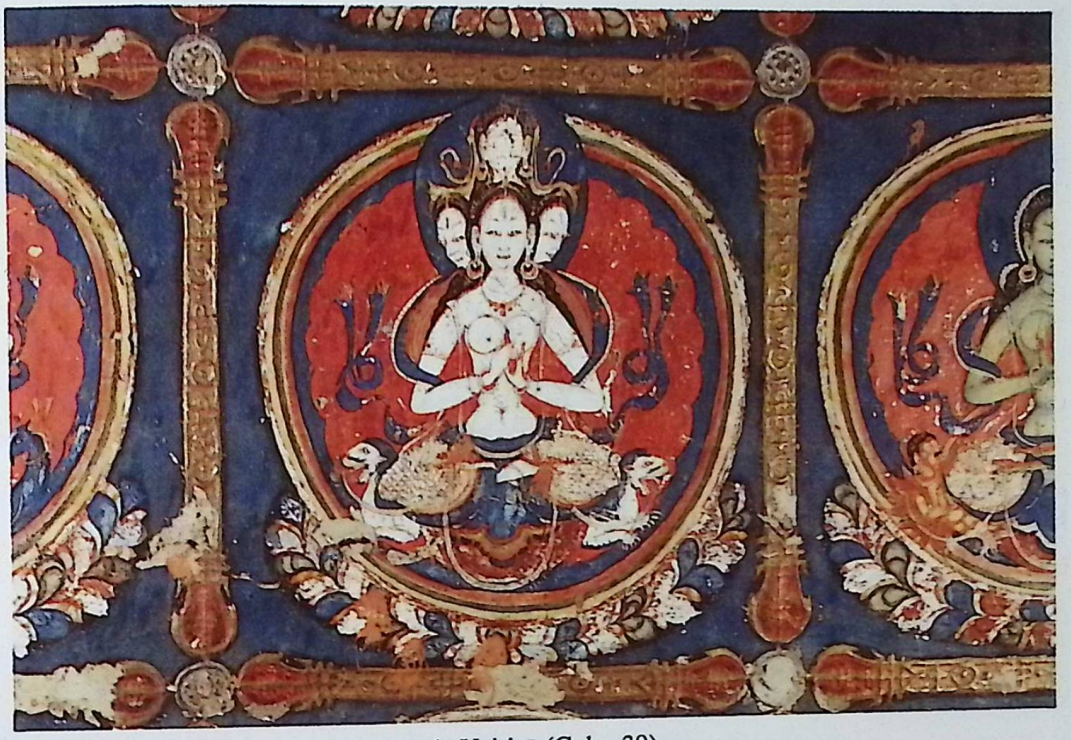
I.3 Vajrajñānadharma-m., vajra-sūkṣma-jñāna-m., sūkṣma-vajra-m. (Amoghavajra, Genzu), sūkṣma-m. (Genzu), dharma-m. (Tajima, Mkhas.grub.rje), dharma-cakra-m. (Buddhaguhya)

I.4 Vajrakāryakarma-m., pūjā-karma-m. (Amoghavajra, Genzu), pūjā-m. (Genzu), karma-m. (Tajima, Mkhas.grub.rje, Buddhaguhya).

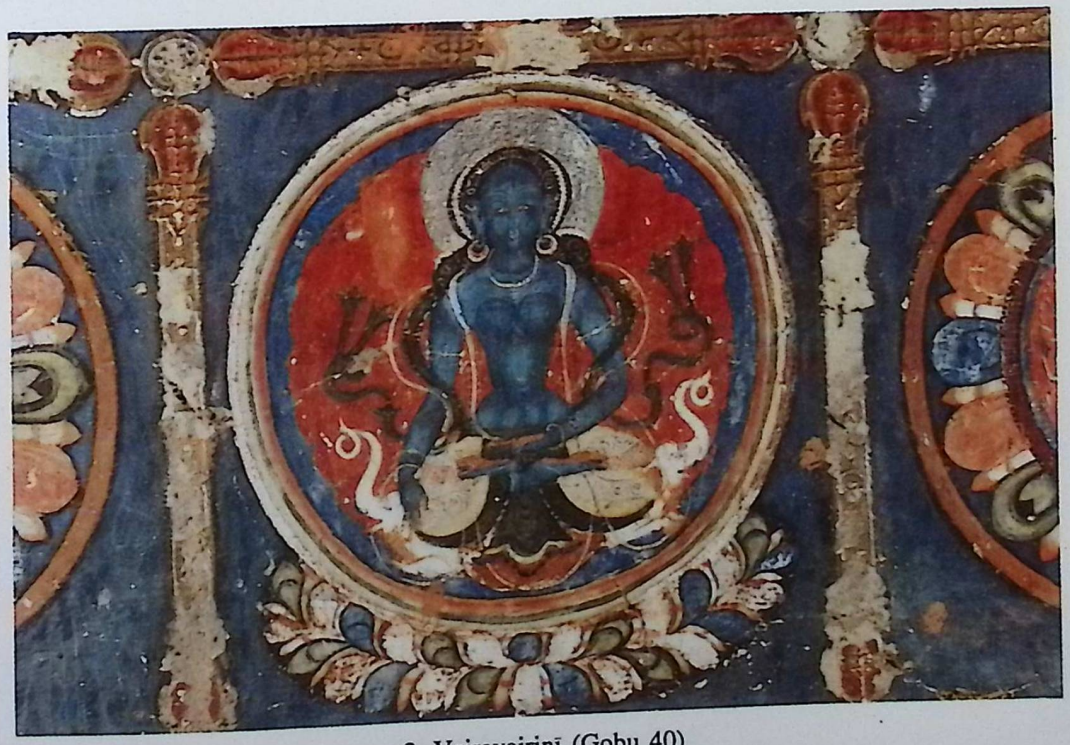
I.5 Caturmudrā-m.

I.6 Ekamudrā-m.

The maṇḍala I.2 contains 37 goddesses: they are in the form of Pāramitā (Tajima 1959:146). In the Genzu maṇḍala prevalent in Japan, the goddesses have been replaced by their symbols (*samaya*) and hence it is known as the samaya-m. in the Genzu. The Genzu maṇḍala was drawn for Kobo Daishi by the court painter of China, and he did not depict the goddesses, as the Emperor could not worship them. This has led to distortions in understanding the dhāraṇī-m. at Alchi. The goddess Ratnavajriṇī, the consort of Ratnasambhava, had been wrongly interpreted "Buddha Ratnasambhava in Female Form" (Goepper/Poncar 1984:96 plate 25). Goepper says: "The figures in the central group are all female, perhaps because the cult image refers to a so-called 'mother tantra'." He identifies "Bodhisattva Vajrayakṣa in Female Form" on p.100 pl.27, but she is the goddess Tejaḥpratyāhāriṇī (STTS pl.103, Gobu p. 168), and she holds two fangs (*daṁṣṭrā*). The second chapter of the STTS describes this maṇḍala of goddesses at length. The STTS has to be read in conjuction with its 24 maṇḍalas. The Genzu maṇḍala has pre-empted the possibility of maṇḍalas of goddesses, as they are not represented therein, but are substituted by symbols.



1. Vajriṇī (Gobu 39)

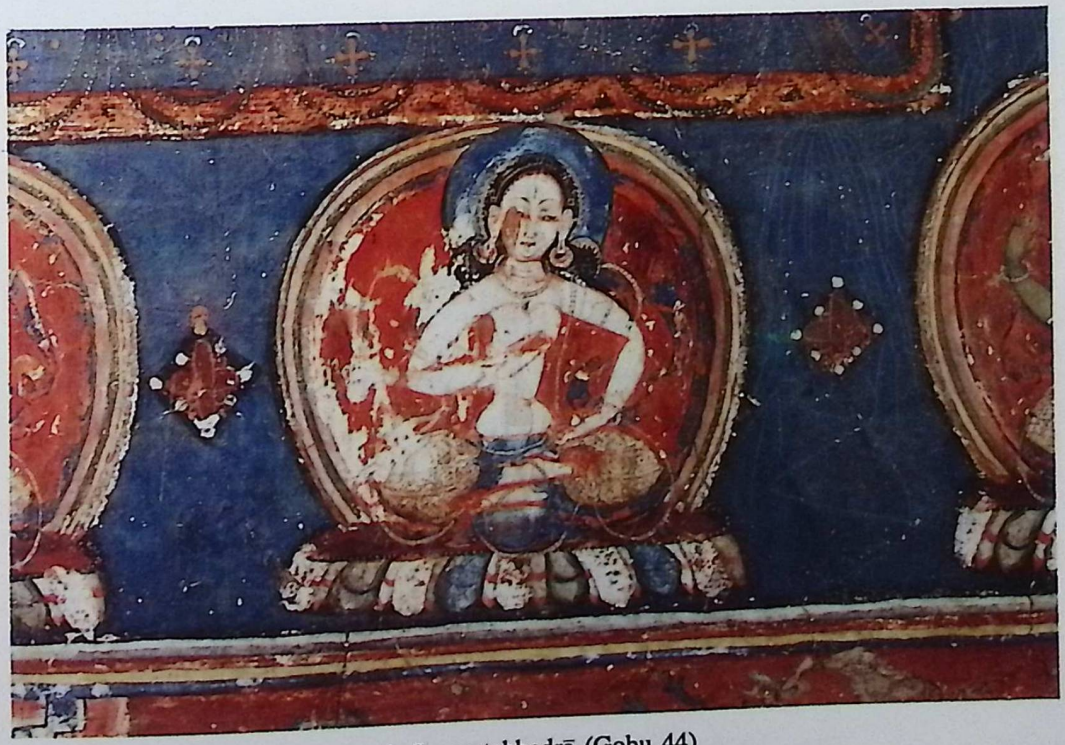


2. Vajravajriṇī (Gobu 40)

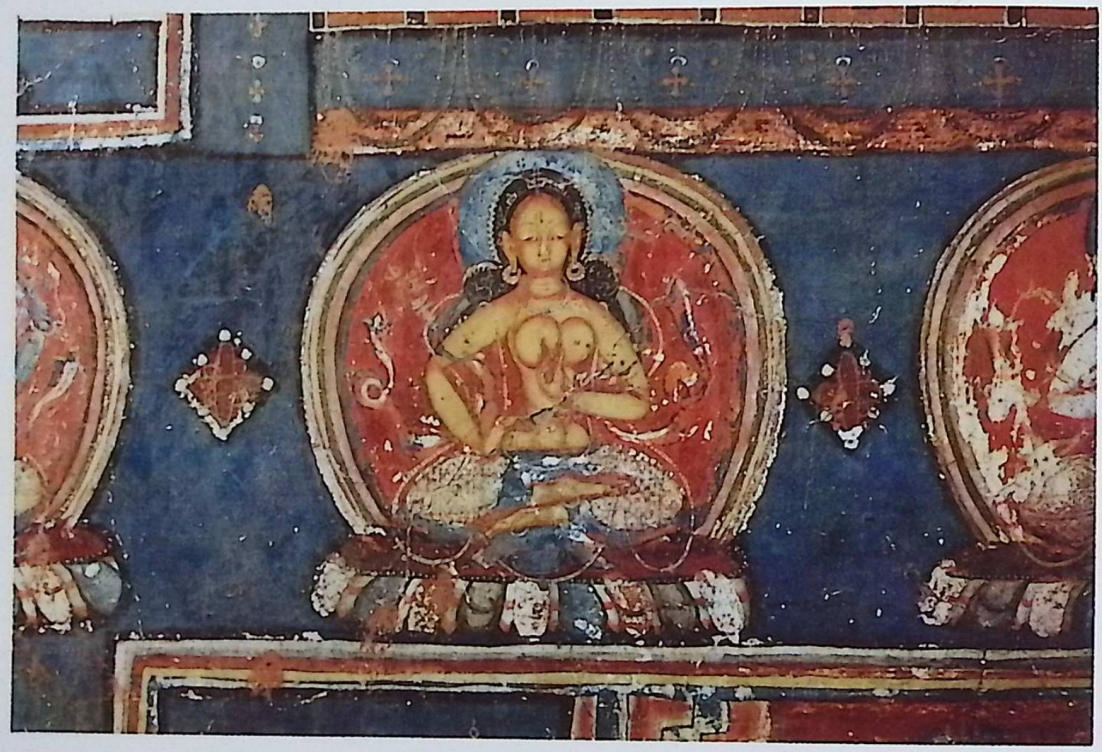
3. Ratnavajriṇī (Gobu 41)

4. Dharmavajriṇī (Gobu 42)

5. Karmavajriṇī (Gobu 43)

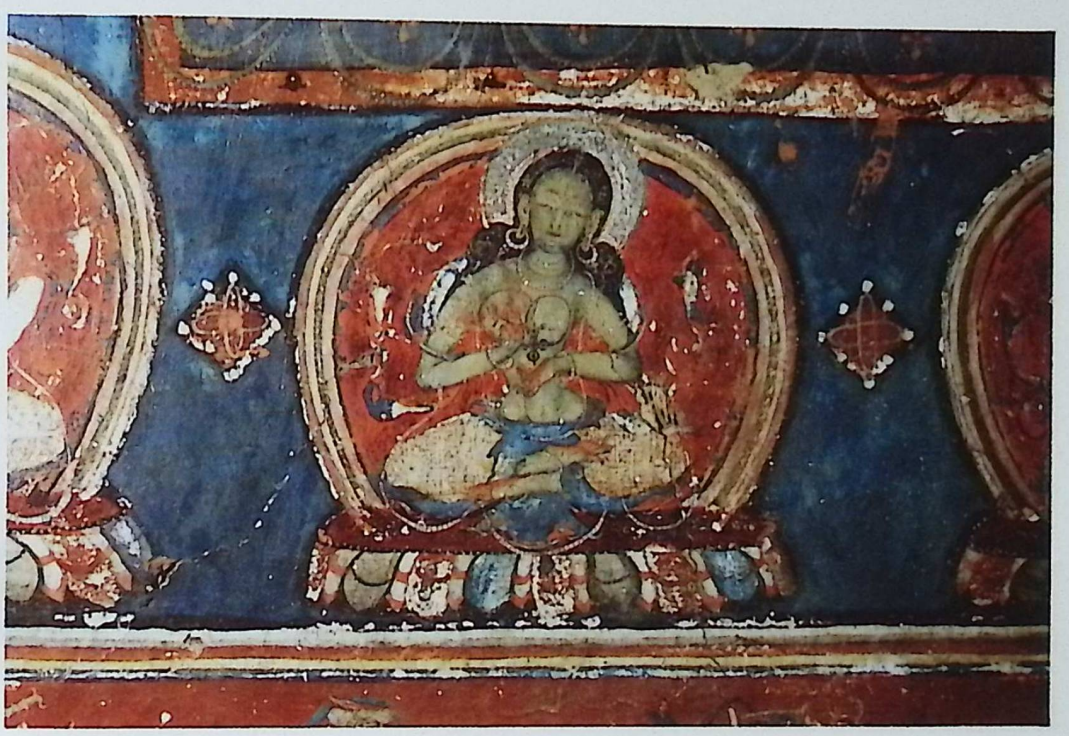


6. Samantabhadrā (Gobu 44)

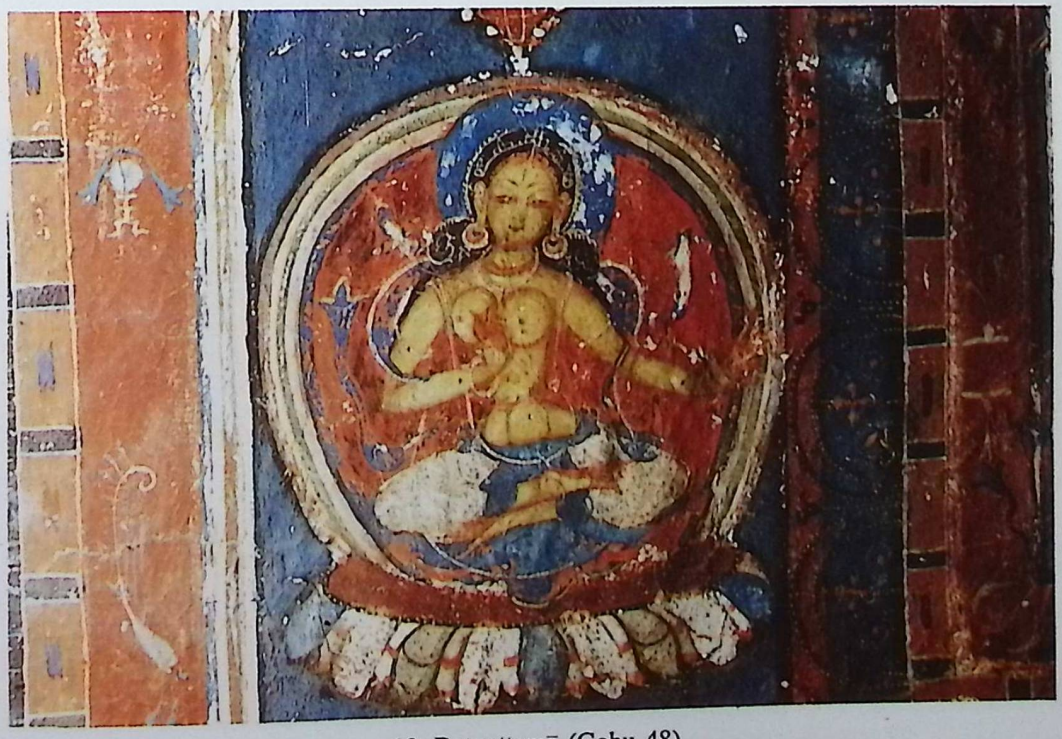


7. Tathāgatāṅkuśī (Gobu 45)

8. Ratirāgā (Gobu 46 Vajrarāgā)



9. Samantabhadrā (Gobu 47 Sādhumatī)



10. Ratnottamā (Gobu 48)

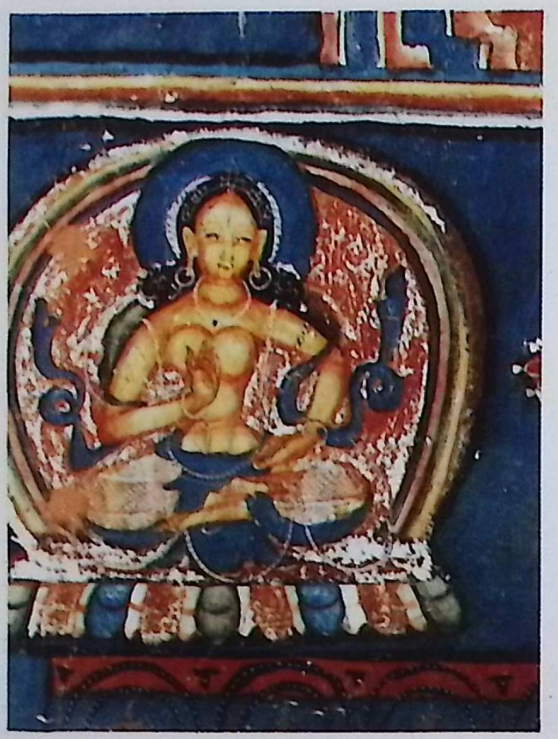
11. Ratnolkā (Gobu 49)

12. Dhvajāgrakeyūrā (Gobu 50)

13. Hāsavatī (Gobu 51)

14. Vajrāmbujā (Gobu 52)

15. Ādhāraṇī (Gobu 53)

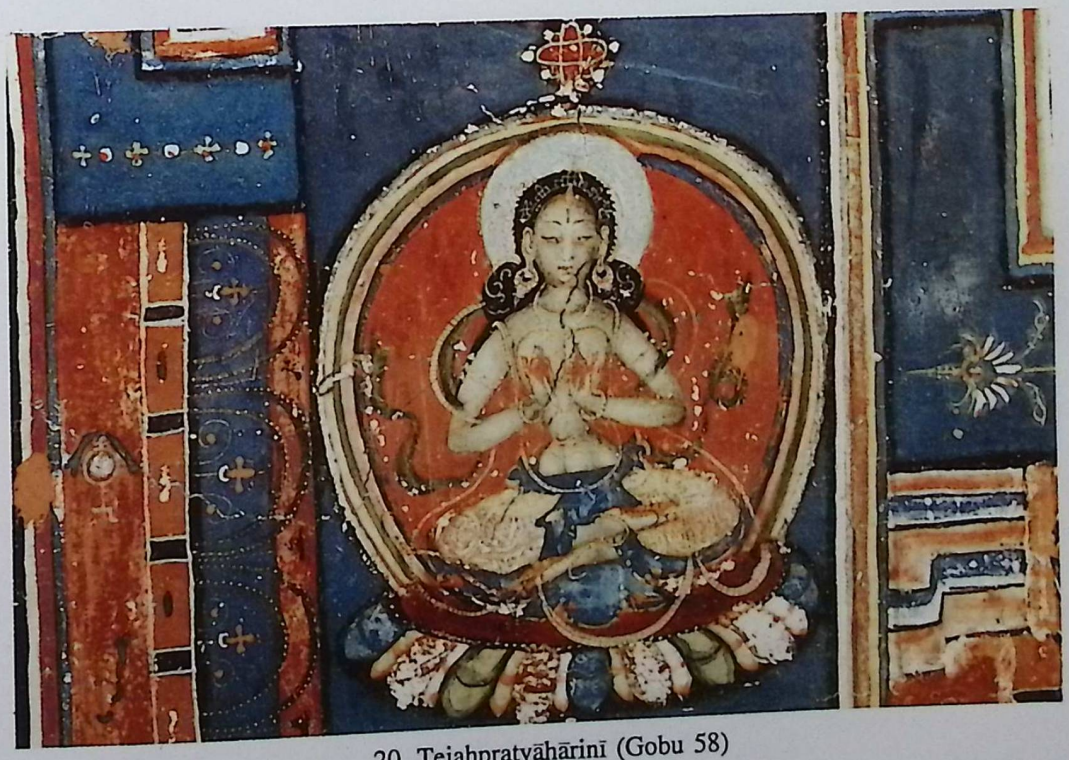


16. Sarvacakrā (Gobu 54)

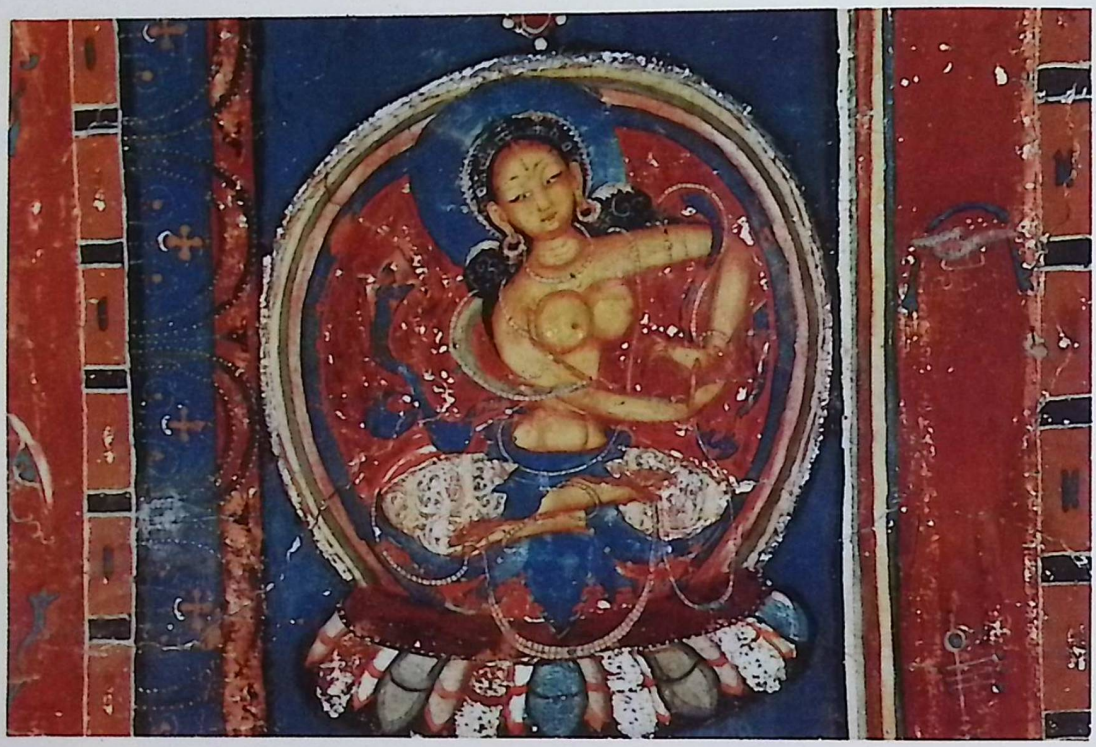
17. Sahasrāvartā (Gobu 55)

18. Siddhottarā (Gobu 56)

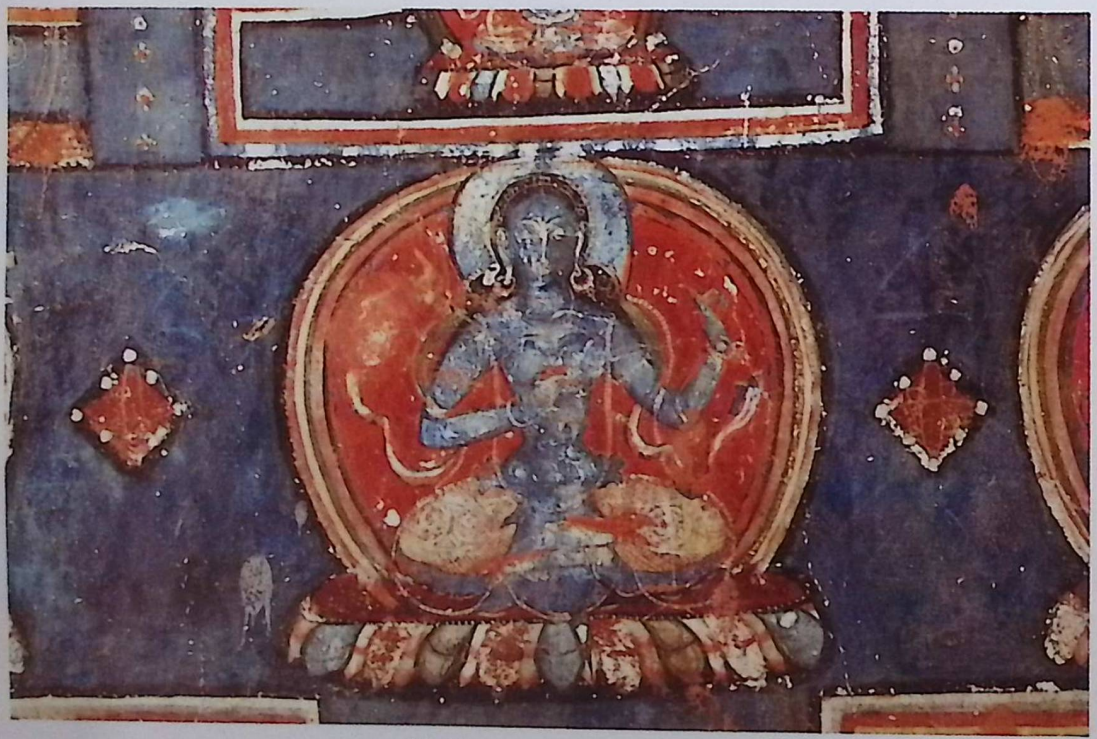
19. Sarvarakṣā (Gobu 57)



20. Tejaḥpratyāhāriṇī (Gobu 58)



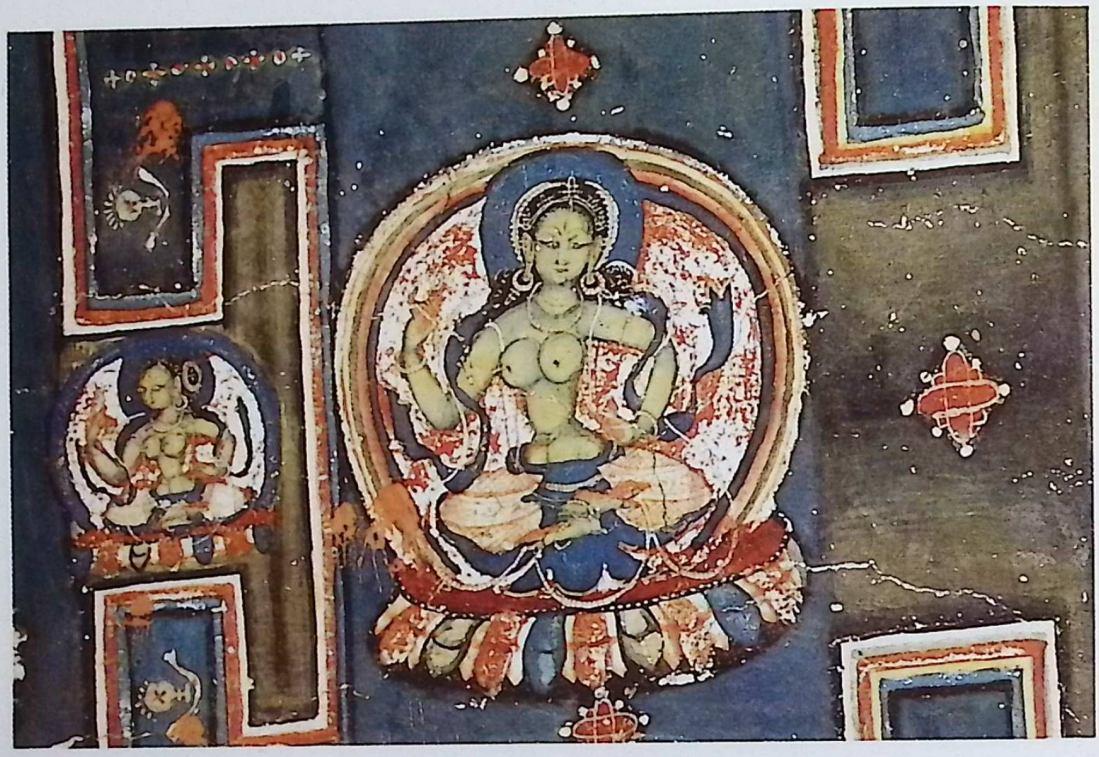
21. Dhāraṇīmudrā (Gobu 59)



22. Sattvavajrī (Gobu 60)

23. Ratnavajrī (Gobu 61)

24. Dharmavajrī (Gobu 62)



25. Karmavajrī (Gobu 63)

26. Guhyalāsyā

27. Guhyamālā

28. Guhyagītā

29. Guhyanṛtyā

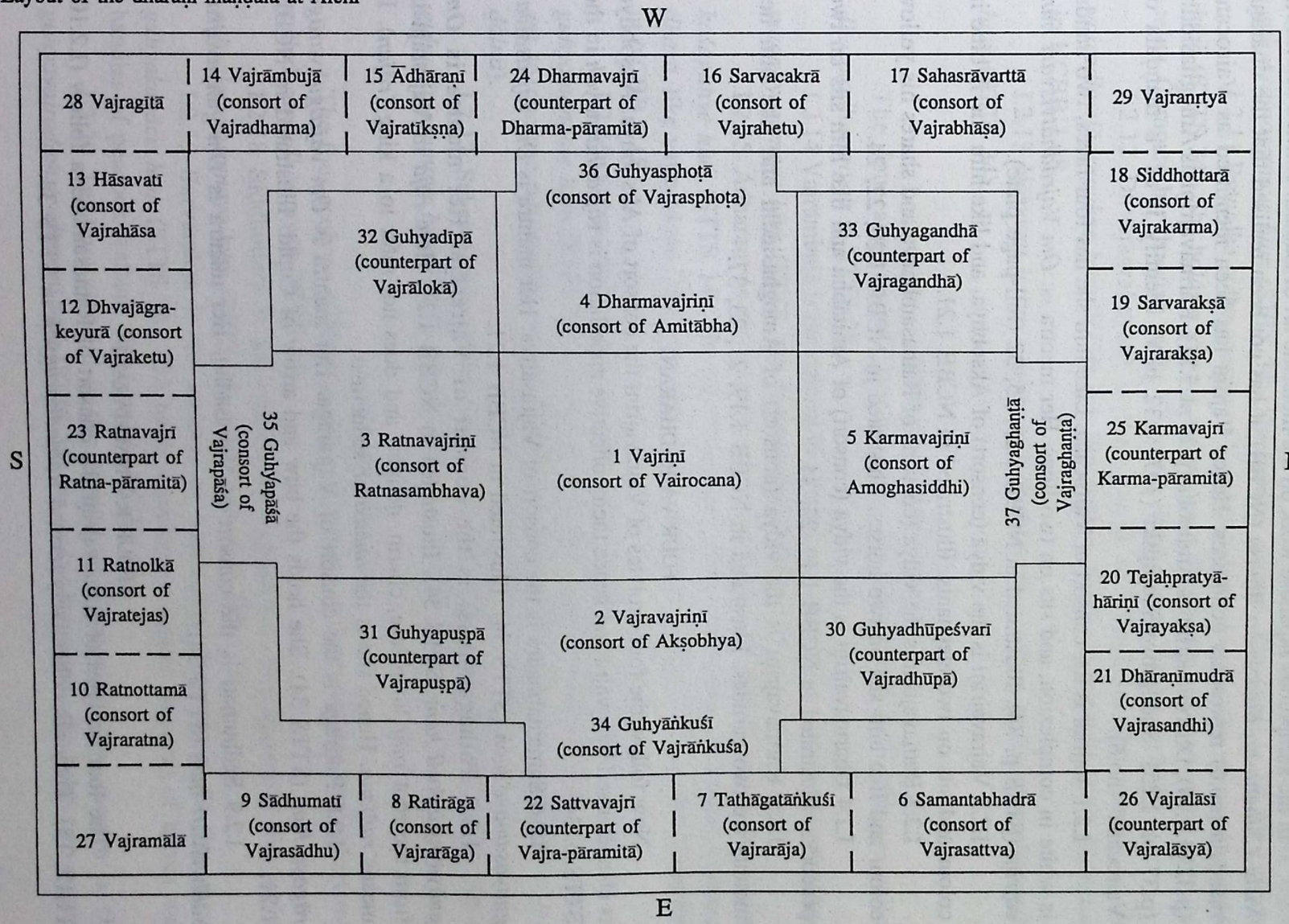
30. Guhyadhūpeśvarī (Gobu 64)

31. Guhyapuṣpā (Gobu 65)

32. Guhyadīpā (Gobu 66)

33. Guhyagandhā (Gobu 67)

Layout of the dhāraṇī-maṇḍala at Alchi



In the sumptuous Japanese work on the monastic art of Ladakh entitled *Mandara: Nishi Chibetto-no Bukkyō-no Bijutsu* (NCBB), it has not been realised that the dhāraṇī-maṇḍala (no.6) represents goddesses. Hence Vajriṇī has been identified as Vairocana (p.32 pl. I.19), Dharmavajriṇī as Amitābha (p.34 pl. I.21), Karmavajriṇī as Amoghasiddhi (p.37 pl. I.25). Snellgrove/Skorupski (1977:1.32 pl.V) identify it as 'a maṇḍala of Vairocana' (no.6).

I.2.1 Vajriṇī is the consort of Vairocana. Like him she has four faces, two hands, is white in complexion, and sits on two lions. Her mantra is: *Om Vajradhātvīśvari hūṁ vajriṇi* (STTS p. 34). Illustrated in NCBB 1.23, 25, 32 (full-page plate).

I.2.2 Vajravajriṇī is the vidyā (consort) of Akṣobhya, and like him she is blue in colour and sits on two elephants. Illustrated in NCBB 1.21.

I.2.3 Ratnavajriṇī is the vidyā (consort) of Ratnasambhava and shares his yellow colour and like him sits on two horses. Illustrated in NCBB 1.20, 22, 24.

I.2.4 Dharmavajriṇī is the vidyā (consort) of Amitābha and like him sits on two peacocks. Illustrated in NCBB 1.19, 23, 34.

I.2.5 Karmavajriṇī is the vidyā (consort) of Amoghasiddhi and like him her mounts are two garuḍas. Illustrated in NCBB 1.19, 21, 23, 37.

FOUR VAJRADHĀRAṆĪ

Now follow the four acolytes of Vajravajriṇī the consort of Akṣobhya. Akṣobhya is characterised by a vajra and hence their collective appellation is *vajradhāraṇyaḥ* in the STTS p. 34.

I.2.6 Samantabhadrā is the consort of Vajrasattva. Her mantra is *Om vajrasatva-guhyasamaye hūṁ* (STTS 34). Illustrated in NCBB 1.21.

I.2.7 Tathāgatāṅkuśī is the consort of Vajrarāja. Her mantra is *Om guhyavajrāṅkuśi hūṁ* (STTS 34). Illustrated in NCBB 1.21. Here *rāja* in Vajrarāja is from the root *rañj* 'to please, charm, delight' and does not refer to a king (*rājan*). It means *rañjana*. Hence she is the *aṅkuśi* or seductress.

I.2.8 Ratirāgā is the consort of Vajrarāga. Her mantra is *Om vajraguhyarāge rāgaya hūṁ* (STTS 34). She holds the bow and arrow of Cupid. Illustrated in NCBB 1.21.

I.2.9 Sādhumatī is the consort of Vajrasādhu. Her mantra is *Om guhyavajra-sādhvīśvari hūṁ* (STTS 34).

FOUR RATNADHĀRAṆĪ

The four acolytes of Ratnavajriṇī the consort of Ratnasambhava follow (I.2.10, 11,12, 13). They are collectively termed *Ratnadhāraṇyaḥ* in STTS 34.

I.2.10 Ratnottamā is the consort of Vajraratna. Her mantra is *Om vajraguhyaratnasamaye hūṁ* (STTS 34). She holds a garland. Illustrated in NCBB I.18, 20.

I.2.11 Ratnolkā is the consort of Vajratejas. Her mantra is *Om vajraguhyaprabhe hūṁ* (STTS 34). She holds a shining object, being Ratna-*ulkā* and the consort of Vajra-*tejas*. Compare her drawing in the Gobu 49. Illustrated in NCBB 1.18, 20.

I.2.12 Dhvajāgrakeyūrā is the consort of Vajraketu. Her mantra is *Om vajradhvajāgraguhye hūṁ* (STTS 34). She holds a banner in her right hand. Illustrated in NCBB 1.18.

I.2.13 Hāsavatī is the consort of Vajrahāsa. Her mantra is *Om guhyahāsavajri hūṁ* (STTS 34).

FOUR DHARMADHĀRAṆĪ

The four acolytes of Dharmavajriṇī the consort of Amitābha are called *dharmadhāraṇyaḥ* in STTS 35.

I.2.14 Vajrāmbujā is the consort of Vajradharma and her mantra is *Om vajradharmaguhyasamaye hūṁ* (STTS 34). Illustrated in NCBB 1.18.

I.2.15 Ādhāraṇī is the consort of Vajratīkṣṇa and her mantra is *Om vajrakośaguhye hūṁ* (STTS 34). The word Ādhāraṇī refers to the edge of a razor, *kṣurasya dhārā*, like vajra-*tīkṣṇa*. The word *kośa* in the mantra is the sheath of a sword. Illustrated in NCBB 1.18.

I.2.16 Sarvacakrā is the consort of Vajrahetu. Her mantra is *Om vajraguhyamaṇḍale hūṁ* (STTS 35). Illustrated in NCBB 1.19. Reason (hetu) was an expedient to confuse adversaries, to put them in a whirlpool (*cakra*, cf. Hindi *cakkar men ḍālnā*).

I.2.17 Sahasrāvartā is the consort of Vajrabhāṣa. Her mantra is *Om vajraguhyajāpasamaye hūṁ* (STTS 35). Illustrated in NCBB 1.19.

FOUR SARVADHĀRAṆĪ

The four acolytes of Karmavajriṇī the consort of Amoghasiddhi are collectively called *sarvadhāraṇyaḥ* (STTS 35).

I.2.18 Siddhottarā is the consort of Vajrakarma. Her mantra is *Om vajraguhyakarmasamaye hūṁ* (STTS 35). Illustrated in NCBB 1.19.

I.2.19 Sarvarakṣā is the consort of Vajrarakṣa. Her mantra is *Om vajraguhyakavace hūṁ* (STTS 35). She holds a protective amulet (*kavaca*) of leaves with handles of peacock feathers. Illustrated in NCBB 1.19.

I.2.20 Tejaḥpratyāhāriṇī is the consort of Vajrayakṣa. Her mantra is *Om guhyavajradaṁṣṭrādhāriṇi hūṁ* (STTS 35). As said in the mantra,she holds two pointed

fangs (*daṁṣṭrā*). Illustrated in NCBB 1.19, 37, Goepper/Poncar 1984:100 pl. 27 (very clear).

I.2.21 Dhāraṇīmudrā is the consort of Vajrasandhi. Her mantra is *Om vajra-guhyamuṣṭi hūṁ* (STTS 35). Illustrated in NCBB 1.19.

FOUR KARMAVAJREŚVARĪ

The four acolytes of Vajriṇī the consort of Vairocana are collectively termed *karmavajreśvaryaḥ* (Gobu 63 on p.178).

I.2.22 Sattvavajrī is the counterpart of Vajra-pāramitā in maṇḍala I.1. Her mantra is *Om guhya-sattvavajri hūṁ* (STTS 35). Illustrated in NCBB 1.21.

I.2.23 Ratnavajrī is the counterpart of Ratna-pāramitā in maṇḍala I.1. Her mantra is *Om guhya-ratnavajri hūṁ* (STTS 35). Illustrated in NCBB 1.19, 20.

I.2.24 Dharmavajrī is the counterpart of Dharma-pāramitā in maṇḍala I.1. Her mantra is *Om guhya-dharmavajri hūṁ* (STTS 35). Illustrated in NCBB 1.19, 34.

I.2.25 Karmavajrī is the counterpart of Karma-pāramitā in maṇḍala I.1. Her mantra is *Om guhya-karmavajri hūṁ* (STTS 35). Illustrated in NCBB I.19, 37.

FOUR LĀSYĀ ETC

The four goddesses beginning with Vajralāsyā are shown in the outer corners. They are distinguished by their tight-fitting blouses and also by their concupiscent bearing.

I.2.26 Counterpart of Vajralāsyā in maṇḍala I.1. She is in the lower right corner. Her mantra is: *Om vajraguhyaratipūjāsamaye sarvapūjāṁ pravartaya hūṁ* (STTS 35). Illustrated in NCBB 1.20.

I.2.27 Counterpart of Vajramālā in maṇḍala I.1. She is in the lower left corner. Her mantra is: *Om vajraguhyābhiṣekapūjāsamaye sarvapūjāṁ pravartaya hūṁ* (STTS 35). Illustrated in NCBB 1.18.

I.2.28 Counterpart of Vajragītā in maṇḍala I.1. She is in the upper left corner. Her mantra is: *Om vajraguhyagītāpūjāsamaye sarvapūjāṁ pravartaya hūṁ* (STTS 35). Illustrated in NCBB 1.19.

I.2.29 Counterpart of Vajranṛtyā in maṇḍala I.1. She is in the upper right corner. Her mantra is: *Om vajraguhyanṛtyapūjāsamaye sarvapūjāṁ pravartaya hūṁ* (STTS 35). Illustrated in NCBB.1.21.

FOUR OFFERING GODDESSES

The next four goddesses of offering are in the corners of the inner sanctum and they are surrounded by a lotiform design. This design is not found with any other goddess

of the maṇḍala. All the four wear tight-fitting blouses. They are shown in a frontal pose, while the faces of earlier four goddesses were in profile.

I.2.30 Guhyadhūpeśvarī is the counterpart of Vajradhūpā in maṇḍala I.1. She is in the lower right corner. Illustrated in NCBB 1.21, 23.

I.2.31 Guhyapuṣpā is the counterpart of Vajrapuṣpā in maṇḍala I.1. She is in the lower left corner. Illustrated in NCBB 1.21, 23.

I.2.32 Guhyadīpā is the counterpart of Vajrālokā in maṇḍala I.1. She is in the upper left corner. Illustrated in NCBB 1.18, 22.

I.2.33 Guhyagandhā is the counterpart of Vajragandhā in maṇḍala I.1. She is in the upper right corner. Illustrated in NCBB 1.19, 23.

FOUR GATEKEEPERS

The four gates of the inner sanctum are guarded by four goddesses:

I.2.34 Guhyāṅkuśī, the consort of Vajrāṅkuśa, guards the eastern gate. Her mantra is *Om guhyāṅkuśi hūṁ jaḥ jaḥ jaḥ jaḥ* (Gobu 68). Illustrated in NCBB 1.25.

I.2.35 Guhyapāśā, the consort of Vajrapāśa, guards the southern gate. Her mantra is *Om guhyapāśe hūṁ hūṁ hūṁ hūṁ* (Gobu 69). Illustrated in NCBB 1.22, 24.

I.2.36 Guhyasphoṭā, the consort of Vajrasphoṭa, guards the western gate. Her mantra is *Om guhyasphoṭe vaṁ vaṁ vaṁ vaṁ* (Gobu 70). Ilustrated in NCBB 1.23, 34.

I.2.37 Guhyaghaṇṭā, the consort of Vajrāveśa, guards the northern gate. Her mantra is *Om guhyaghaṇṭe aḥ aḥ aḥ aḥ* (Gobu 71). Illustrated in NCBB 1.19, 21, 37.

The maṇḍala ends here. All the goddesses have specialised mudrās which distinguish one from the other. A detailed study of their mudrās can throw light on identificatory elements. Like their god-consorts in maṇḍala I.1, they do not bear emblems (like hook/*aṅkuśa*, lasso/*pāśa*, etc). The specification of the goddesses by their hand-gestures is inherent in the word *mudrā* which means 'symbol, gesture, sign', as well as 'feminine partner' (=*prajñā*) in Hevajra-tantra I.5.4-7, 10.7, 2.2.16, 17, 20, 23, 3.16, 18, 63, 6.4, 11. For instance, Hevajra 1.5.4 says: "In order that one may gain release, these Mudrā are identified with the Five Families. She is called Mudrā or Sign, because she is signed with the Vajra."

Coloured illustrations of the goddesses are reproduced from the vast collection of Prof. Dr. Jaroslav Poncar of the Fachhochschüle, Köln. We are grateful to him for sending these clear and detailed photographs from his photo-archives of Alchi, and also permitting us to print them. He has spent over fifteen years to document the artistic riches of this distinctive monastery.

Goddess	Consort	Characteristic of the Consort
1. Vajriṇī	Vairocana	four-faced, white, on lions
2. Vajravajriṇī	Akṣobhya	blue, on elephants
3. Ratnavajriṇī	Ratnasambhava	yellow, on horses
4. Dharmavajriṇī	Amitābha	red, on peacocks
5. Karmavajriṇī	Amoghasiddhi	green, on garuḍa
6. Samantabhadrā	Vajrasattva	vajra and bell
7. Tathāgatāṅkuśī	Vajrarāja	hook
8. Ratirāgā	Vajrarāga	bow and arrow
9. Sādhumatī	Vajrasādhu	five-pointed vajra
10. Ratnottamā	Vajraratna	gem and bell
11. Ratnolkā	Vajratejas	solar disk
12. Dhvajāgrakeyurā	Vajraketu	banner of victory
13. Hāsavatī	Vajrahāsa	rosary of ivory
14. Vajrāmbujā	Vajradharma	lotus-flower
15. Ādhāraṇī	Vajratīkṣṇa	sword and book
16. Sarvacakrā	Vajrahetu	eight-spoke wheel
17. Sahasrāvartā	Vajrabhāṣa	tongue-tip in form of vajra
18. Siddhottarā	Vajrakarma	crossed vajra and bell
19. Sarvarakṣā	Vajrarakṣa	vajra-talisman
20. Tejaḥpratyāhariṇī	Vajrayakṣa	with large belly and protruding fangs
21. Dhāraṇīmudrā	Vajrasandhi	viśvavajra
22. Sattvavajrī	Vajrapāramitā	
23. Ratnavajrī	Ratnapāramitā	
24. Dharmavajrī	Dharmapāramitā	
25. Karmavajrī	Karmapāramitā	
26. Vajralāsī	Vajralāsyā	gesture of love
27. Vajramālā	Vajramālā	garland
28. Vajragītā	Vajragītā	song
29. Vajranṛtyā	Vajranṛtyā	dance
30. Guhyadhūpeśvarī	Vajradhūpā	incense
31. Guhyapuṣpā	Vajrapuṣpā	flower

32. Guhyadīpā	Vajrālokā	lamp
33. Guhyagandhā	Vajragandhā	scent
34. Guhyāṅkuśī	Vajrāṅkuśa	hook
35. Guhyapāśā	Vajrapāśa	noose
36. Guhyasphoṭā	Vajrasphoṭa	chain
37. Guhyaghaṇṭā	Vajrāveśa	bell

(These characteristics are from Snellgrove/ Skorupski 1977:1.34-35).

11. AN INDONESIAN COPPER-PLATE SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION CUM DRAWING OF HĀRĪTI

In 1925, W.F. Stutterheim published a paper in Djåwå V (1925): 247-252 on 'An important Hindu-Javanese drawing on copper', which has been reprinted in *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology* (The Hague 1956). He identifies the copper plate drawing as that of Devī Durgā on the basis of earlier remarks of Krom.[1] She is carrying a child in both hands, and Devī Durgā never bears a child like this. A glance at the plate leads one to the conclusion that it is a depiction of Hārīti holding her youngest and dearest son Priyaṅkara, the "charm of the whole which makes this figure in its tenderly caressing and motherly attitude so attractive". In the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī[2] her iconography is *sa-putrā* 'with a son'. Hārīti is still worshipped as the guardian goddess of children in Bali, and her wood-sculptures continue to be carved by modern artists.

The paper of Stutterheim considers the plate to originate from 'a śivaite sphere', which is an error due to wrong identification. The inscription engraved on the plate commences with *tadyathā*, which is clearly an opening word for Buddhist dhāraṇīs. This Buddhist expression is but natural as Hārīti is a Buddhist goddess. Stutterheim remarks: "And it appears from the various names enumerated, as well as from the corresponding mystical syllables, that the goddess is mentioned with all her qualities, but particularly as the mother of the Gods, the Mother of God' (p. 148). 'The Mother of God' is a Christian expression which has no relevance to this copper-plate inscription. Further, Hārīti is invoked not as the mother of gods, but as *vajra-bāla-garbhe (1.1)*, that is, whose womb holds a vajra-child, a child as strong as a vajra who can survive all the rigours of ancient life. Hārīti had five hundred sons, and she is referred to as *pañca-putra-śata-parivārā* in the Mahāyakṣī-Hārīti-Priyaṅkara-sādhana-vidhi, translated by Amoghavajra during the years AD 746-771, into Chinese as *Ta-yo-ch'a-nü-huan-hsi-mu-ping-ai-tzŭ-ch'êng-chiu-fa* (Nanjio 1392, Taisho edition vol.21 no.1260)[3] All the 500 children were alive and hence she became *vajra-bāla-garbhā.*

Stutterheim makes an observation on p. 149 which contradicts his identification of the goddess with Durgā. Here he has come closer to the correct nature of the goddess as tantric and furthermore he is somehow unconsciously aware of an error though he does not realise it explicitly: "And yet, as the inscription shows, the representation here is not to be called much less tantric; it verges quite closely on it. This demonstrates once more

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[1] Quarterly Report of the Archaeological Survey for 1914, 2nd quarter, pp. 60-61.
[2] Ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda 1949, text p.66.
[3] Lokesh Chandra, *Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking*, part 19, pp.7651-55.

the danger which occurs when knowledge does not precede the extasies of beauty".

Stutterheim accuses the writer of the inscription that he "was either very careless or did not know Sanskrit sufficiently well" (p.155). Many of the errors sought to be imposed on the writer are nothing but wrong orthography, due to wrong pronunciation or misreading of an original, e.g. 1.2. *višobane* (b<bh<dh) for *višodhane*. The confusion of sibilants is common in Indonesia as well as in India: *s, ś, ṣ* and is not a sign of ignorance. The confusion of *b* & *v*, *n* & *ṇ*, are due to pronunciation habits. Stutterheim says: "The *ĕ* of *cĕle* in line 6 is rather strange, we would not have expected an Indonesian sound between all these Sanskrit sounds", but Sanskrit *a* is pronounced as a closed vowel (*ĕ*) in India. *Savisatrapram(adha) ni* (line 9) is careless copying, but Stutterheim commits the blunder of emending it to the impossible *sarva-satva-pramathani* 'the vanquisher of all beings'. It can be emended to *sarva-śatru-pramathani* 'the vanquisher of all enemies'.

We present here the correct text of the inscription:

INSCRIPTION

Tadyathā. Om vipula-garbhe vipula-vimale jayagarbhe vajra-bāla-ga[2]*rbhe gatī-gahane gagana-višodhane (i.°śobane) sarva-pāpa-višodhane Oṁ gu*[3]*ṇavati. gaganavicāriṇi giri-giri. gamari-gamari. gaha-gaha. (ga)*[4]*rbhari-garbhari. gabhari-gabhari gambhari-gambhari. gatiga. ga*[5]*[ti]. nigamare gubha-gubha. ibhani-ibhani cule vimale mu*[6]*cĕle jayavijaya. sarva-bhaya-vigate* [7]*gambha-sambharaṇi siri-siri. miri-mi*[8]*ri. piri-piri. ghiri-ghiri. samā*[9]*ntākamaṇi sarva-śatru (i. savisatra)-pram(atha)ni* [10]*rakṣa-rakṣa ṣa saparivāra sarva-sattvāṁ*[11]*ś ca. viri-viri. vividhāvaraṇa-vinā*[12]*śini muri-muri. mili-mili. ka*[13]*male vimale. jaye vi*[14]*jaye jayavati (i. jahevate) jaya*[15]*vati (i. jahevati) bhagavati ratna-maku*[16]*ṭa-mālādhari bahuvidha-vicitra-vema-dhā*[17]*riṇi. bhagavati mahāvidyādevi rakṣa* [18]*rakṣa mā saparivāraṁ sattvāṁś ca samantāt sarva-pā*[19]*pa-*višodhani huru-huru. rakṣa-rakṣa mā sa[20]parivāraṁ sarva-sattvāṁś ca *anāthān atrāṇān apa*[21]*bhayanān aśaraṇān parimocaya (i.°la) sa(r)va-*[22]*duḥkhebhyaḥ (i. duḥle°) caṇḍi caṇḍini vegavati sarva-*[23]*duṣṭa-niḥsaraṇi (i. niśāraṇī) vijaya-vāhini. huru-huru mu*[24]*ru-muru. curu-curu. āyumpālani sura-vara-mathani* [25]*sarva-deva-gaṇa-svadite viri-viri. samantāva*[26]*lokite prabha-prabhe (i. pradha°) suprabha-višuddhe sa*[27]*rva-pāpa-višodhani dhara-dhara dharaṇi*[28]*dhare-dhare musu-musu. sumu-sumu*[29]*pumu-pumu. ruru-ruru cale* [30]*cālaya duṣṭam suyaśān śri-vapu*[31]*jaya kamale kṣiṇi-kṣiṇi vara*[32]*dāṅgaje Oṁ padma-višuddhe gara-gara. giri-giri. kuru-kuru maṅgala-višuddhe* [33]*pavitra-mūli laṅgani-laṅgani. lara-lara. jvalita-śīlare samanta-prasā*[34]*ritāvabhāsita-śuddhe jvala-jvala sarva-deva-gaṇa-samākarṣaṇi satya-vra*[35]*te tara-tara tāraya sarva-sattvāntāvalokite lahu-lahu tuhu-tuhu*[36] *turu-turu.ghiri-ghiri haṇi-haṇi. kṣaṇi-kṣaṇi. sarva-graha-rakṣiṇi.*

[1-36] The superior figures refer to lines of the inscription.

FREE RENDERING

Remarks:

(i) The figure 2 denotes the repetition of the word which appears before it.

(ii) The whole dhāraṇī is couched in generalia, the role of Hārīti as the guardian deity of children being implied because of the taboo of making explicit anything even remotely untoward to children. Moreover, the gods love the esoteric: *parokṣapriyā devāḥ.*

"Om! Thou fertile in conception, of immense immaculateness, be victorious, of unfailing womb, which gives birth to children as strong as the vajra, of ways inscrutable, as pure and purifying as the heavens, and removing all sins, [such art thou]. Om! endowed with virtues, roaming the skies, retain 2, secure 2, hold 2 [the foetus], o fertile one 2, fertile one 2, fertile one 2, fast one 2, ever-moving, privy 2, carnally known 2, petite (*cule*), immaculate, unrestrained (*mucile*), be victorious, o victress, free from all fears. Hold the foetus, retain 2, retain 2, retain 2, retain 2, it —, vanquishing all enemies protect 2 me along with my family, as well as all sentient beings, omnipotent one! Destroying all sorts of sullying accretions, appear 2, bless 2. O goddess [charming and excellent like a] lotus, immaculate one, o victress, ever victress, victorious one 2, o adorable, wearing a coronet and necklace of jewels, drapped in fabrics of varied and exotic weaves. O adorable, the goddess of supreme esoteric lore, protect 2 me, my family and sentient beings, everywhere. O redeemer of all sins, quick 2, protect 2 me, my family, all sentient beings, who are helpless, without protection, carried away by fear, seeking refuge, deliver us from all afflictions. Fearsome, fierce, dynamic, exterminator of all the wicked, victress triumphant, quick 2, fast 2, come 2 [with thine grace], thou the giver of long life, thou who can crush even the mighty gods, adored by all the classes of gods, omnipotent one. [Gracing] all with thine benign look, resplendent and illumined, pure in radiance, purifying all sins (or sinners), sustain 2, holdress, thou who holdest... O dynamic one (*cale*) turn out the wicked —, —. Victory to thee, o goddess [as excellent as the] lotus, guardian 2, o goddess of love (*aṅgaja*) granting boon [of progeny]. Om! o as pure as the lotus [in the mire of worldly existence], retain 2, hold 2, act 2. Thou the auspicious and virtuous one, originally pure, loving one 2, fondle 2, of flaming piety, whose splendour irradiates purity in all directions, glow 2. Attracting all the classes of gods, of truthful vow, redeem 2, save all beings, thou who viewest the yonder *(anta)*, quick 2, fast 2, hasten 2. Retain 2 [the foetus], kill 2 [the evil demons], protect 2, thou the protectress against all demons [who prey on children]."

Before we remark on the linguistic aspects of the inscription it is necessary to bear in mind that the dhāraṇī and the accompanying sketch are intended to propitiate Hārīti as the "protectress of children, worshipped in Northern India by bereaved par-

ents"[4], expecially if infant mortality in the family was high. Hsüan-tsang records the stūpa which marked the place of cruel yakṣiṇī Hārīti's conversion to Buddhism as the benign Hārīti, before which common folk made offerings to obtain offspring.[5] The worship of Hārīti was popular in Gandhara, and at Ajanta, Aurangabad and Ellora, as attested by sculptural remains. Sculptures of Hārīti and her spouse Pañcika are met with in a special shrine dedicated to them in Cave 2 of Ajanta. Smaller panels depict her in Caves 2 and 23 of Ajanta on the architraves of the cells inside the vihāras. At Ellora she is sculptured in a separate niche, where Mr. M.N. Deshpande terms her as "the goddess auspicious to children"[6] The cult of Hārīti was founded on the desire for posterity and it reached Java quite early. On the north wall of the antechamber of Chaṇḍi Mendut[7], which dates to about AD 800, she is seated on a throne, holds a child to her breast while several children play around her. In Bali an ancient statute of Hārīti with seven children has been found at pura Goa Gajah near Bĕdulu[8]. Another image from pura Panataran Pañlan at Pejeng shows her with five children, and it is dated AD 1091.[9]

Hārīti as the goddess of fecundity or as the guardian of children is invoked in the dhāraṇī. The very opening words of the dhāraṇī are various epithets pertaining to fecundity: *vipula-garbhe, vipula-vimale, jaya-garbhe, vajra-bāla-garbhe. Garbhari*[2] *gabhari*[2] *gambhari*[2] (1.4) are variants of *garbhiṇi* 'pregnant' intentionally altered for esoteric effects. *Ghiri* [2](1.8, 36), *gaha*[2] (1.3), *gara*[2] *giri*[2] (1.32) refer to the retention of the foetus from the root *grah* meaning 'to retain': this is evident from line 7 where *ghiri* is preceded by *gambha-sambharaṇi* 'one who holds the foetus'.

The goddess Hārīti as the guardian of children was held in veneration because of the high rate of infant mortality in ancient times. *Jaya-garbhe vajra-bāla-garbhe* (line 1) refer to the victorious (*jaya*) outcome, and invincibility (*vajra*) of the foetus to death, *dhara*[2] *dharaṇi dhare*[2] (lines 27-28) also connotes retention. In line 24 she is prayed to for long life: *āyumpālani* 'one who grants long life'. In line 31 the mystic expression *kṣiṇi*[2] stands for *rakṣiṇi* as can be seen from the phrase *ksaṇi*[2]. *sarva-graha-rakṣiṇi* in the last line 36, where the concomitance of *kṣaṇi* with *rakṣiṇi* makes it clear that the initial syllable *ra* has been dropped. The dhāraṇī is an invocation not only for guarding

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[4] Alice Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, repr. Tokyo 1962, p.84.

[5] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* [=India], London 1906:1.110-111.

[6] *Ajanta Murals*, ed. A. Ghosh, New Delhi 1967, p.27, plate Q.

[7] A. J. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, Cambridge, Mass. 1959, plate 56 described on p.39.

[8] W.F. Stutterheim, *Oudheden van Bali*, Singaradja 1930, fig.25, text 130-131, fig. 38, text 76, 85, 142.

[9] Alice Getty 1962:84.

the children in particular but also the family and all beings in general, in the true Buddhist spirit of universal altruism, in the ideal of the bodhisattva.

Another aspect of Hārīti is her immaculateness. She had the extra-ordinary number of five hundred children by yakṣa Pañcika of whom Priyaṅkara was the youngest.[9] In the opening line *vipula-garbhe* is followed by *vipula-vimale*, both in a vocative apposition, subtly alluding to the immaculate purity (*vimala*) of the foetus (*garbha*), and hence secure in the glory of social grace. Hārīti redeems all sins (*sarva-pāpa-viśodhane*, or °*ni* lines 2, 18-19, 27). She is the destroyer of all sullying accretions (*vividhāvaraṇa-vināśini*, line 11). She is invoked as immaculate (*vimale*, line 13), as pure as the lotus is in the mire of its worldly existence (*padma-viśuddhe*, line 32) , so pure as to be auspicious (*maṅgala-viśuddhe*, line 32), originally pure and holy (*pavitra-mūli*, line 33).

Though primarily a goddess of fertility, Hārīti is all-powerful, victorious all around (lines 6, 13, 14, 23), beyond all fears (line 6), destroys all poisons (line 9), ferocious and dynamic (line 22), does away all wicked ones (line 23), and her prowess can crush even the mighty gods if need be (line 24).

The *sandhā-bhāṣā* expressions were intentionally made recondite and inserted in the otherwise regular text of the dhāraṇīs to impart sonorous effects and a psychic mystique. They have not been worked out so far. They follow a pattern of 'jingling compounds' following a normal word, e.g. in *gambha-sambharaṇi sirī² mirī² pirī² ghirī²*, the *s* of *sambharaṇi* becomes the starting-point of the mystic insertion *sirī²*. It has an analogy in the additions of stobhas in the Vedic texts. *sirī²* is followed by the jingling *mirī² pirī² ghirī²*, where *ghirī²* recaptures the *g* (<*gh*) of *garbha-sambharaṇi*. The consonantal variation in *sirī² mirī² pirī² ghirī²* has a parallel in line 28 *musu² sumu² pumu² ruru²*: in both the three initial variant consonants are *s m p*, while the last one varies due to their differing contexts.

In line 5 *vimale mucĕle* is a jingling phrase of *vimale*. In lines 11,25 *virī²* may denote the omnipotence of the goddess and stand for *vīrī* a pseudo-feminine form of *vīra;* anyhow their contextual setting can imply it. *Huru²* in lines 19, 23 (*huru² muru² curu²*) is a variant of *lahu²* <*laghu²* 'fast, quick',an exhortation of a zealous devotee to drive away all evils expeditiously. The dhāraṇī ends with *lahu² tuhu² turu² ghirī² haṇī²* — all of which express the dire urgency of the prayer: here *turu²* is from *tvara²* 'quick, quick', *tuhu* is a joining assonance of *lahu²* and *turu²* which partakes of the sound elements of both. *Haṇī²* is for *hana²* 'kill, kill' the evil demons, for only then can she protect (*kṣaṇi*) the officiant from evil demons which is her function: such would be the general tenor of the closing phrase:*hanī² kṣaṇī² sarva-graha-rakṣiṇi*. Stutterheim translates it as "protectress of all planets — which may perhaps refer to an astral significance" (p.157). Here *sarva-graha* is a technical term which is defined in Sanskrit medical (āyurveda) works

as *dvādaśa bāla-graha* 'twelve demons who prey upon children'. A manuscript entitled Sarvārtha-cintāmaṇi enumerates these twelve: skanda, viśākha, apasmāra, pitṛgraha, naigameṣa, śakunī, śītapūtanā, mukhamandikā, pūtanā, andhapūtanā, revatī and śuṣka-revatī. They are also mentioned in the Buddhist work Dharmakośa-saṅgraha[10] written by Amṛtānanda for the British Resident in Nepal, Mr B. Hodgson. Among the Tun-huang paintings there are three pothi leaves on which six of these child-harming demons are illustrated with inscriptions in Chinese and Khotanese.[11] Two other fragments have also been discovered from Tun-huang on which child-harming demons are painted (Waley 1931:241 CCCLXVI). They illustrate ten grahas. In the Chinese Tripiṭaka, Hu-ch'u-t'ung-tzu t'o-lo-ni ching (Nanjio 488, Taisho 1028a) is a dhāraṇī-sūtra for protecting children, against sixteen evil spirits most of which are common to the above. It was translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci during AD 508-537. Rites for warding off evil disease-causing demons were part of the functions of Hārīti. Stutterheim's translation of *graha* as planet is out of the question.

His entire paper labours under a wrong iconographic identification, to which is added lack of knowledge of hymnal or ritual literature in Sanskrit, absence of the socio-cultural context which provides rare insights to elucidate the pseudo-grammatic or cryptic forms, and above all the lack of feeling for a culture that is still alive. When dealing with the present inscription a better understanding of Hindu-Buddhist life is essential to appreciate the knowledge of the writer of the inscription, who was operating in a well-known thaumaturgic world where the grammarian was not the sole monarch of the situation, and the translogical was expressed in the mystic assonance of dimly recognised words surcharged with a psycho-somatic power.

[10] Ed. Lokesh Chandra, pp. 108-109.

[11] Arthur Waley, *A Catalogue of Paintings recovered from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein*, London 1931, p.170, CLXXVII; illustrated in Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, pl.XCVI.

12. THE ETERNAL YOGĪŚVARA

Understanding and insight, response and deep feeling, a living world, companionable and complete — thus my father Prof. RaghuVira visualised Bali, the Isle of the Gods, the Pulau Devata. It was sixty long years ago. Intense and enveloping, a place of reverie and dreams, dense and deeply remote, a bedrock of courage, a life in all its simplicity, where astral light came forth to become its own flower: to that Bali the homage of India. Sylvain Lévi had opened to my wondering father this Isle, as he read through his *Sanskrit Texts from Bali,* which had appeared in print just then. The fresh fire of Bali had begun to affect his life. It was a path of illumination, the inner energy. In the words of Paul Eluard, he read Sylvain Lévi:

Avec le feu d'une chanson sans fausse note.
With the fire of a song with not a note wrong.

Renovation, condensation of exceptional forces, rejuvenated myth, myth reduced to its essential psychic vitamins, were the unknown lontars of Bali that contained the Kakavin Jānakī or Jānakī-kāvya and Carita Ramayana. The Jānakī-kāvya is in fifty stanzas, and each stanza begins with a different letter of the alphabet. The last stanza begins with *ha*:

hata-śatrur mahendra-bhīḥ śatakratur ivāparaḥ/
śataṁ varṣasahasrāṇāṁ Rāmo rājyam avāsayat//

The Carita Ramayana is an Indonesian text for beginner students, with Sanskrit followed by its Kavi meanings. From quite ancient times, Ramayana has been the life-giving stream in Indonesia. Children learnt their alphabet with the Ramayana which unified creed and culture into a unique, coherent form that in the passing of years was life in fullness and sureness of itself. To children it was the alphabet, and in maturer years it grew from within as an energy of will to become effective responses to new situations.

Ramayana is *Rāma* 'beauty' and *ayana* 'movement'. Rama is from the root *ram* 'to rejoice, to delight in'. *Ramya* is 'enjoyable, pleasing, delightful, beautiful'.Ayana is from the root *i* 'to go, to flow'. Thus Ramayana is beauty and movement, action and energy, harmony and flow. Rama represents the initiative individual, the hero, the formative force that grows out of time and land. He is the symbol of events that enter vitally in the course of human actions (ayana). He is the cause of endless effects, a basic unity and movement of the creative tensile strength. Human and divine, creative and contributive, Rama is the ceaseless force of beauty within. The words of the Ramayana Kakavin of an unknown Yogīśvara enshrine the rich deposits of dream. From the languid synonymies of the Kavi language emerges a living reality, capable of living on. Braving the

forces face to face, made superman by an inhuman adversity, Rama is the immediate grandeur: he is Trivikrama, *Bhaṭāra Viṣṇu mañjanma* (1.2). Though divine, His is a destiny of toil, ardent creative toil, invincible, on terms of familiarity with solidity. Rama is the roots of will, weal and wisdom, in which lie the most powerful of communions of future Man. His is an aesthesis of strife and striving. What a summons to morning vigour! As long as there is man, there will be gods. As long as there are gods, there will be Rama, the palingenesis of the fire of the human mind. Rāvaṇa is internal barbarisation, with over-tilled lands, over-fed cities, the earth drenched with rainfall, but the human soul parched to sterility, enfeebled standards of moral excellence, and analytical thought dissolving spiritual life. The triumph of consumerism over mythology, surrender to luxury, restless demeaning disorder, is the kingdom of Rāvaṇa leading to barbarism welling up within. Rama is the dear delight of life, the nourishing placenta, the wires and waves of wisdom, the moral fibre that will build another home, a vivid symbol of the new home. As the Indonesian Ramayana Kakavin says:

yāvat kahanan moha mada,
yakṣāsura devatā tuvi /
tāvat niyatā yan pralayā
de niṅ mada yan tibra murub // 22.40
"As long as there is bewilderment (*moha*) and lust (*mada*)
Affliciting a yakṣa, a demon, or even a deity
So long is cataclysm inevitable
Through violent lust burning within.

The desiccation of meaning in human existence, impels humankind to speak, to sing, to live, to teach, to carve, to create a spacious country of the mind, it is the return to Ayodhyā. Ayodhyā literally means 'invincible': *a* is 'not', and *yodhyā* is 'to be fought'. It is the city where flows the river Sarayu with its cool and fragrant waters, of the colour of saffron (*śītalā vvai nya sugandha* 24.216) . It is the flow of the ground and support of our being. Man flows along its waters of significance that transcend a deadening materialistic existence. Sarayu is the nourishing mother. Rama, Ayodhyā, Sarayu are the lasting heartbeat of a living paradigm as opposed to Rāvaṇa, Laṅkā, and the sea of concentrative materialism and naked economic truth. To us brought up in the traditions of Vālmiki. Yogīśvara, Kamban, Tulasīdās or their comperes, Ramayana is the vast systole and diastole of the universe. Rama is the combativeness to go beyond the prosaic routine of evil, beyond the anesthesia of battle. He is organic time, in whom we seek our majestic paradigms.

Yogiśvara speaks of the primacy of the human dimension:

Janānurag-ottamabhūmi niṅ naya

sahāya niṅ ṣaḍguṇa hetu niṅ jaya

"Regard of human beings is the foundation of naya. It promotes the six virtues. It is the cause of victories, that is, of achievements".

Yogīśvara represents the rising heritage of the rising human being. Anurāga is the negation of savage and pitiless excesses. He exhorts (14.17) men to avoid convulsion into violent passions:

Mvaṅ tat hiḍĕp guṇa nikāṅ anurāga riṅ rāt,
solahta sāhasa sasar tan anūt i yukti,
saṅ[ṅ] Āryya sādhu sasivin sira śatrū denta,
maryyāda saṅ sujana sajjana tad-gave ya.

"And you do not have regard (*anurāga*) for other people. All that you have done is savageness, you have deviated from the path of goodness and never adhere to the truth. You regard as enemies noble and good people to whom you are supposed to pay reverence. You do not follow the example of the conduct of good and noble people".

We cannot replace order by chaos. We have no right to relapse into a confused and structureless decay.

Rama's war against Rāvaṇa reminds of Heracleitus who said: *polemos pater panton* "war is the father of all things". The unconcern of time has to be replaced by a dynamic equilibrium of ideas and ideals, of power and order, of instincts and ingenuity. This is *polemos* that turns to dust the debased and deceitful (*dhvasta ṅ Dhūmrākṣa dhūrtādhama* 21.186).

To Yogīśvara, the elements of nature are primary to values. In his Kakavin, Rama admonishes the lamenting Vibhīṣaṇa not to grieve over his brother Rāvaṇa as he has died in great glory on the battlefield (*apan māti mahāpravīreṅ raṇa* 24.45) . He has to get ready to give his people a just government by just means. These are the famous aṣṭabrata of Indonesia's Classical tradition. He has to emulate the Eight Gods of the Eight Vows: Indra,Yama, Ravi, Śaśī, Anila/Wind, Kubera, Baruṇa, and Bahni/Fire. Just as the Sun absorbs water slowly, so take from the people gently. As the Moon delights the world with its coolness, so show kindness and tenderness (*śaśibrata humarṣuka ṅ rāt kabeh, ulahta mrĕdu komalā yan katon,* 24.56). You should investigate the conduct of your people in an unobstrusive way like the Haṅin/Wind. Like Bahni/Fire, you should burn the enemies to ashes. This valorisation of nature in Yogīśvara is the harmonious blending of the human order with its cosmic rhythms. Human actions seek their meaning and value in the five elements, the pañca-mahābhūta. Man steps out of his ground-hugging world to be unified with his larger context, the immensity of nature. It reminds me of a poem of Saigyō who lived in Japan in the twelfth century:

sora ni naru	A man with his mind
kokoro wa haru no	At one with the sky-void steps
kasumi nite	Into a spring mist
yo ni araji tomo	Begins to wonder if he might
omohitatsu kana	Have just stepped out of the world.

The close nexus of man and nature has become crucial to the survival of life itself as the earth is wounded and raped by gluttonous consumerism, the modern Rāvaṇa. The "sparkling blue and white jewel ... like a small pearl in a thick black sea of mystery": the earth that Edgar Mitchell saw on board Apollo 14 in 1971 has become a dull dirty earth filled with dark, swirling clouds of dioxides of carbon and sulphur. Modern science separates man from nature 'red in tooth and claw'. Science seeks to conquer nature. In this conquest the harmonious blending of wisdom and technique has been done away. Doom awaits mother earth and her children.

To Yogīśvara, man and elements are co-present in the ordering of the world. Man cannot be separated from his cosmic ambience. Man has to be in harmony with the *Ṛita* of the Ṛigveda which is the inmost force that undergirds the very universe, or in Goethe's words : *"Was die Welt an innersten zusammenhält"*. In Yogīśvara's presentation of Lord Rama, the inner contexts of nature and living beings are grounded in a symbiotic nurturing in the labyrinthine ordering of the universe. In Yogīśvara man is a co-worker with nature that is not only created but is creating. It is nature *naturans* and *naturata*. This cosmic participation can be grasped by a mythicised vision of the world, where experiment is experience.

The dream, the breath, the veined heart of the Ramayana over lands and time, may be transformed in the symbolism of three substantives: *saṁskāra, saṁskṛta* and *saṁskṛti*. Saṁskāra is the inner consciousness where the collective psyche and individual experiences are the inexhaustible soul of the highest degree of formulation. Saṁskṛta is its verbal *(vācika)* expression so that the interior light, the *antarjyoti* of the Upaniṣads, flows uninterrupted over spans of time to be inherited and enriched by the future. Its expression in concrete visual terms are saṁskṛti, the embodiment (*kāyika*) of the Eternal, in the visual, verbal and performing arts: as sculptures in the round, as paintings in flat, as music and theatre, as prose and poetry. This trinity or triveṇī of saṁskāra, saṁskṛita and saṁskṛiti is the confluence of luminous nature. It is the absolute that endows the ephemeral with illumination. Ramayana is an expression of this Luminous Consciousness. It finds varying intellection in accord with the texture of different ages. It becomes the propensity of the future, to transfigure it to a new existence, but with its roots securely sunk in the substratum of the forces that govern not only man, but the very universe.

Yogiśvara restores to his dreaming ink all its crystals. He draws out in his poem

the crystalline epic, yearning to live, to create. From the depths of his unconscious, he desires to emulate those paramount in virtues:

apan ika saṅ atiśaya guṇa nira ta pinakaguru mamuhara kalĕpasĕn/
kusuma surabhi ya paḍa nira manulari vaṅi suyaśa, satata śuci marūm//
(26.52).

"Because only those who have great virtues, are to be made gurus, as they only can be the path to heavenly bliss. They are like fragrant flowers which radiate sweet scent, bring glory, ever pure and fragrant."

The Ramayana has been an object of worship, revered *per se*. It is open at the centre. It is pure content, which invites filling in of interpretation. Both the structure and the meaning of the text imply that its essential quality is that, having been absorbed widely, it can be applied infinitely to a great many aspects of life. It is not encumbered with dogmas or *ex cathedra* doctrines, and hence it ensures that the world is not reduced to a bibliocracy, a government of the book. It leaves open spaces, with no promises. History and mystery, power and poetry, didactics and aesthetics have been intertwined in its long history. The meaning is drawn out from the events, language of the text, as well as from its structure. The interpretative apparatus is ever formative. It is unique in its implicit creativity.

Yogīśvara creates the landscape of the spirit, the power dwelling within, and gives impetus to forces that lie dormant in the rhythm of the spring, in a quintessence of the truth that strides along the cosmodrama. He unites the mind's joys with the happiness of fingers.

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13. NOTES ON KUÑJARAKARṆA

PRATISARĀ

The edition and translation of the Kuñjarakarṇa Dharmakathana by A. Teeuw and S.O. Robson constitutes a new landmark in the study of Indonesian Buddhism. The interpretation of some of its passages becomes clearer if we bear in mind that the central deity of the Buddhist system put forward in this work is Vairocana. Vairocana belongs to Vajrayāna. There are two iconographic forms of Vairocana and these correspond to two different divisions of tantras. The first is the Vairocana of the caryā-tantra division, with his hands in the dhyāna mudrā. The second Vairocana pertains to the yoga-tantra division, and his hands exhibit the bodhyagrī mudra. He is the Lord of the universe Vajradhātu and his maṇḍala is called the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. From the Sutasoma and Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan we know that the hands of Vairocana in Indonesia are in the bodhyagrī mudrā. His consort (prajñā) is Vajradhātvīśvarī in the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan. All of them point to the prevalence of the Vajradhātu Vairocana in Indonesia.

Teeuw/Robson (1981:23) say: "There is, however, one further figure, a rather mysterious one, who turns up in this Canto: in 2.1 even a whole stanza is devoted to someone who is twice called *bharāli* (1a and 2a) and who obviously in terms of protocol has precedence over all the other gods... The word *bharāli* has also been found in inscriptions on statues of gods (Brandes 1904:85, 94). Brandes has given a lengthy survey of the Buddhist pantheon, especially the *śaktis*. He is rightly of the opinion that these variants (*bharāla* and *bharālī*) of *bhaṭāra* and *bhaṭārī* cannot be autochthonous in Java."

The editors rightly maintain that bharāli is *bhaṭārī*. They concur with Brandes in maintaining that the variant *bharāli* cannot be autochthonous in Java. *Bharālī* is a Vajrayāna term of Indic origin. The form *bharālī* is actually found in Nepalese sketch-books of Vajrayāna iconography.

The Kuñjarakarṇa must be compared with the totality of the Buddhist tradition for precise comprehension. It may be worth while to illustrate this by means of two stanzas. In stanza 1.7 it is evident that the gods have come to Vairocana to receive instructions in Dharma. Akṣobhya and other Tathāgatas are present with their retinue of bodhisattvas, besides the four Lokapālas. The second half of stanza 1.7 reads:

Akṣobhyādi sabodhisatvaparivāra marĕki sira bhakty amūrṣita
mvaṅ sakveh para Bajrapāṇisuranātha Yama Baruṇa len Dhanādhipa

It is translated as:

Akṣobhya with the other Bodhisattvas and their followers came before him to offer their

devoted greetings,
Together with all the company of Bajrapāṇi, the Lord of the Gods, Yama, Baruṇa and the Lord of Wealth.

Akṣobhyādi means Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi, who together with Vairocana represent the Five Tathāgatas. Every one of the four is accompanied by four bodhisattvas each in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (illustrated in Lokesh Chandra 1971:411-430). The expression *sa-bodhisattva-parivāra* refers to these 4 × 4 bodhisattvas. Thus we find that a comparison of the stanza of the Kuñjarakarṇa with its graphic representation in the Japanese Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (which is based on the original Sanskrit text of the Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha) helps us to interpret the text in a more concise manner. The translation of the final half of the stanza as "Together with all the company of Bajrapāṇi, the Lord of the Gods, Yama, Baruṇa and the Lord of Wealth" is vague. It refers to the Four Lokapālas: Indra holding the vajra (Suranātha, East), Yama (South), Varuṇa (West), and Kubera (North).

The following stanza, 2.1, also deserves re-translation. It reads:

1 *bharālipratisāra labdhê samaya*
sudharmādhikatattva sampun katama
věkas niṅ paramārthikôvus kahiḍĕp
varah śrī Ṣaḍabhijña kāruṇyamaya
2 *tĕlas rakva bharāly amūjā prathama*

It is translated by Teeuw/Robson (1981:73) as follows:

1 The most eminent of Buddhist goddesses had been initiated,
She had absorbed the very essence of the excellent Law.
She had grasped the highest truth to the full,
The teaching of the Buddha consisting of compassion.
2 When she, the first, had worshipped him,

Bharāli-pratisāra refers to Bhaṭārī Pratisarā, who is prime among the five protective goddesses* or Pañca-rakṣā (Lessing/Wayman 1968:113). Vairocana has the perfection of two artha, which are: "surpassing possession of both the vajrādhiṣṭhāna of all the Tathāgatas and the manifold knowledge of the samaya" (Lessing and Wayman 1968: 214-215 n.3). The word *samaya* in the first line is the second artha, while *sudharmādhika-tattva* and *paramārthika* refer in general to the perfection of the goals. Pratisarā is preeminent among the Five Rakṣā Goddesses, and as such it is she who pays homage to Vairocana first. A comparison of the fundamentals of the Kuñjarakarṇa with their corresponding Tibetan counterparts enables us to obtain a clearer understanding. The Vajrayāna tradition emanating from India to Central Asia, China-Japan, Indonesia and Tibet was based on the same texts. Their commonality in content and form was

greater than their apparent diversity. An interpretation of the same Buddhist tradition in different geographical areas in isolation is beset with pitfalls.

Mkhas-grub-rje (1385-1438), the chief disciple of Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Tibetan Gelukpa sect, says: "The kriyā tantra initiations most widely disseminated nowadays are, (a) in the Tathāgata family, the initiations of the Pañca-rakṣā...." (Lessing and Wayman 1968:145). (Mahā)Pratisarā heads the Pañcarakṣā goddesses four times in the Tanjur. The largest number of works pertains to her: twelve in all, which prove her high popularity.

Toh 3117 Mahāpratisarā-vidyā-cakra-nibandhana
3118 *Pratisarā-cakra-lekhana-vidhi
3119 *Pratisarā-sādhana
3120 *Mahāmāyūrī-sādhana
3121 *Mahāsahasrapramardana-sādhana
3122 *Mantrānudhāri-sādhana
3123 *Mahāśītavanī-sādhana
3124 *Mahāpratisarā-rakṣā
3125 *Mahāpratisarā-vidyā-vidhi
3127 *Mahāpratisarā-cakra-lekhana-vidhi
3251, 3376, 3583, 3584 Mahāpratisarā-sādhana
3585 Pratisarā-sādhana
3252, 3378, 3586 Mahāmāyūrī-sādhana
3253, 3379, 3587 Mahāsāhasrapramardanī-sādhana
3254, 3380, 3588 Mahāmantrānusāriṇī-sādhana
3255, 3381, 3589 Mahāśitavanī-sādhana

VAIROCANA

In the pantheon of Kuñjarakarṇa (KK) Vairocana is supreme. It is He who proclaims the Dharma after having attained enlightenment. In Esoteric Buddhism there are three Vairocanas:

1. Rocana, in the Avataṁsaka text Gaṇḍavyūha;
2. Vairocana (with crown), in the Garbha maṇḍala of the caryā-tantras;
3. Mahāvairocana (with a crown of Five Tathāgatas), in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala of yoga-tantras.

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* In the Gilgit collection three manuscripts of the Mahāpratisarā-vidyārājñī are found (Nos.6, 15, 17), while there is no text for the other Pañcarakṣā. The primacy and importance of (Mahā)Pratisarā is indicated by the other traditions in Chinese and Tibetan languages as well. The Mahāpratisarā was translated into Chinese twice: first by Cintāmaṇi in 693 (K 154) and later by Amoghavajra in 746-771 (K 1349).

1. The Gaṇḍavyūha (Suzuki and Idzumi 1949), 441-443, has a long list of future Tathāgatas, beginning with Maitreya and Siṁha as the first two, and ending with Abhyuccadeva or Rocama (sic). 'Rocama' is an erroneous form, which was not recognized as such by the editors, Suzuki and Idzumi. The reading in Gaṇḍavyūha 443.16 is 'Rocama Tathāgata', where *m* is an error for *n*. The two may be easily confused in the Nagari script. Edgerton (1953:457) has already pointed out that 'we should expect in place of the impossible Rocama the last name of the list, which is Abhyucca-deva in the text, intending Atyucca-deva'. It escaped Edgerton that the name might be 'Rocana', designating the trans-historical, symbolical Supreme Being: 'The Buddhas shifts from an individual to a cosmic principle'. Thus he is the highest *(abhyucca)* diving being *(deva)*. There is no semantic difference between *abhyucca* and *atyucca. Abhi* is the intensifying prefix as found in *abhi-dharma, abhi-sambodhi,* and is parallel to 'meta-' in 'metaphysical'. It denotes evolving transcendance. So it is desirable to retain *abhyucca* of the manuscripts in preference to the emended (and unattested) *atyucca.* The fact that Rocana and Abhy° are used synonymously points to an early stage when Rocana was evolving as the highest Tathāgata.

The English translation of the Avataṁsaka sūtra by Thomas Cleary (1984:254) has the term 'Vairocana.' The Chinese sūtra itself has Rocana in the translation of Buddhabhadra and Virocana in that of Śikṣānanda (CHI.3.62). The *Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary* (1965:242) makes it clear that Rocana (Rushana) and Vairocana are different: "Rushana-butsu. Also Roshana-butsu. Birushana-butsu. In the Tendai Sect, Rushana-butsu is differentiated from Vairocana (Birushana-butsu); the former is regarded as the sambhoga-kāya on the lotus-petal, whereas the latter is regarded as the dharma-kāya in the cosmic world. However, Rushana originally was merely an abridgement of Birushana." The last sentence needs correction. The name of the consort Rocanā (Locanā) comes from 'Rocana'. 'Rocana' is not an abbreviation of 'Vairocana,' but an independent word reflecting the first stage in the evolution of the deity. As seen above, it occurs in the Avataṁsaka text Gaṇḍavyūha.

2. Vairocana (Mahāvairocana) of the caryā-tantras, with a crown and with both hands in the dhyāna mudrā, and in Tibetan referred to as Abhisambodhi-Vairocana.

3. Mahāvairocana (Vairocana) with a crown of Five Tathāgatas and distinguished by his unique bodhyagrī mudrā. In KK 17.1d he is depicted as holding his hands in the bodhyagrī gesture viz.: *hyaṅ niṅ hyaṅ tridaśāsurādi bhamita-n bodhyagri-mudrādhara,* which Teeuw and Robson translate as follows: 'The god of gods, of demons and so on, brilliant (?) and holding your hands in the Bodhyagrī gesture'.

The reading should be corrected to *tridaś-āsurādi-namita-n,* so that the emended translation would read: 'the god of gods, venerated *(namita)* both by gods and demons,

and in the bodhyagrī mudrā'. The superiority of Vairocana among all the deities is pointed out in KK 23.4b, which calls him 'teacher of the whole world' (*pinakaguru niṅ jagat kabeh).* Statues of Vajradhātu Vairocana in the bodhyagrī mudrā are well-known from Java (Bonheur 1971:125-131). The Vairocana of KK pertains to the Vajradhātu.

BODHICITTA IS NOT A MONASTERY

Teeuw and Robson (1981:21) point out: 'In his immaculate abode (*wihāra)* Bodhi, or more commonly in this text Bodhicitta, the Lord gives instruction in the law. This is not known from elsewhere as the name of a *wihāra.*' The editors state further on: 'The wihāra occurs under various names.... The name is usually preceded or followed by an epithet expressing purity...' (Teeuw and Robson 1981:21). In the KK the translations are:

1.7b *Bodhivihāra nirmala* 'in the pure hermitage of Bodhi'

11.4b *ṅūni ṅvaṅ tumameṅ vihāra varaBodhicitta vimala* 'Once, I visited the monastery of Bodhicitta the pure'

15.4a *bhaṭāra Sugatādhipa riṅ amṛta Bodhi nirmala* 'Lord Buddha in pure Bodhi the divine'

16.2a *śighra prāpteṅ vihāra prakāśita maṅaran Sambodhi vimala* 'Soon they reached the famous cloister called Sambodhi the immaculate'

33.8c *prāpta riṅ Bodhicitta* 'arrived in Bodhicitta'.

Vairocana entered a state of intense contemplation after completing the five Abhisambodhi, and became 'sambhogakāya Abhisambuddha Mahāvairocana' (Lessing and Wayman 1968:27): 'Having become a Buddha, he performed the four kinds of marvel (*prātihārya*). Then he proceeded to the summit of Mt. Sumeru and pronounced the Yoga Tantras. Vairocana, dwelling in the Akaniṣṭha Heaven, does not proceed elsewhere because he is the Sambhoga-kāya possessing the five certainties. But with the magical apparition (*nirmita)* of a Vairocana Nirmāṇa-kāya having four heads, he proceeded to the summit of Mt. Sumeru and took his place in the eaved palace (*kūṭāgāra)* of precious thunderbolts'. (Lessing and Wayman 1968:215)

The abode of Vairocana is Akaniṣṭha Heaven on Mount Sumeru. No monastery or hermitage is associated with him. He is a transcendental being and has no earthly residence. In fact, he became Vairocana only after proceeding to Akaniṣṭha heaven:

> 'After spending six years there in practising austerities, he was equipoised in what is called "the great (part) of the great Fourth Meditation" (*dhyāna),* the "unstirring samādhi" (*aniñjyo nāma samādhi),* and the "Space-filling samādhi" (*vispharaṇaka-samādhi*).
>
> At the same time, the Buddhas of all the ten directions assembled, aroused

him from that samādhi by snapping their fingers, and said to him "You cannot become a Manifest Complete Buddha by this samādhi alone". "Then how shall I proceed", he implored them. They guided him to the Akaniṣṭha heaven. Moreover, while his maturation body (*vipāka-kāya)* stayed on the bank of the same Nairañjanā River, the mental body (*manomaya-kāya)* of the Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddha proceeded to the Akaniṣṭha heaven.' (Lessing and Wayman 1968:27).

The statement 'bodhi nirmala should be added as the abode (*pada)* of Wairocana, although it is primarily the name of his earthly residence' (Teeuw and Robson 1981:16) needs to be corrected. The heaven of Vairocana is Akaniṣṭha, and not bodhivihāra, vihāra varaBodhicitta. Bodhi nirmala, vihāra....Sambodhi vimala...., and the like, as assumed by the editors of KK.

'The pure water of knowledge is mentioned as the only means of destroying the impurities keeping man from the road to release' (Teeuw and Robson 1981:18) does not refer to ritual. In a long eulogy of bodhicitta in Gaṇḍavyūha (Suzuki and Idzumi 1949: 494-496) it is stated that bodhicitta is the water that cleanses the impurities of all afflictions (494.3 *vāri-bhūtaṁ sarva-kleśamala-nirdhāvanatayā).*

The word *vihāra* has given rise to misunderstanding. It has been translated by the editors as 'monastery, cloister, hermitage'. The expression *vihāra* in the KK does not refer to a dwelling-place or monastery, but to a 'state of being, stage or condition of existence', as in *brahma-vihāra* (Edgerton 1953:505). Gaṇḍavyūha 469.25 has a long list of formulae with compounds ending in *-vihāra-vihāriṇām* 'of those who dwell in the state of'. *Brahma-vihāra* are four supreme states of *maitrī, karuṇā, muditā* and *upekṣā* (Dharmasaṅgraha 16). Divyāvadāna 224.28 *catvāri brahma-vihārān bhāvayitvā* 'having meditated on the four brahma-vihāras or brahmic states.' Thus the passages of the Kuñjarakarṇa will have to be re-interpreted in the light of the definition of Mahāvairocana as 'the one whose own nature is the Dharmakāya, that is, the Body of Principle, which is intrinsic and original enlightenment' (Hakeda 1972:86, from Kobo Daishi's Introduction to the Mahāvairocana-sūtra/Dainichikyō Kaidai). In fact, the distinguishing feature of Vairocana is the gesture of supreme enlightenment (bodhyagrī mudrā), which is also alluded to in KK11.4b. Thus 'bodhi' and 'bodhicitta' in the KK refer to supreme enlightenment or the enlightened mind that Vairocana is. 'Bodhicitta' has two meanings: (i) the mind for enlightenment, the aspiration to attain enlightenment, and (ii) the enlightened mind (Hakeda 1972:96). In the KK 'bodhi' and 'bodhicitta' are 'the infinitely and gloriously adorned Body of the Diamond Realm (vajradhātu). (Hakeda 1972:96). The KK applies two epithets to 'bodhi' and 'sambodhi': *vara* 'supreme' and *nirmala* 'immaculate'.

Now let us re-translate the passages of KK cited earlier in the light of the foregoing:

1.7b 'when [Vairocana] had entered the immaculate state (*vihāra)* of enlightenment'

11.4b 'in former times I had entered the stage of the immaculate supreme enlightened mind'

15.4a 'Lord Vairocana in immaculate divine enlightenment'. Vairocana is the principal of Five Sugatas, hence he is Sugat-ādhipa. The translation 'lord Buddha' is inappropriate, as he is simply Sugata.

16.2a 'soon they reached the stage illumined by what is termed sambodhi or immaculate enlightenment. This is to show that the gleaming stars and heavens which seemed to be on fire (16.1), were surpassed by the illumination of Sambodhi.'

33.8c 'attained the enlightened mind'.

DIKPĀLAS

Teeuw and Robson (1981:24) say that canto 14 is 'the most explicit description of the ten lokapāla'. There are only eight dikpāla in the KK viz.:

East	Indra
South-east	Agni
South	Yama
South-West	Nirṛti (rākṣasādhipati)
West	Varuṇa
North-west	Vāyu
North	Kubera (paramayakṣaika)
North-east	Īśāna (bhūtendra)

They are followed by the heavens of the trinity of Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, in the middle of Mount Meru: Śivapada in the middle, with Brahma-svarga to the right (south) and Viṣṇubhavana to the left (north). There is no reference to the Akaniṣṭha Heaven of Vairocana, who represents the transcendent stage *(vihāra)* of supreme immaculate enlightenment. The editors (1981:25) have missed the meaning of Rākṣasādhipati=Nirṛti ('The name of the deity of the SW, Nirṛti, is not mentioned; the text twice calls her rākṣasapati'. The translation of 14.2b is 'Īśāna the lord of all bhūtas', a class of beings. This is a common epithet of Īśāna in ritual books. The occurrence of *bhūtendra* 'as qualification for Īśāna,' which the editors of the KK remark on p.26 'comes rather as a shock....,' thus need no longer shock.

The terms 'lokapāla' and 'dikpāla' have to be distinguished. There are four Lokapālas: Dhṛtarāṣṭra (east), Virūḍhaka (south), Virūpākṣa (west), Vaiśravaṇa (north). They are more commonly known as Caturmahārāja, and show no variation. The dikpālas

are eight, as enumerated above. There are series of eight or ten dikpālas with varying directional placements and other variations.

Teeuw and Robson see 'a specification of the lokapāla with their points of the compas' in *Korawāśrama* (1936:48). Swellengrebel here points to some confusion. From the following enumeration it will be seen that these are not the eight dikpālas, but the manifestations of Śiva with Brahmā and Viṣṇu:

East	Umāpati (Īśvara)
SE	Maheśvara, son of Īśvara
South	Brahmā
SW	Rudra, son of Brahmā
CENTRE	Śiva
West	Mahādeva
NW	Śaṅkara, son of Mahādeva
North	Viṣṇu
NE	Śambhu, son of Viṣṇu.

BUDDHISTS, PĀŚUPATA AND VIŚIKHI ŚAIVAS

Kuñjarakarṇa 23.1d-3 can be tabulated as follows:

sogata	ṛṣi	viku
Pañca-buddha	Pañca-kuśika	Śaiva-pañcaka (Pañca-viśikki)
Akṣobhya	Mahākuśika	Īśvara
Ratnasambhava	Garga	Brahmā
Amitābha	Metri	Mahāmara
Amoghasiddhi	Ṛṣi Kuruṣya	Madhusūdana
Vairocana	Pātañjala	Bhaṭāra Guru

In Teeuw and Robson (1981:26) the presentation of the equivalent aspects of the three systems is not clear. The systems and names of pentads have been confused:

5 saugata 5 kuśika 5 pañcaka

Saugata is the Buddhist system, and its pentad is termed Pañca-buddha: '5 saugata' is not correct. The expression '5 pañcaka' is linguistically untenable. The term *viku* refers to Śaiva ascetics, and the connected pentad is called Śaiva-pañcaka. Viku is bhikṣu. In the eulogy of Naṭarāja at Chidambaram, entitled Tattvāryā-stava, Maheśvara is referred to as a bhikṣu: *bhikṣur maheśvaro'pi* (Sivaramamurti 1974:132). Bhikṣāṭana-mūrti of Śiva is well-known (Sivaramamurti 1974:112), and a Bhikṣāṭana-kāvya is dedicated to this form of Him. The Five Kauśika pertain to the Pāśupata sect, and the Śaiva-pañcaka may refer to another Śaiva denomination of Viśikhins 'those without a topknot (of hair)', that is,

without any hair on the head, in the style of Buddhist bhikṣus or viku. The word *viku* seems to represent an ancient colloquial Tamil form. In Tamil, *bh* was written as v, as in *tirivaṅkī* for *tribhaṅgī*, or, to cite a modern example, *vaṅki* for English *bank*. The Pāśupatas had matted hair and they used to tie their hair in a topknot. It seems that there was another Pāśupata sect which shaved the head completely, like Buddhist monks, and hence was known as *viku*. The word *pañca-viśikhi* rightly means 'the pentad of the Viśikhin sect.'

The correlation of the Pañca-Sugata with the pentads of the Pāśupatas and Viśikhins is an expression of analogous thinking, in which correspondences are stressed. The correlations thus established are no indication of any syncretistic tendency being at work. Doctrinal or numerical parallels are merely an aid to the comprehension of abstruse symbolism. In this light the translation of KK 23.3a, *Yapwan pañcaviśikhi yukti nira pañcasugata paramārtha tan vaneh* will have to be changed from 'As for the five Śaiva deities, they are linked with the five Buddhist deities, none other than the highest' (Teeuw and Robson), to 'The Pentad of the Viśikhin corresponds to the Five Sugatas; in quintessence they are not different'.

'Pañca-sugata' is not 'five Buddhist deities', but precisely the Five Sugatas, namely Vairocana, etc.

The reading of KK 7.7c as emended by Teeuw and Robson and its translation are: *saṅ hyaṅ śighra-n asanmate ṅhulun akon prāpteṅ bhaṭār-Āntaka* 'the Lord immediately favoured me and has ordered me to go to the Lord of Death'.

The editors have added the following note on p.177: 'The reading of the text is an emendation; the reading of the MSS. saṅ hyaṅ śri Gaṇa is incomprehensible; and the moving forward or backward of an *r layar* occurs frequently in Balinese MSS'. Śrī Gana may be Śrighana=Vairocana. Compare SHK 59a, where Amitābha is *ghana* (Kats 1910:113).

THE CLOSE OF KK

At the beginning of the kakavin the poet says with great humility that this composition follows the example of those who have won fame for their literary accomplishments, and begs to be forgiven by master poets (*kavīśvara)* for his vain attempt to turn the tale of Kuñjarakarṇa into verse (*pādika*, 1.5-7). In all modesty the poet requests the great to forgive him, though his effort will end up gaining him ridicule (*hāsya*, 1.6d). This is reminiscent of Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa 1-3 *mandaḥ kaviyaśaḥ-prārthī gamiṣyāmy upahāsyatām* 'dull as I am, yet ambitious of poetic fame, shall I expose myself to ridicule?' Had the poet of the KK, Ḍusun, read the Raghuvaṁśa? The poet brings the kakavin to a close with the same sensibility, saying (41.16cd): *ndonyā tan kawurāpus i*

ṅhulun aṅuṅsya paramapadanāgave hayu/ kāṅkĕn siddha manojñavaṅ manah ilunya ri para kavi mitra suśrama//. Teeuw and Robson have translated this as:

'The aim is that no attention be paid to my composition as I try to take refuge in the Highest and to do good;
If it be thought successful, I shall be pleased, as it would follow in the footsteps of the poets, stalwart friends.'

The passage is better rendered as: 'The aim is that no heed be paid to my composition except as a means of striving towards the Highest Stage (*parama pada)* to do Good. It may be deemed to be successful if it is pleasing in diction (*vāṅ=vāc)* and conceptualization (*manah*), and if I have trodden the way of friendly poets by dint of hard work' (*suśrama;* and not from brilliancy or spontaneity). The phrase *kavi mitra* is significant. Affable friends were a source of inspiration, as jealousy was rampant in the world of poets, witness the following: *doṣāṇveṣaṇam eva matsara-juṣāṁ naisargiko durgrahaḥ* 'Sogar im schönsten Gedicht, an dem eine Schaar von Kennern immer und immer wieder Genuss findet, nur nach Mangeln zu spuren ist ein verkehrtes Treiben, das neidischen Menschen von Natur eigen ist' (Böhtlingk 1863:119 st.660).

The last word of KK is *suśrama.* It is reminiscent of the following passage of Ballāladeva's *Bhojaprabandha:*

kāvyaṁ karomi na hi cārutaraṁ karomi/
yatnāt karomi yadi cārutaraṁ karomi/
'I make a poem, but I do not compose a fine one.
If I have to make a fine one, I have to make effort.'

Lest jealousy strike his poetic art, Ḍusun humbles himself by saying that whatever merit there may be in his poem is the outcome of laborious toil and strained struggle, not of spontaneity or ingenuity; hence there need be no apprehensions, no jealousies and no evil eye directed to the kakavin.

14. NYAI LARA KIDUL: GODDESS OF THE SOUTHERN SEAS

The mystery of Nyai Lara Kidul has several elements of the intricate processes of acculturation and evolution of historical events. Incisive insights into the origin and development of her mystery are provided by Cambodian history. Nyai Lara Kidul is the mind's geometry of the kingdom of Mataram that was founded by Sañjaya, descendant of a local prince in about AD 732. The kingdom was so named in the tenth century, after it had been divided into many small principalities in the ninth century. The ancient kingdom, Mataram Pertama or Hindu, was reconstituted around 1582-1601 by Sultan Senopati. Sultan Agung (1613-1643) transformed it into an empire with himself as Ruler or Susuhunan. There were two states of Surakarta and Yogyakarta with separate rulers. Both the states had the cult of Nyai Lara Kidul. Matara is a town on the west coast, east of Galle in Sri Lanka and it gave the name to the town and post of Mataram on Lombok island. The founder of the Mataram Pertama in the eighth century, Sañjaya must have consecrated the wholeness of his state with the holiness of this Goddess of the Southern Seas alive with veins of sacred time.

Nyai Lara Kidul as the Goddess of the Southern Seas (Jordaan 1984:99) reminds of South Indian migrations across the ocean. These Indians must have worshipped a Goddess for a safe and successful journey. In Cambodia, the Goddess of the Seas is Maṇi-mekhalā (Lévi 1937:371-91). Mekhalā and Kāñcī both mean a 'waist-girdle'. I venture to suggest that Maṇimekhalā must have been worshipped as the city-goddess (*nagara-devatā*) of Kāñcī. The migrants from Kāñcī and its state could have constituted a sizeable proportion, and worshipped Her on the high seas. They must have consecrated landings by extensive rituals of the Goddess, on arrival at a sea coast after a long and exhausting voyage. They were faced by tribal people, not only inhospitable but hostile. As time went by, they married local women to adjust to the new space, as they gained the respect of the local rulers by a higher civilisation. The enterprising among them could vanquish the local ruler and marry the queen of the tribe who was later on acculturised and divinised as a Nāgī. Nāga means not only 'a serpent' but also 'the best or most excellent of any kind (at the end of a compound), elephant'. Kauṇḍinya married a nāgī, taught her to wear a sarong, and introduced cultivation of rice. When established in the New Domains, they must have sanctified their power through Her. The Goddess of the Seas assumed powers of conferring royal authority and Her rituals continually strengthened the new state.

We can discern the following elements in the Maṇimekhalā cult:

1. From a city goddess of Kāñcī to the Great Goddess.

2. From the Great Goddess in general to the Goddess of the Seas in particular.
3. Legitimation of political power by marriage with the local queen, the autochthone Nāgī.
4. Validation of a new state by association with the Goddess as conferring a hallowed origin that recalls the mytho-historical ancestors: e.g. the brāhmaṇa Kauṇḍinya and Nāgī as the founders of the Funan state.
5. Stabilisation is a prime political issue for any state. This was effected by continuing sanctification of the kingdom by the nightly union of the king with the Goddess as a beautiful woman in the Temple of the State.

Nyai Lara Kidul is so to say a Javanese version of Maṇimekhalā in her multiple functions as Po Nagar 'Goddess of the State'.

Lara Kidul and the foundation of the state of Mataram. In 732, Sañjaya founded a kingdom in the centre of Java. Though it is not known for sure what was the name of Sañjaya's kingdom, today we refer to it as bearing the name of Mataram. To distinguish it from Senopati's kingdom, we call it Mataram Hindu or Mataram Pertama (pertama=the first). During its existence for nearly two hundred years (until the year 928), it built many temples, of which the Prambanan is the most famous. As nothing is known in the history of Central Java from 928 to 1500, it cannot be said that the Mataram of Senopati is a continuation of the Mataram of the old days, the Mataram Hindu (M. Hoesodo's letter).

The story of Nyai Lara Kidul is connected with Panembahan Senapati, the founder of the Mataram dynasty. Senapati's father, Ki Ageng Pamanahan, having beaten and killed the governor of Jipan because of his recalcitrance, was granted the Mataram lands by the king of Pajang. After his father's death, Sutowijoyo (Senopati's youth name) stood up against the king. After the King's death in the war (1582), Mataram became the new kingdom, replacing Pajang. Sutowijoyo called himself Panembahan (=the Reverend) Senopati (=Commander-in-Chief). It was his grandson who adopted the title of Sultan (1613), and called himself Sultan Agung (the Great Sultan). As the governors were not willing to acknowledge Senopati as their new king, Senopati had to conquer them one by one. According to folk tales, in his conquests Senopati was always aided by the invisible army of Nyai Lara Kidul (letter of M. Hoesodo).

Nyai Lara Kidul is said to be the consort of all Mataram kings. After the division of Mataram in 1755, we have the state of Surakarta (reigned by a Sunan) and the state of Yogyakarta (by a sultan). On the grounds of the kraton palace of Surakarta is a tower where the Sunan is said to hold a meeting with the goddess on certain nights of the year. At the anniversary of his coronation day the sacred Bedaya dance is always held, performed by nine girls. But at certain moments the audience sees ten girls, then people say that one of them is the goddess herself.

Once a year, at the Labuhan ceremony of throwing offerings into the sea — on the anniversary of the Sultan's accession to the throne — a delegation of Kraton servants takes offerings to the village Parangkusumo at the South Coast. It was here that the founder of the kingdom of Mataram, Panembahan Senopati, first met Nyai Lara Kidul 400 years ago. His cut hair and clipped fingernails are buried at Parangkusumo, and his used clothes are given to the waves together with a large amount of various new clothes. At this highly official, sacred Kraton ceremony common people can only be spectators. They become active after the end of the ceremony. They fish pieces of clothes out of the sea, and sell them at high prices.

The close connection of Nyai Lara Kidul with water is a reminder of the people beyond the seas who heralded the dawn of a culture and rites that were to inform the state structures of Indonesia for centuries. The Borobudur is situated in the village Bumi Samudra, where Indians from beyond the Seas had settled. A lead-bronze inscription discovered on the west plain of the Borobudur, speaks of Dakṣiṇāpatha or South India. Senapati meets Nyai Lara Kidul on the beach of the southern coast. "Not far from there is the underwater palace of Lara Kidul. When she was with the Sultan of Yogyakarta, she stayed in a special room in the tower of the Water Castle" (ibid.106). Nyai Lara (maiden) Kidul (of the South) carries in her name itself memories of South [India].

1. The Javanese regard Nyai Lara Kidul as the Goddess of the Southern Seas, i.e. the Indian Ocean off the southern coast of Java.
2. She is the king-maker, as she tells Senapati the founder of the kingdom of Mataram that he and his descendants will rule Java.
3. The Babad Tanah Javi records that Sultan Agung, a descendant of Senapati, took her as his bride and often stayed with her in her underwater palace off the southern coast. The nightly rendezvous of the king with Nyai Lara Kidul in a palace-tower reminds of the rati-pūjā rites in the innermost sanctum of the kūṭāgāra or palace-tower.
4. The superseding kingdoms of Surakarta and Yogyakarta maintain their alliance with her. The present Sultan of Yogyakarta has contacts with her.
5. The various elements of Nyai Lara Kidul as a fertility goddess, and her relationship with the rice-goddess Devi Sri are her extended functions as the Goddess of the State.

Legitimation of power. The association of the snake cult with Nyai Lara Kidul is a later accretion due to the semantics of the word nāgī. Nyai Lara Kidul as a serpent deity is a nāgī. Nāgī is a euphemism for a chthonian woman. Kauṇḍinya had married the local queen, the nāgī queen, to validate his political authority. The Kauṇḍinya complex is the fundamental pattern of the theory and practice of state in SE Asia. It is the social-

political response to emerging ethno-cultural projections wherein the existing context and the new order find a harmonisation. The state is sanctified by Nyai Lara Kidul of the Javanese, Po Nagar of the Chams, Maṇimekhalā of the Khmers, and the Rati-goddesses in the innermost sanctum of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in the kūṭāgāra or the tower-palace.

"She is said to reside in an underwater palace. Members of the Kratons in Yogyakarta and Surakarta refer to her as *Kanjeng Ratu Kidul.* According to them she has two female patih (chief ministers), *Nyai Lara* (or *Rara) Kidul,* and *Nyai Riya Kidul.* (Many people prefer to spell *Loro, Roro* and *Riyo* instead of Lara, Rara and Riya). The common people, however, know only one figure, Nyai Lara (or Loro) Kidul. She rules over a kingdom that is structured like the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram. With the help of her spirit-army she protects Mataram and all the Sultans, who are regarded as her human spouses. The range of her power is said to be far: she can be malevolent, sending storms, inundations, plagues and epidemics; but she can be beneficient as well, protecting and fulfilling wishes, when asked for with the proper rituals." (M. Hoesodo)

The 'vacillating character' attributed by Hidding is not correct. As an omnipotent Supreme Goddess all emanates from her: both good and evil. It is she who gives the kingdom to Javanese rulers, protects them, and even deserts them when they go wrong. Her negative endowments strengthen her positive powers. They become punitive deterrants.

Stabilisation of power. "Lara Kidul is an ever-rejuvenating bride, who enters into marriage with successive Javanese rulers" (Jordaan 1984:104). The "yellow colour of her skin (*lara kuniṅ*) may also be explained by the customary practice of greasing the body with yellow powder on ceremonial occasions" (ibid.105). In India a bride-to-be is massaged with turmeric to give her body a yellow complexion. Yellowing in fact means the ceremonies preliminary to marriage and by semantic extension it refers to marriage. The devadāsīs are known as *nityasumaṅgalī* 'eternal brides'.

Jordaan (1984:113 n.8) states: "As far as Southeast Asia is concerned, we may point out the parallel between the stay of Lara Kidul at the Water Castle, and the nightly unions of Khmer kings in the Phimeanakas (a tower-shaped building of the Angkor Thom complex) with a 'serpent goddess' who appeared under the guise of a beautiful woman".

"Cambodian legends and legendary genealogies agree in having their kings descend from the union of a fabled ancestor (an Indian, of course, as the brahmans were from India) with a nāgī, daughter of the Nāgarāja, owner of the soil. As late as the end of the thirteenth century, a Chinese visitor to Cambodia relates that every night the King of Cambodia went high up into the tower of the royal temple of the Phimeanakas at Angkor, to spend the first watch with the nāga princess, daughter of the Nāgarāja, and that on this union depended the welfare, even the existence, of the Kingdom" (Briggs

1951:14). Kauṇḍinya became king of Funan in the fifth century, married Somā the nāgī of the Lunar dynasty (Briggs 1951:24). The Phimean-akas = Vimāna Ākāśa 'Celestial Palace' is a pyramid standing in the heart of the royal palace. On its cruciform foundation, in the centre of the upper platform there was a sanctuary built of light material covered with gold, for the Chinese pilgrim Ch'ou Ta-Kuan saw it and called it the 'Tower of Gold' (Frédéric 1965:288 pl.319).

The Phimean-akas is clearly a great stone pyramid, called temple-mountain by European scholars. It is the Sumeru in a tantric maṇḍala, which is topped by a kūṭāgāra. Its kūṭāgāra or tower must have been a gilded wooden construction, as Ch'ou describes it. Inside the tower was the sanctum with all the deities. A gilt bronze image of Hevajra was found in the ruins of the royal palace of Jayavarman VII (1181-1220?) from Angkor Thom. Gilding of a statue is done for consecration. The gilded statue of Hevajra indicates that tantric practices were prevalent in Cambodia.

In the innermost shrine, in the sanctum sanctorum of a tantric maṇḍala, were located four goddesses in the corners. In the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala the four goddesses are in the very centre of the kūṭāgāra: Lāsyā (SE), Mālā (SW), Gītā (NW) and Nṛtyā (NE) (NSP. text 45-46). The names indicate the goddess in the form of a young beauty offering the garland as Mālā, singing as Gītā, dancing as Nṛtyā: all to induce tumescence and frenzy, and finally the ritual orgy with its indulgence or licence. "Dancing, revelry and amorous propensities were not only religious exaltation but a means of acquiring supernatural energy for the working of vegetation-magic" (ERE.9.558)

These four goddesses are the inner pūjā-deities because they are in the intimacy of the corners of the innermost sanctum. They are found in three more maṇḍalas in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī:

Maṇḍala of Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara Mañjughoṣa, who is the acme of *śṛṇgāra-rasa-rāśi* (NSP text p.58).

Maṇḍala of Mahāvairocana of Durgati-pariśodhana (NSP text p.66).

Maṇḍala of Ratnaḍāka among the Pañca-ḍāka (NSP text p.76).

Two other maṇḍalas have variations of these four goddesses:

Maṇḍala of Vajradhara according to the Samputa-tantra: Hāsyā (E), Lāsyā (S), Gītā (W), Nṛtyā (N) (NSP text p.10).

Maṇḍala of Yogāmbara: Lāsyā, Vīṇā, Gītā, Nṛtyā (NSP text p.33).

The Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon (Clark 1937:2.145 no.4B55) has a statuette of Lāsyā where her hands hold two vajras which have a phallic form.

In the four maṇḍalas of the first abhisamaya of the Tattvasaṅgraha she is rati-pūjā, kāma-rati-pūjā, jñāna-rati, rati-ratā, lāsya-rati-pūjā. *Rati* means pleasure of love, sexual passion or union, amorous enjoyment (often personified as one of the two wives of

Kāmadeva, together with Prīti). These tantric rituals provide a precedent to the Cambodian practice in the Phimean-akas.

I.1.26 Vajralāsyā arises out of the samādhi of Vairocana that emanates from the symbolism of the rati-pūjā of all Tathāgatas. She says that no worship equals mine for all types of worship is intiated by kāma-rati-pūjā.

I.2.26 In the vajraguhya-vajra-maṇḍala, her dhāraṇī is: *Oṁ vajraguhya-ratipūjā-samaye sarva-pūjāṁ pravartaya svāhā* (STTS. p.35).

I.3.26 In the vajra-jñāna-dhāraṇī-maṇḍala, she is named Sarva-tathāgata-jñāna-rati and her dhāraṇī is: *Oṁ jñāna-lāsye* (Gobushingan 246 no.97).

I.4.26 In the vajrakārya-karma-maṇḍala, her name is Sarva-tathāgata-rati-ratā, and her dhāraṇī is: *Oṁ sarva-tathāgata-lāsya-rati-pūjā-megha-samudr-āspharaṇa-samaye hūṁ* (Gobushingan 304 no.126).

Her connection with skin disease reminds of the devidāsī cult, who came primarily from the lower strata of society. The devadāsī is known as jogin (Skt. yoginī) in Andhra Pradesh, jogti in Rajasthan, mātaṅgī in Kerala. The word mātaṅgī indicates that they came mostly from the śūdra caste. In the Belgaon district of Karnataka they are śūdra girls. The landlord of the village who spends the first night with her, commands special respect. When the marriage of the son or daughter is negotiated, it is a matter of status to relate the number of devadāsīs kept.

Nyai Lara Kidul creates and sustains the kingdom. She assures the prosperity of the realm as the rice goddess, with the addition of new attributes and functions derived from chthonian deities.

CEREMONY FOR NYAI LORO KIDUL

Ever heard of the ruler of the Indian Ocean? She is Nyai Loro Kidul, queen of all water-nymphs, who is fanatically fond of the green colour. For the people of Java, especially who live on the southern coastal area, Nyai Loro Kidul is a mysterious legendary figure. At Pelabuhan-ratu Beach Hotel, Sukabumi (in West Java), for instance, a special room is dedicated to her, and never rented out. It is said that on certain nights the room spreads a fragrant smell.

There is another story about the people along the coast of the Special Territory of Yogyakarta. For them the Ocean is the realm of Queen Nyai Loro Kidul, the beach is the demarcation line which has to be respected. It is a sacred line for them. It is so sacred that they taboo everything that is green-coloured on the beach, because it is the favourite colour of the Sea Goddess.

There are rumours about the prohibition of wearing green clothes on the beach. Being rumours, they are difficult to believe. Once a visitor was mysteriously lost when

he was strolling along the coast, because he wore a green coat. Just by wearing a green cap, one has the chance of being summoned by the Queen to appear in front of her at the palace. Having been summoned, he had to reach as soon as possible, he walked and walked to the centre of the ocean, and did not return. He is called *kalap,* which means 'taken away or summoned'.

But if he is not wearing a green coat, then he is said to be *dikersakake,* which means she wanted him. People say that lost persons are made subjects of the Sea God dess. Whatever the cause of his death, that was his fate, which is interpreted by people as power of Nyai Loro Kidul. Anyhow, at last it is decided that people have to offer food (*caos* 'to offer' *dahar* 'food'), by burning incense, in order to evade disaster in the South Sea.

On the coast of Parangtritis south of Yogyakarta, it is a custom that one can let somebody else do the food offering by giving a trifle for his services. This belief spreads from the coast to the centre of the city along the Chode River, which splits the city in two halves.

Every year on a certain day, people who live along the river prepare a welcoming ceremony for Nyai Loro Kidul who is said to visit Mount Merapi by travelling along the river together with her escorts. They are afraid if they do not bid her welcome, then she will spread an epidemic among them. As the exact time of her visit is not known, people are vigilant for several nights, for the supposed D-Day.

Having waited long, all at once, they hear thundering sounds from the South, approaching the mountain. The sounds come nearer and nearer, and everyone is frightened. If the sounds are heard very closely, everyone beats everything that gives a loud sound. They are winnows, tom-toms, rice-blocks etc which have been prepared for this purpose, while shouting *lampor ... lampor...*! People believe that at that moment the goddess and her army pass by along the river. The tumult lasts 15 to 20 minutes, and it stops if the thundering sounds are heard far in the North. The people are calm again as before.

At Gombong (approximately 150 km west of Yogyakarta) the welcoming of Nyai Loro Kidul is called *tundan*, which means it is their turn to welcome her. (Written by M. Harjo in the ladies' magazine *Kartini* July 1985, issued from Jakarta. Translated from Indonesian by M. Hoesodo).

15. THE ŚAILENDRAS OF JAVA

The creation of a framework based on a mis-interpretation of the Ligor stele has led to a weltering plethora of theorisation that has persisted inspite of a clarification by Coedès in 1934. The subsequent interpretations of the inscriptions of the Śailendras and their contemporaries has been conditioned by this mis-understanding, leading to a confusion of historical realities.

In his article on the kingdom of Śrīvijaya, Coedès (1918) incidentally pointed out the mention of the Śailendra dynasty on face B of the Ligor Inscription. Next year itself, Vogel and Krom created a theory on its basis. "This theory consists in considering the Sumatran kings of Śrīvijaya to have belonged from the beginning of their history of this dynasty of Śailendra and in admitting the equation Śailendra=the king of Śrīvijaya" as noted by Coedès himself (1934:61). Krom deduced a 'Sumatran period in the history of Java'. Stutterheim discovered the name of Sañjaya in the Kedu Inscription beginning the list of sovereigns of the Javanese dynasty of Mataram. He proposed a 'Javanese period in Sumatra'. Both these constructs have conditioned subsequent historians. Coedès (1934:64) has owned: "Although I had not formulated this hypothesis in a sufficiently precise manner in 1918, I willingly recognise my part of the responsibility for the identification of the Śailendras with the kings of Śrīvijaya".

Wolters (1967:23) is more guarded when he speaks of "the political relationship between the islands of Java and Sumatra, which at different times were ruled by the Śailendra dynasty." The first evidence "of the Javanese Śailendra dynasty....appears in the eighth century" (ib.160). He cannot move out of the Vogel-Krom paradigm which arose out of an erroneous correlation of the two faces of the Ligor stele and he tries to harmonise the two conflicting viewpoints by positing a matrimonial alliance: "It is also possible, though it has by no means been proved, that there was some form of alliance, perhaps by marriage, between the Javanese Śailendras and the Śrīvijayan ruling family in the second half of the eighth century, as a result of which the Śailendra face on the Ligor inscription was engraved" (ib.266). In his last article on the present state of the interpretation of the Ligor stele Coedès unequivocally said that the two faces are independent (1959:47).

Sarkar (1985:329) says that if the Arya-land of the OJ inscriptions can be identified with the Krishna-Guntur districts of Andhra Pradesh, "where Ikṣvākus ruled in the third century AD as lords of the hill, with Śrīvijayapurī as their capital, so we have here a Śailendra dynasty (lord of ŚrīParvata/ŚrīŚaila), whose kings were great patrons of the Buddhist religion, ruling from their capital Śrīvijayapurī in the third century AD. If this

view is correct, the Śrīvijayan monarchs of Sumatra will turn out to have been Śailendras from the start". A Buddhist sutra translated into Chinese in AD 392 refers to Chö-ye/Jaya which is Śrīvijaya. The inherit-less scions of a dynasty ruling at Śrīvijayapurī in Andhra Pradesh must have left for golden pastures in the Islands between AD. 300 and 392, founded the Śrīvijaya kingdom, couple of centuries earlier than the Śailendras. The link of Śrīvijaya is with Śrīvijayapurī and not with the Ikṣvākus. Younger princes of a or the ruling dynasty, or even adventurous merchants sailed to Sumatra and founded a mercantile state. The European empires in Asia also began as commercial ventures. The name of the dynasty of Śrīvijaya is not known. Hinayana was the main religion, with the Vinaya of Mūla-sarvāstivāda in Sanskrit. Sanskrit studies were in the ascendant. Chinese Buddhist scholars did their Sanskrit grammar here and also learnt to translate Sanskrit into Chinese. Śrīvijaya must have been an important academic centre for the Chinese, particularly in view of the possibilities of comparative studies of Sanskrit and Chinese. Due to constant and extensive commercial relations of Śrīvijaya and China the Chinese presence must have been conspicuous, with Chinese communities settled at Palembang, the Chinese language spoken by Śrīvijayan traders and scholars, Chinese food being served at kiosks. That is why I-tsing who had problems of board and lodging and even escaped being pierced by the swords of robber bands in India, ultimately went to Śrīvijaya with the Sanskrit texts he had collected and stayed on to translate them into Chinese. He wanted the Chinese emperor to make a vihāra for Chinese pilgrims in India: "I, I-tsing, met Ta-ts'in in Śrīvijaya (where he came AD 683). I requested him to return home to ask an imperial favour in building a temple in the West" (=India, Takakusu 1986:xxxvi). Ta-ts'in returned on a merchant ship to the Chinese capital Ch'ang-an, with new translations of various sutras and śāstras, the Record and the Memoirs of 60 Chinese pilgrims to India--all written by I-tsing in Śrīvijaya, with the help of Śrīvijayan scholars proficient both in Sanskrit and Chinese.

The Śailendras came later on the scene, and they were restricted to Java. They should be another wave from across the seas. They should have been from the same area for two reasons: (i) Śaila in Śailendra alludes to the Śrī-śailam mountain in south India. (ii) It was an important centre of Vajrayāna Buddhism, and was known to the Buddhists as Vajraparvata. The Śailendras were thus, naturally, attached to Vajrayāna Buddhism. We will have to give up the idea that established dynasties *alone* were founding states in the Islands. By the law of primogeniture, the Crown Prince became King, and his brothers had to seek fortune elsewhere. It is interesting that the main thrust of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara is merchants crossing the seas. It is equally likely that adventurers* estab-

* Compare *kalana* 'a wandering adventurer of noble birth from abroad' Zoetmulder.

lished trading centres, married local queens and became kings. The south Indians were already in the Malay Peninsula and to go to Sumatra and Java was not difficult. The surveillance in ancient times was not so developed that all new arrivals could be checked. Moreover, in subsequent centuries several well-established states were carrying on trade side by side. Competition and its preemption are modern possibilities. In ancient times it was easier to be effective in the specific areas of one's own traditional trade rather than strive to stiffle competition. The relations between the Śailendras and Śrīvijaya are not clear. The regular sailing between them, *inter alia*, will have to be researched.

The Śailendras constructed the magnificent Vajrayāna sanctuaries of Sevu, Borobudur, and the like. If the Java of Śailendras is *kabajradharan,* then Śrīvijaya is kavinayadharan. King Sañjaya of another contemporary royal house in Java installed a Liṅga on a mountain in AD 732, as recorded in his Caṅgal Inscription (Sarkar 1971:1.17). Both the Vajrayāna and Śaiva traditions go back to Srisailam in south India. It is Śrīparvata of the Tibetan traditions, Vajraparvata in Srilanka, and the Diamond Mountain in Korea. Vajrayāna developed here and hence is termed Vajraparvata-vāsi-nikāya in the Srilankan work Nikāya-saṅgraha. For the Śaivas this mountain was the seat of the holiest Mallikārjuna Liṅga, one of the twelve most sacred Jyotirliṅgas. This Jyotirliṅga was recreated by king Sañjaya. The Śailendras must have gone from Srisailam in south India, via Malaya to Java, in search of greener pastures, in the sixth century. This was in keeping with the general Indian perception of seeking affluence in the Southeast Asian islands known by the generic name of Suvarṇabhūmi 'lands of gold', or Suvarṇadvīpa 'isles of gold'. The immediate source of inspiration for the Śailendras should have been the prosperity of the princes of Śrīvijayapurī who had left a couple of centuries earlier to emerge as the powerful maritime trading empire of Śrīvijaya.The Vajrayāna Buddhists were multinational merchants with an overflowing volume of trans-continental trade, reflected in the Tamil word *sambara* for colonies of rich Buddhist traders. The followers of Vajrayāna were great builders of sanctuaries and stupas as visible landmarks, as visual Dharma. Nagapattinam in south India had splendid Buddhist monuments. So the Śailendras in their new kingdom in Java conceived of a capital with splendid spires, a Kalaśa-pura, whose magnificence can still be seen in the extensive ruins, crowned by the glory of Borobudur.

II. KALAŚAPURA

Kalaśapura in Sanskrit texts refers to Kalasan, the glorious capital of the Śailendras, rich in temples and affluent in economy. The earliest reference is in the Aṣṭa-mahācaitya-vandana of king Harṣa-vardhana Śīlāditya (AD 590:606-647), transcribed into Chinese by Fa-hsien. The third stanza of this hymn of five verses reads:

nepāle kāmarūpe kalaśavarapure kāñcī-saurāṣṭra-rāṣṭre/
ye cānye dhātugarbhā daśabala-balinas tān namasyāmi mūrdhnā//
(Nj 1071, T 1684, K 1228b, STP 18.7196, Lévi 1897:189-203).

The next reference is in the Kathā-sarit-sāgara written by Somadeva between 1063 and 1081 (Keith 1928:281). It has tales of adventures at sea, with shipwrecks and strange lands. It goes back to Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhat-kathā which existed prior to AD 600. The story of the merchant Samudraśūra is important for two reasons: firstly it places Kalaśapura (*kalaśapur-ākhyaṁ nagaram* 54.108) in Suvarṇadvīpa, secondly, the glittering priceless jewelled ornaments (*bhāsvara-anargha-ratn-ābharaṇa-sañcayam,* 54.128) attest to the vast wealth of the kingdom of Kalaśapura. The merchant Samudraśūra visited Kalaśapura, the capital of Suvarṇadvīpa. A typhoon split asunder the ship and the merchant climbed a corpse and was carried by a favourable wind to Suvarṇadvīpa. He perceived a cloth around the loins of the corpse. As he unfastened it, he found a necklace richly studded with jewels. After misadventures he found unlimited wealth and in course of time returned to his own city of Harṣapura (Tawney/Penzer 4.191-93, Kathā-sarit-sāgara 54.97f.)

A palmleaf manuscript of the Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā dated AD 1015 (Cambridge, Add. 1643) depicts Lord Śākyamuni on folio 44 with the caption: *Kalaśavarapure Gandhavatyā Bhagavān (*Foucher 1900:191 no.11). This is repeated in the Calcutta manuscript (A15) on folio 89: *Kalaśavarapure Bhagavān* (ib.209 no.13). Foucher (p.90) opines that the geographic situation of this city is a mystery which these two inscriptions do not permit us to clarify.

The Ratnaparīkṣā of Buddhadatta (Finot 1896:29) speaks of the rubies of Kalaśapura, of Tumbara, of Siṁhala, of Muktamālīyas and of Śrīpūrṇakas. The lesser variety from Kalaśapura can be recognised by the presence of pellicules:

kalaśapur-odbhava-tumbara-siṁhaladeśottha-muktamālīyaḥ
śrīpūrṇakaś ca sadṛśā vijātayaḥ padmarāgāṇāṁ
tuṣ-opasargāt kalaśābhidhānam

Kalaśapura or Kalaśa was a famous mart for precious jewels.

Wheatley (1961:57) says that Ko-lo-fu-sha-lo or its shorter form Ko-lo are transcriptions of Kalaśapura. The Old T'ang Annals transcribe Chia-lo-she-fo, the Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao calls it Ko-lo-she-fen. Their geographic locations are confusing in the Chinese accounts.

III. OTHER GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Suvarṇadvīpa, Suvarṇabhūmi is a general term for the several countries of South-east Asia with which India carried on trade. There seems to be a clear demarcation

between Sumatra and Java. Sumatra is known as Śrīvijaya, Samudra or Mahāsamudra, or Southern Seas in Chinese.

HO-LING (also transcribed K'o-ling) is Java or more accurately a part of Java. During the years 640, 648, 660 and 674 Holing (Java) sent missions to China (Wolters 1967:214). In the next century too, three missions went from Holing to China in the years 768,769, 770. Chinese annals record the invasion of Champa in 767 by Holing (Majumdar 1936:1.157). This is confirmed by the inscription of King Satyavarman dated 784 and also by the inscription of King Indravarman I dated 787 (ib.1.158). During each of the years 813, 815 and 818 Ho-ling sent a mission to China (Wolters 1967:214, following Damais 1964:131-32).

The kingdom of Holing was identified as a Chinese transcription of Kaliṅga. Damais (1964:93-141) has proved that Holing cannot be a transcription of Kaliṅga. There is a variant Po-ling used in the biography of Jñānabhadra in *Sung kao seng chuan* 'the lives of eminent monks of Sung'. Damais points out that the transcription represents *pa-liṅ/pa-leṅ/ pa-riṅ/pa-reṅ.* But as is often employed in place of *p'o* which regularly transcribes *ba or wa,* we can envisage *ba-liṅ/ba-leṅ/ba-riṅ/ba-reṅ.* As b/w frequently alternate in Old Javanese, it can well be *wa-liṅ/wa-leṅ/wa-riṅ/wa-reṅ* (Damais 1964:119). Thus he identifies Po-ling with Walaiṅ or Waleṅ, and as Po-ling is a variant of Ho-ling, Holing is Walaiṅ. Po-ling is an isolated variant in a later work written during the Sung period, and it occurs only once, as against the usual and frequent Ho-ling. Ho-ling is the original form. The Chinese character *ho* transcribes *ha* (Damais 1964:111,119) and the original Indonesian form should be *haliṅ/haleṅ.* It cannot stand for *va.* The variant Po-ling also does not give *va* as the initial consonant. Ho-ling represents an original *Haliṅ (compare Kaliṅga, Kuṇḍuṅga). In fact we have Hali-nda, Hali-ngli, Hali-yur, Hali-yuru as place-names in south India. Taruma of the inscription of Pūrṇavarman is found as the place name Tarumapura in an inscription of Kulottuṅga *(South Indian Inscriptions* 3/ 2.159). The early place names of Indonesia have to be compared afresh with those of south India. Taruma is the usual Tamil way of writing Dharma (*Tamil Lexicon* 3.1769f.). The Japanese form of Bodhidharma's name, Daruma, also ultimately derives from Tamil orthography: Taruma>Daruma. It must have been the pet name of Bodhidharma, who was a resident of Kanchi in Tamilnadu. It passed on from the intimate of his disciples to Japan and has survived there. We have shown earlier that another Tamil nickname of the Tripiṭaka-translator Pao-ssu-wei/Cintāmaṇi was transcribed into Chinese as A-ni-chen-na (*aṇi* 'beauty', *ceṇṇam* 'form' -- of beauteous form see *Cultural Horizons of India* 3.255f.)

New T'ang Annals preserve the itinerary of Chia-tan, which says that Ho-ling (Java) is to the east of Fo-shih (Śrīvijaya), some four or five days of journey over water,

the largest of the islands in the south (Wheatley 1961:56).

VALAING seems to be a third power centre in Java, another dynasty. All the references to Valaing have to be re-viewed without preconceived ideas. We have to keep our minds open and not to ambush them into fixed grooves. We may see rays of truth, but truth is lost in time. We have to seek a more coherent paradigm.

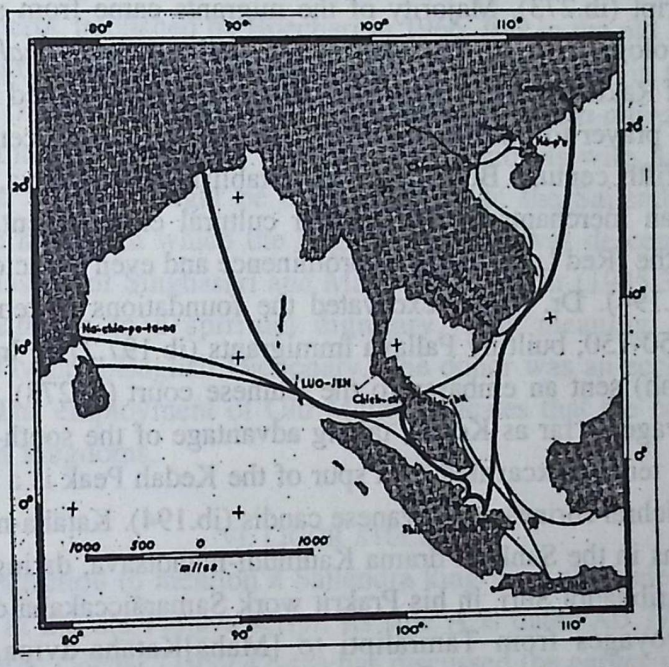
The Chinese transcription SHIH-LI-FO-SHIH was equated with Śrīvijaya by Coedès (1918). Shih-li is śrī but *fo-shih* is not vijaya. Julien (1861) had reconstructed it Śrī-bhoja. The whole equation needs a fresh look on the thorough lines of Damais 1964.

I-tsing wrote down short bio-sketches of eminent Chinese monks who visited Sumatra, Java, and India in search of Dharma. They took ships to India from Ho-ling which Chavannes (1894:210) defines as a kingdom in the island of Java. Ch'ang-min (#13, Cha.42, La.24) wanted to go on a pilgrimage to India to offer his homage to the holy relics. From south China, he embarked on a large ship that could carry six to seven hundred persons, destined to sail to Ho-ling. Thence he embarked by Mo-lou-yü (Malayu/Jambi), whence he wanted to reach Mid-India. He boarded a cargo vessel carrying heavy merchandise, which sank due to a sudden typhoon. Thus the route from China to India lay via Ho-ling and Malayu. Ming-yüan (#21, Cha.53, La.33) sailed from Chiao-chih, reached Ho-ling, and from there came to Siṁhala and then to south India. Hui-ning (#25, Cha.60, La.36), reached the South Sea (here Sumatra) in AD 665. He took a boat to Ho-ling and lived there with the very learned monk Jñānabhadra and translated Sanskrit texts into Chinese. From here Hui-ning left for India. T'an-jun (#36, Cha.77, La. 46) embarked towards the South, to go to western India. When he reached Po-p'en to the north of Ho-ling, he fell sick and died at the tender age of thirty years. Tao-lin (#42, Cha. 100, La.63) took a long route to reach the south Sea, and on the way crossed Ho-ling to reach India. Fa-chen (#53, Cha.158, La.102) had an insatiable desire to visit India to pay homage to the sacred shrines. He embarked a ship, reached the north of Ho-ling, and after crossing many islands arrived at Kedah. Fa-lang (#60, Cha.190, La.122) crossed the seas in the company of I-tsing and stayed with him at Śrīvijaya, where he studied logic and abhidharma. After some time, Fa-lang left for Ho-ling where he fell sick and died. His companions Chen-ku, Tao-hung and two others stayed back in Śrīvijaya, studied the sacred books for three years, as well as the correlation of Sanskrit and Chinese. Thus Ho-ling was a very important port for sailing to India. Wheatley (1961:44, 54, 56) equates Ho-ling with Java, and on p.192 he says that Ho-ling is applied to an ancient Javanese kingdom.

IV. KEDAH (MALAYSIA) TO INDONESIA

Ho-ling, Śrīvijaya, Kedah, Lankasukha, Nicobar, Siṁhala, Nāgapaṭṭinam and

Tāmralipti were linked by the persuasive bonds of trade and prosperity. These entrepots linked Indonesia, Malaya, Srilanka and India in commerce, culture, and polity. The sailing routes in the seventh century, as shown in the biographies of sixty monks from China on a pilgrimage to India, are mapped by Wheatley (1961:44):



The route traversed by I-tsing is represented by a thicker line (Canton→Śrīvijaya →Malayu→Kedah→Luo-len→Tāmralipti).

Kedah was the most important entreport, famed for its wealth and prosperity, felicities and elegances, situated at the northernmost point of the Peninsula, and being the prime node in the maritime trade with India. From Kedah a route led to Patani, the nucleus of the ancient kingdom of Lankasukha (Wheatley 1961:195). Lankasukha passed into Malay folklore, and Kedah peasantry interpreted the realm of Alang-kah-suka as the domain of a fairy princess (ib.262). Lankasukha was connected with Tambralinga in the Ligor district (ib.67). This kingdom was founded in the first century AD (ib.194) on the east coast. The Kedah peasantry retains folk-memories of the coming of Indians in the early centuries of the Christian era in the legend of Marong Mahawangsa (ib.263). Migrants from south India would find their first landfall on the Malayan coast around modern Kedah. The most ancient archaeological evidence of Indian influence has been discovered in this area. The earliest reference to Kedah is in the Tamil poem Paṭṭinappālai, at the beginning of the third century AD, of the import of goods from Kāḷagam into the Coḷa capital of Puhar (ib.279). The Tamil classic Śilappādikāram, written by Ilango Adigal in the third century, mentions silk from Kāḷagam (=Kedah, ib.

279). The basement of a fourth century stupa has survived north of Kedah Peak, on the summit of a jungle-clad hill Bukit Choras (ib.274). A Sanskrit inscription of the fourth century AD from the Wellesley Province and two verses of the Buddhist credo from Bukit Měriam in Kedah were discovered by Low in 1849 and they are written in the oldest form of the Pallava script (ib.273). Majority of the migrants came from south India as evidenced by archaeological finds. The slab of the sailing-master (*mahānāvika*) Buddhagupta a resident of Raktamṛttikā, is inscribed with a stupa surmounted by a chatrāvalī and it bears a Sanskrit prayer for the success of his voyage, in the fifth-century Pallava script (ib.274). By the fifth century Buddhism was established in Malaya, and added to the attraction of Indian merchants by its familiar cultural environment. In the sixth and seventh centuries the 'Red Land' came to prominence and even attracted envoys from the Chinese court (ib.194). Dr. Wales excavated the foundations of ten Śaiva temples in Kedah, dating c.550-750, built by Pallava immigrants (ib.197,274). In AD 638, the state of Chia-cha (Kedah) sent an embassy to the Chinese court (ib.278). In AD 672 I-tsing completed his voyage as far as Kedah, taking advantage of the south-westerlies (ib.42). A seventh century temple excavated on a spur of the Kedah Peak is a transition between South Indian sepulchral shrines and Javanese candis (ib.194). Kaṭāha-nagara is famed for its social attractions in the Sanksrit drama Kaumudī-mahotsava, dating to the seventh or eighth century. Haribhadra Sūri, in his Prakrit work Samarāiccakahā dated to the eighth century, relates voyages from Tāmralipti to [Mahā]Kaṭāha-dvīpa. Two Mahayana temples, two audience halls, and five shrines were built on the banks of the Bujang river between 750 and 900 (ib.274, 277). A community of Tamils was settled on the west coast in the ninth century (ib.193). Tenth-century votive tablets in Nagari script have been found from a Kedah cave (ib.193). The Pāla manuscript of the Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā dated AD 1015, represents Lokanātha of the mountain of Valavatī in the Kaṭāha country (*kaṭāha-dvīpe valavatī-parvate Lokanāthaḥ*, Foucher 1900:2.194, I.26, 28, pl.IV.4). It must be a reference to the Kedah Peak (Gunong Jĕrai). In ca.1025 the Cola king Rajendra I conquered Kaḍāra, and other kingdoms (ib.199 f.). The Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī written by Kṣemendra in AD 1037 (Keith 1928:136) refers to Kaṭāha-dvīpa (ib.280). The Kathā-sarit-sāgara, written by Somadeva during the years AD 1063 to 1081 (Keith 1928:281), refers to the island of Kaṭāha. Guhasena is urged by his relations to go to the country of Kaṭāha for trafficking (Tawney/Penzer 1.155-6). He was soon in Kaṭāha and began to buy and sell jewels there. He met a female ascetic Yogakaraṇḍikā who lived in a Buddhist sanctuary. His wife Devasmitā came to Kaṭāha to see him (ib.1.163). The brāhmaṇa Candrasvāmin went to the island in search of his children (ib.4.223). The Kaṭāha-dvīpa 'the home of all felicities' (*asti dvīpaṁ kaṭāh-ākhyaṁ ketanaṁ sarva-sampadāṁ* 123.105) was ruled by a king Guṇasāgara (ib.10.50). His daughter, Princess

Guṇavatī suffered a shipwreck on a coast of Suvarṇadvīpa (123.110) on her way from Kaṭāha to India.

V. SAJAMERTA INSCRIPTION. MISSIONS TO CHINA.

The earliest inscription to name the Śailendras was discovered in January 1963 in the village of Sajamerta, published by Boechari in 1966. It is in the old Pallava script and is dated to the seventh century on paleographic considerations. It is in Old Malay. Homage is paid to Śiva: (*namaḥ śśivāya/ bhaṭāra parameśvara sarvva-daiva ku samvah...*) by dapūnta Selendra, the son of Śāntanu and Bhadrāvatī, and his wife Sampūla. Boechari feels that "Dapunta Selendra might be the vaṁśakara of the Śailendras. We have instances in Javanese history in which the reigning dynasty was descended from a commoner, e.g. the dynasties of Singhasari and Majapahit". Sarkar (1985:326) rightly refers the designation *dapunta* to a spiritual dignitary. This meaning is confirmed by Zoetmulder's Old Javanese-English Dictionary. The donor was an ecclesiastical official of the Śailendras. The employment of Old Malay indicates that the official came from one of the Malayan kingdoms.

VI. LIGOR STELE

The first inscription to mention a Śailendra king is on the stele of Ligor, written in ornate Sanskrit, in the old Pallava script. Its side A is dated AD 775 and was issued by a king of Śrīvijaya. Coedès (1959:42-48) has discussed the earlier interpretations and come to certain conclusions that are relevant to us:

(i) It is certain that inscriptions on the two faces are independent of each other: the one of face A dated AD 775 emanates from a king of Śrīvijaya, and that of face B is later and pertains to the Śailendra dynasty.

(ii) Coedès abandons his earlier hypothesis concerning the mention of two kings on face B. Only one king Viṣṇu is named.

(iii) The Śailendra king Viṣṇu of Ligor B can be placed between 778 and 782.

The apposition of *eka* in the first half and *dvitīya* in the second half refers to the fact that the Śailendra king had the imperial title rājādhirāja having conquered his enemies and was resplendent like the sun in the first instance and secondly (*dvitīya*) by his own might (*svaśaktyā*), he Viṣṇu by name, born in the Śailendra family (*Śailendra-vaṁśa-prabhavo,* corrected) assumed his traditional titulature (*nigaditaḥ)* of Śrīmahārāja. Arab navigators and traders point out that the king of Zābag (Java) is a Maharaja.

The district of Ligor was the kingdom of Tambralinga (Chinese: Tan-ma-ling), a dependency of Śrīvijaya. It was an important trading centre for China (Wheatley 1961:67, 77). The Śailendras must have gone to trade with Tambralinga, but exceeded their rights

in trying to inscribe their presence on Ligor B in the monastic premises. The monks of the monastery and Śrīvijaya officials must have resisted with violence when they noticed the transgression. Till then, four lines had been inscribed, and the whole effort had to be abandoned. The Śailendra inscription is in impeccable Sanskrit, written in advance, by design, and on imperial orders. It is not an *ex tempore* composition. The abrupt end is an indication of a violent struggle between the protagonists of Śrīvijaya and Śailendra.

VII. KALASAN INSCRIPTION OF ŚAKA 700=AD 778

The third evidence of Śailendra presence is the Kalasan inscription dated Śaka 700=AD 778. Its interpretation has been clouded by heavy assumptions. For easier comprehension, the inscription has been put in prose order:

1. The first stanza does not have political significance.
2. *Mahārājaṁ dyāḥ pañcapaṇaṁ paṇaṁkaraṇam āvarjya* (this reading is doubtful) *śailendra-rājagurubhiś śrīmat tārā-bhavanaṁ hi kāritam.*
3. *gurvājñayā kṛtajñair Tārādevī kṛtā, api tad-bhavanam, vinaya-mahāyāna-vidāṁ cāpy ārya-bhikṣūṇām bhavanam.*
4. *Paṅkura-tavāna-tīrīpa nāmabhir rājñaḥ ādeśa-śāstṛbhiḥ idaṁ tārā-bhavanaṁ kāritam api cāpy ārya-bhikṣūṇām.*
5. *Śailendra-vaṁśa-tilakasya rājñaḥ rājye pravardhamāne kṛtibhiḥ śailendra-rājagurubhiḥ tārā-bhavanaṁ kṛtam.*
6. *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātītair varṣa-śataiḥ saptabhir mahārājaḥ paṇaṁkaraṇaḥ guru-pūjārthaṁ tārā-bhavanam akarod.*
7. *paṅkura-tavāna-tīrīpa-deśādhyakṣān mahāpuruṣān sākṣiṇaḥ kṛtvā kalaśa-nāmā grāmaḥ saṁghāya dattaḥ.*
8. *Śailendra-vaṁśa-bhūpair anuparipāly-ārya-santatyā Rājasiṁhena saṅghāya bhūri-dakṣiṇā iyam atulā dattā.*
9. *saṅ paṅkurādibhiḥ, saṅ tavānak-ādibhiḥ, saṅ tīrīp-ādibhiḥ, pattibhiś ca sādhubhiḥ.*

API CA

10. *rājasiṁhaḥ sarvān eva āgāminaḥ pārthivendrān bhūyo bhūyo yācate: ayaṁ narāṇāṁ sāmānyaḥ dharmasetuḥ, kāle-kāle bhavadbhiḥ pālanīyaḥ.*
11. *anena vihārajena puṇyena pratītya-jāt-ārtha-vibhāga-vijñāḥ sarve tribhav-opapannā janā jinānām anuśāsanajñā bhavantu.*
12. *śrīmān kariyāna-paṇaṁkaraṇaḥ bhāvi-nṛpān bhūyo-bhūyo vidhivad vihāra-paripalanārtham abhiyācate. ITI.*

1. Salutation to goddess Tārā.
2. The royal preceptor (rājaguru) of the Śailendras having...Mahārāja dyāḥ

Pañcapaṇa Paṇaṁkaraṇa had the splendid temple of Tārā built.

3. By the orders of the preceptor, mindful of right conduct, he made [the image] of Tārādevī, besides her temple, as well as residences for the venerable monks learned in vinaya (discipline) and mahāyāna.

This stanza refers to the Mahārāja, and the plural *kṛtajñair* is for respect, pluralis majestatis. *kṛtajña* 'knowing what is right, correct in conduct' MBh12.104.6 (MW). This does not refer to the preceptor or officials.

4. The executors of the command of the king designated *(nāmabhir)* paṅkura, tavāna and tīrīpa had this abode for Tārā constructed, as well as those for venerable monks.

5. As the kingdom of the King, who is the ornament of the Śailendra dynasty, was ever flourishing, the righteous preceptor of the Śailendra King constructed the temple of Tārā.

The temple to the Goddess Tārā was constructed for the constantly developing maritime trade by the Rājaguru of noble conduct. The expanding commerce was thus blessed by the Goddess.

6. When seven hundred years of the era of the Śaka king had elapsed, Mahārāja Paṇaṁkaraṇa built the temple of Tārā in deference to the Guru.

The word *guru-pūjārtham* does not mean 'for the worship of (his) preceptors (to the deity)' as rendered by Sarkar, but 'out of respect to the Guru'.

7. He donated the village named Kalasa to the Saṅgha, having made the village officials paṅkura, tavāna, and tīripa, and other notable persons (*mahāpuruṣa*) witnesses.

8. In accord with the noble traditions to be observed by kings of the Śailendra dynasty, the mighty king *(rājasiṁha)* gave this *(iyam)* ample *(bhūri)* donation which is immeasurable.

Dakṣiṇā is a technical term and no sacred rite bears fruit unless it is consummated by a donation in money or gold. Compare the inscription of Mūlavarman where a lot of gold (*bahusuvarṇa*) was donated to the officiants. The cash or gold given by the King was beyond measure (*a-tula*) in keeping with the existing economic euphoria, as well as to ensure its continuance in the future.

9. And paṅkura, tavānaka, tīripa, along with their followers, and other pious patis too [gave donations].

AND FURTHER

10. The mighty King (*rājasiṁha*) entreats all future kings: this foundation of Dharma is the common [property of all] men, and should be maintained by you from time to time.

The word *dharmasetu* is used in the sense of a pious foundation in the inscriptions of the Pālas and of other dynasties, e.g. in the Monghyr Copperplate of Devapāla (IA.21.254-57, Majumdar 1936:1233). In this context dharmasetu also signifies the bridge of Dharma to cross over the ocean of existence (*bhava-sāgara*), as Goddess Tārā takes beings across. Tārā is from the root *tar* 'carry through or save, pass across or over, cross over, sail across'. Tārā is so called as she carries across the ocean of mundane existence.

11. May all persons born in the three worlds become proficient in the teaching of the Jinas by the merit accruing from this vihāra, where they gain insight by analysis of the goals (*artha*) of pratītya-jāta (=pratītya-samutpāda).

This stanza refers to the two sambhāras: puṇya-sambhāra and jñāna-sambhāra. These are the twofold equipments for those destined for Enlightenment. As the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan 19.22 says: *ikanaṅ dvaya-sambhāra, na ṅaranya jñāna-sambhāra puṇya-sambhāra kapaṅguha denta.* From the devotion and worship of Tārā accrues puṇya/merit, and jñāna/knowledge is attained in the vihāra which as an academic centre provides insights into Buddhist thought.

Pratītya-jāta=pratītya-samutpāda "origination by dependence of one thing on another; applied to the celebrated 'chain of causation,' the (usually twelve) steps of which are the same as in Pali, from avidyā to (a compound ending in) upāyāsa: elaborate analysis, Śālistamba-sūtra 76.13 ff. (valuable discussion by LaVallée Poussin)" (Edgerton 1953:374a). Compare *pratītya-jātā dharmā ime* in Lalita-vistara 340.3(verse). Vibhāga 'scholastic classification'. Compare *vibhaṅga* 'distribution, classification, explanation, commentary' (Edgerton). The text of the Pratītya-samutpāda-vibhaṅga has been found engraved on bricks from Nalanda in the late Gupta script (Hirananda Sastri 1942:75). This sutra was of paramount importance and was studied all over the Buddhist world (ib. 60). A set of eleven gold plates in the Jakarta Museum contains the Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra (Casparis 1956:2.47-167).

12. The illustratious Kariyāna Paṇaṁkaraṇa solicits future kings over and again for the proper maintenance of the vihāra.

The inscription comprises:

(i) Salutation to Tārā (st.1).

(ii) The King is inspired by the Rājaguru to set up the image of Tārā, to construct a temple for Her, with a monastery (st. 2, 3).

(iii) Officials are assigned for the construction (st.4).

(iv) The Rājaguru takes an active role in the construction of the Tārā-temple (st.5).

(v) The King constructs the Tārā-temple in AD 778 in deference to the Guru (st.6).
(vi) Grant of the Kalasa village to the Saṅgha (st.7).
(vii) Ample funds donated by the King, officials and dignitaries (st.8, 9).
(viii) The King entreats future kings to maintain the complex, for it serves both faith and learning (st.10, 11, 12).

The word Śailendra-rājaguru in stanzas 2 and 5 raised the question as to whether he is the guru of Paṇaṁkarana or of another king of the Śailendra dynasty. Stanza 6 is clear beyond doubt that Paṇaṁkaraṇa built the Tārā-temple in deference to the wishes of the Guru, and we come across the same idea earlier in stanza 3. In stanza 8 the mighty King follows the noble traditions observed by the Kings of the Śailendra dynasty. The tenor of the whole inscription indicates that Paṇaṁkaraṇa himself is the Śailendra king.

The North Indian script termed Pre-Nagari (now called Siddham by Damais) has been used in the inscription. Its use indicates that the Rājaguru came from the Pāla dominions. Contacts with the Pālas must have been constant. I-tsing took a ship from Kedah and reached Tāmralipti in 673 (Takakusu 1896:xxxi). The Pāla manuscript of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā depicts a statue of Lord Buddha at Kalaśa-vara-pura (Kalasan). The Rājaguru was higher than the King being the ecclesiastical head and as such the word Śailendra was prefixed to his designation.

The Mantyasih I (Kedu) charter of Śaka 829=AD 907 (side B, lines8-9) enumerates eight kings beginning with Sañjaya. King Sañjaya is followed by Śri Mahārāja Rakai Panaṅkaran who is not the Śailendra king of the Kalasan inscription (see below, section XIII).

VIII. KING JITENDRA

The introduction to the Amaramālā section (f.23b) of the Chandaḥkiraṇa praises king Jitendra of the Śailendra dynasty as one who inspired the translation of the Amaramālā into the local language. Krom (1924:203) dates it to the eighth century: hana sira ratu pinaka-cūḍāmaṇi deniṅ samanta jagatpālaka *suragaṇair iṣṭaḥ prajā-rakṣaṇe* inarĕmbha deniṅ vatĕk devatā rumakṣa prajā-maṇḍala. apayan *yoga-dhyāna-samādhi-karma-kuśalaḥ* sira vidagdha ri kagavayaniṅ yoga-dhyāna-samādhi. *vidyāvadāt-ottamaḥ* sira ta viśeṣa niṅ mahāpuruṣa śāstrajña niṣṭa niraṅ samaṅkana kottamanira ndan tah upaśama ta sira. *sādhujana-priyaḥ* anurāga ta sira ri sakveh saṅ sādhu-jana. *śatrūṇāṁ kulasyāntakaḥ* maṅkana sakveh nikaṅ śatru bāhyābhyantara yatika sampun inaristaknira. *śailendrānvaya-puṅgavaḥ* sira ta pinakatuṅgani śelendravaṁśa. *jayati ananta-vīraḥ śrīmahārajaḥ* samaṅkanātiśaya sira ta śrīmahārāja Jitendra. sājñānira sambah niṅhulun maṅalani majarakna mahāmaramālā prākṛta.

IX. KELURAK INSCRIPTION OF ŚAKA 704 = AD 782

This inscription (D44) is written in PreNagari as the royal preceptor was from Gauḍīdvīpa or Bengal. It records the installation of an image of Mañjughoṣa, and a kīrtistambha by King (*naravara*) Śri-Saṅgrāma-dhanañjaya. The first stanza of maṅgalācaraṇa hails four names:

Lokeśvara sugatapad-ākṣara
Bhadreśvara sugatapad-ākṣara
Viśveśvara sugatapad-ākṣara
– – śvara (perhaps Vāgīśvara) sugatapad-ākṣara

He has the status of a Sugata/Buddha, and is immutable/akṣara. The four īśvaras can be the epithets of Mañjughoṣa, but the possibility of their being his four manifestations cannot be ruled out. Bhadra-svar-eśvara-rāja Mañjughoṣa is illustrated in the Pantheon of 360 Icons just after the eight-armed Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara-Mañjughoṣa (Clark 1937:2.262 nos. 151, 152), among the thirteen forms of Mañjughoṣa/Mañjuśrī. The Viśveśvara of the inscription can be compared with Trailokya-vaśyādhikāra Mañjughoṣa (ib.263 no.154). The names Bhadreśvara and Viśveśvara are not found in Mallmann 1975, Edgerton, or in the Buddhist Sādhanamālās. Sarkar's note (1971:1.47n.24) tries to link the four names with Śiva or the Five Tathāgatas, but both the suggestions seem far-fetched.

The second stanza is difficult to interpret. The word *lokeśa* occurs thrice in the stanza and every time with a different denotation. Lokeśvara (ends *īśvara)* refers to Amitābha who is a Tathāgata and thus denotes a higher rank. Lokeśa (end *īśa)* refers to Bodhisattvas and has a lesser status. Īśvara and īśa are differentiated semantically. One who (*yaḥ)* dares to overwhelm Lokeśa (=Padmapāṇi Avalokitasvara) who bears Amitābha the lord of the worlds (Lokeśvara) on his forehead, he (=Mañjughoṣa) is the master of the world (lokeśa) illuminating all the regions, pay homage to that Master of the World (Lokeśa=Mañjughoṣa). Mañjughoṣa is the elocutor of vaipulya sutras of Mahāyāna and thereby he illumines the world. In the Lotus Sutra, it is he who understands and resolves the doubts of Maitreya Bodhisattva, of monks and nuns, of the laity, and of heavenly beings when the Buddha sheds so great a luminous ray repleting the world with splendour. Maitreya Bodhisattva questions the why of the universal radiation of a ray from the ūrṇā of Śākyamuni. It is Mañjuśrī who alone can and does explain (*The Threefold Lotus Sutra* p.34-35). Thus while both Mañjughoṣa and Padmapāṇi are Bodhisattvas, and Padmapāṇi has a Tathāgata on his forehead, yet it is Mañjughoṣa who is superior to Padmapāṇi in that he alone can resolve doubts about the saddharma which the Buddha preaches, namely, the new way of vaipulya-yāna. The prose order of the second stanza is:

Amitābham api lokeśvaraṁ mūrdhnā dhartuṁ lokeśaṁ (=padmapāṇiṁ) yo dharṣati/
sakala-digant-āvabhāsanā-lokeśaṁ taṁ Lokeśaṁ (=Mañjughoṣaṁ) praṇamata//

The earlier statue of Padmapāṇi at the Abhayagiri monastery of Siṁhala at Ratu Baka must have been a formidable complex. The new Guru from Bengal whom the King revered had to create a more imposing monument as well as sanctify a deity more potent than Padmapāṇi. The Abhayagiri monastery at Ratu Baka was a vaipulya monastery and so also was the new complex around Mañjughoṣa set up by the Guru from Gauḍīdvīpa who was himself a leading luminary of vaipulya scholarship. Without mentioning the other monastery by name, Kumāraghoṣa points out that Mañjughoṣa excels Padmapāṇī at Abhayagiri and is more powerful in illuminating the path to Enlightenment/Bodhi. For Bodhi the word *avabhāsanā* has been used on purpose: the vaipulya system was an evolution of light cults, it was phototropic, beginning with Amitābha 'Infinite Light' (see Lokesh Chandra, *Cultural Horizons of India* 3:1-139 for detailed history and analysis of vaipulya, phototropism, etc).

The third stanza is broken in the inscription and the visible words *bhayabhītam avacara(n)taṁ saugata-navaratnam* may be taken to refer to the nine jewels or eminent scholars of Abhayagiri who have panicked away (*avacarantam*) in fright (*bhayabhīta*), vanquished by Kumāraghoṣa (*mamāpi*). Inspite of being nine (nava-ratna), they lost against the single Kumāraghoṣa.

The fourth stanza is a series of epithets of the Śailendra king:

sāmanta-mantri-pati-satkṛta[1]*-satkrameṇa*
dikcakra-rāja-vijay-ārjita-vikrameṇa/
ra-vairī[2]*-vara-vīra*[2]*-vimardena*
nityam parārtha-karu[ṇā] ∪∪_meṇa//

[1] Sarkar: *saṁskṛta.*

[2] Sarkar: extremely doubtful readings. Stutterheim's hypothesis on the basis of these doubtful readings cannot be sustained. Moreover, Bosch, Mus and Sarkar (n.27) have refuted his hypothesis. Sarkar translates the first line as: "Through the excellent procedure that was devised by the feudatory chiefs, ministers and patis". It has to be translated afresh: "to celebrate the regards shown by feudatories, ministers, officials". The word *satkrama* means *satkriyā* 'celebration' as in *vivāha-satkriyā* 'the celebration of wedding' in Raghuvaṁśa. The King celebrated his victories and their consolidation, along with all concerned, from the highest down to the village officials, by inviting an eminent Guru from distant India.

The fifth stanza is supposed to contain the name of the Śailendra king: Indra. Casparis (1950:1.102-3) has discussed the views of Bosch, which have been followed by Majumdar (1936:1.151), Sarkar (1971:1.43), and Damais (1952:25). *Nāmnā* in

dharaṇīndranāmnā is not clear, which makes Indra as a name uncertain. The next stanza 6 contains the word Indra, after which the inscription is broken. It speaks of the Guru who is an ornament of vipras versed in the Vaipulya traditions: *Vaipulya-vipra-tilakena* corresponds to *Śailendra-vaṁśa-tilakena.* Sarkar (n.28) feels that the word *vipra* is "perhaps used here in the sense of a learned priest", to pun with vaipulya. The teacher was a brāhmaṇa (*vipra*) by caste and hence its specific mention. Just as the King was of noble descent by virtue of his dynasty (*vaṁśa*), likewise was the Guru born high as a brāhmaṇa (*vipra*). This becomes clear in the seventh stanza which points out that the head of the King was purified by the dust of the lotus feet of the Guru from Gauḍī-dvīpa. It is in apposition to the statement in the fifth stanza that the dust of the feet of the ornament of the Śailendra dynasty was saluted by feudatories, ministers and others with their heads. The two stanzas are cited in prose order with common elements denoted by superscript numbers:

King: *yasya kramāmbuja*[4]*-rajaḥ*[5] *pravara-ratna-saroruhādyaiḥ śirasā*[7] *praṇamya*[6] *sampūjyate [tena] mahodayena Śailendra*[1]*-vaṁśa*[2]*-tilakena*[3]

Guru: *Vaipulya*[1]*-vipra*[2]*-tilakena*[3] *Gauḍīdvīpa-guru-kramāmbuja*[4]*-rajaḥ*[5]*-pūt*[6]*-ottamāṅga*[7]*-ātmanā*

Sarkar (n.31) says that "Gauḍīdvīpa is a misnomer, because it is not an island". Here *dvīpa* denotes doab, a region between two (*dvi*) rivers (*āpaḥ*), a mesopotamian area watered by rivers on two sides.

The eighth stanza states that the image of Mañjuśrī was consecrated (*saṁsthāpita*) by the Rājaguru. It was radiant (*ujjvala*) by virtue of its efficaciousness (*prabhāva,* not pradava). It held a blue lotus, as Padmapāṇi held a lotus at the Abhayagiri-vihāra of Ratu Baka. He was an incomparable Sugata whose glory spread as an efficacious icon in bestowing the wishes of devotes. The purpose of the establishment of the image was the well-being of the people (*lok-ārtha*). He is called by various names:

Lokeśa (twice in st.2)
Sarvajña (st.8) general epithet
Mañjuśrī (st.8, 10, 13, 16)
Mañjughoṣa (st.9, 11)
Vajradhṛk (st.15) general epithet
Mañjuvāg (st.15)
Mañjurava (st.18) = Mañjuvāg.

The names Mañjughoṣa, Mañjuvāg and Mañjurava, refer here to a specific form of Mañjuśrī known as Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara Mañjughoṣa. He is the Supreme Being and all others are immanent in Him. He represents the glory of innumerable Sugatas (*apremaya-sugata-khyāta-kīrtti,* st.8), he is the protector of the world (*jagataḥ trātuḥ,*

st.10), the bestower of riches and glory (*vidhātuḥ śriyaḥ*, st.10). Mañjughoṣa is referred to as Vajradhṛk, that is Vajradhara, as he was a deity of the kabajradharan. Being Supreme, all the Devas are inherent in Him (*sarva-deva-mayaḥ*, st. 15), including Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara. Mañjughoṣa was inclusive of the Trinity and thus higher than them. Interiorisation has been an important upāya or expedient in the spread of Buddhism.

The words of the ninth stanza are illegible and do not yield even a broken text. *Setu* in the third quarter refers to *dharmasetu*, a word that recurs in stanzas 13 and 19. It means a 'religious foundation'. In the fourth quarter it mentions the *kīrtistambha* which is described in stanzas 13 and 14. The pillar was a joy to behold (*dṛṣṭa-rataḥ*). In stanza 14 it is called *dṛṣya-ratna* 'jewel of a sight'.

The translation of the tenth stanza by Sarkar is off the mark. He translates: "After putting in the glory of the world's protector and creator, whose movement is applauded by the three worlds, was this image (of Mañjuśrī) obtained by me through the kindness of the guru(?)" Three readings have to be corrected: *puṇyam bhaktitaḥ* for gurum bhaktitam, *mañjuśriyaḥ* for -śriyaṁ. The prose order will be: *trailoky-ārcita-saṁkramasya, jagataḥ trātuḥ, śriyaḥ vidhātuḥ mañjuśriyaḥ imāṁ pratimāṁ bhaktitaḥ kṛtvā mayā yad amitaṁ puṇyaṁ prāptam.* It means: the immense virtue (*puṇya*) that I have attained by having made (*kṛtvā*) out of pious devotion (*bhaktitaḥ*) this image of Mañjuśrī, whose feet are worshipped by the three worlds, who is the protector of the universe, the bestower of glory and riches.... Its apodosis is lost in the broken part. It refers to the King who had the image done (*kṛtvā*), that is, got it sculpted. To become a sacred icon of worship its consecration (*sthāpana*) had also to be performed.

The eleventh stanza says that this (*imāṁ)* image of Mañjughoṣa was duly sanctified (*sthāpitavān*) by Kumāraghoṣa in the Śaka year 704. The first part of his name reflects Mañjuśrī the eternal youth (*kumāra*bhūta) and the second part is from Mañju*ghoṣa*. He came from Gauḍī, a part of Bengal. He was a *Vaipulya-vipra-tilaka,* namely a brāhmaṇa (vipra) by caste and learned in the Vaipulya sutras, which is the same as Vetullavāda in SriLanka. Vaipulya is a generic term for the pre-tantric and tantric texts. The name of the Guru indicates his initiation (*abhiṣeka,* st.7) into Vāgīśvara Mañjughoṣa. Thus the consecration of the image got special sanctity as it was done by a brāhmaṇa who was so to say the veritable Divinity Himself. The King and his Guru performed their functions: the King got the statue sculpted and the Guru sanctified it.

In the seventh month, perhaps from the sanctification of the image, a kīrtistambha was erected (st.13). Kīrtistambha is the Tower of Victory, an Arc de Triomph. Two famous specimens are the Jain Kīrtistambha of the twelfth century and Kumbha Rana's Kīrtistambha of 1442-49 at Chittor, Mewar (Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia,* 1.268, 2 pl.

394a,b). The two have been described by Zimmer as follows: "The same, almost incredible, late style is again evident in the Jaina "pillar of fame" (kīrttistambha) at Chitor, in Mewar, Northern India (Plate 394b). Its shaft has been transformed into a slender, frail but rich many-storied building, enshrining *in its niches statues* of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, and with a pavilion at the top, which is open to all four sides. The pillar shown in Plate 394a — which is in the same city, and some eighty feet high — was built 1442 to 1449 AD, in *commemoration of a local victory.* The profile is one of *graceful exuberance,* suggesting utter safety: thus the *idea of victory has been expressed in a very gentle and winning way".* The Kīrtistambha of Mañjuśrī described in the Kelurak inscription must also have had delicacy of sculpting, so sensitively echoed in the phrase *dṛṣya-ratna* 'jewel of sight', which destroys all the six enemies (*arāti*) of dissonant emotions beginning with passion/*smara(smarārāti-nisūdana*, st.14). Like the Chittor pillars, it must have borne the 216 deities of the maṇḍala of Mañjuśrī. The Nepalese drawings of the 216 deities of the Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara maṇḍala can be seen in the *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology,* Osaka, no.7 by Yasuhiko Nagano and Musashi Tachikawa. The Tibetan representation is reproduced in RaghuVira and Lokesh Chandra, *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon,* vol.12, 13, no. 21, 40. The kīrtistambha celebrates and sanctifies a victory of the Śailendra monarch, for perpetuity (*akṣara* in st.1).

The thirteenth stanza has been translated by Majumdar (1936:1.152) as follows: "This pillar of glory, an excellent landmark of religion (*dharmasetu*), having the shape of an image of Mañjuśrī, is for the protection of all creatures". Sarkar (1971:1.45) repeats: "this peerless pillar of glory, an excellent bridge of religion, having the form of the image of Mañjuśrī, for the protection of all beings." Its rendering should be: "This peerless Pillar of Glory, the unrivalled (*anuttara*) religious foundation (*dharmasetu*), has been consecrated for the protection of all beings, with images of exquisite form". *Mañjuśrī-pratim-ākṛtiḥ* means "which is resplendent (*mañju*) with the grace (*śrī)* of the forms (*ākṛti*) of the images (*pratimā*)". The kīrtistambha was situated on the eastern side of the temple complex and was adorned in the most exqūisite manner. An instance of a charmingly sculpted Buddhist pillar is the 12th century stone pillar, 6.5 meters high without the podium, in Kunming, described in details by Albert Lutz (*Der Goldschatz der Drei Pagoden, Buddhistische Kunst des Nanzhao- und Dali-Königreichs in Yunnan, China*, Zürich 1991:56-60, with plates 38-45).

The fourteenth stanza in the translation of Sarkar: "Here, inside (this pillar of glory) are present Buddha, Dharmma and Saṁgha and (they) are to be seen in this beautiful Jewel (engaged) in destroying the enemy Smara." The correct rendering would be: Buddha, Dharma and Saṁgha should be seen (*draṣṭavya)* comprehended herein (*atra,* this stambha), a jewelline wonder (*dṛṣya-ratna*), that destroys (*nisūdana*) passion (*smara)*

and other enemies (*arāti*). The three enemies or poisons are frequent in Buddhist sutras, e.g. in the 24th chapter of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra on Avalokiteśvara (ed. Dutt p.290) or Tib. *dug gsum* (see Keith Dowman, *Masters of Mahāmudrā:* songs and histories of the eightyfour Siddhas, New York, State University of New York Press, 1985:426). The three poisons (Tib. *dug gsum)* are "the three primary dissonant emotions: attachment, hatred/aversion and delusion (as to the true nature of reality). Amongst the dissonant emotions these three are considered the most fundamental and deeply rooted in the minds of all ordinary sentient beings. Together with pride, mundane ambition or envy, and wrong views they constitute the category of mental factors known as 'the six root dissonant emotions'" (Coleman 1993:398). They are the six enemies or *ṣaḍ-ripu* of Old Javanese.

Sarkar (n.36) interprets: I consider that Smara and Arāti form a case in apposition. Cf. also Bosch, TBG.68.21 n.1.By Smara we have obviously to understand Māra of the Buddhist mythology". The inscription refers to the Triratna: Buddha, Dharma and Saṁgha, and in consonance with them the Pillar destroys the three sins. As we have said earlier, our Mañjuśrī complex supersedes its rival the Padmapāṇi sanctuary at Ratu Baka. Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara removes the three sins, as said in the Lotus Sutra; but in the case of Mañjuśrī it is the Kīrtistambha which stands at the entrance of his temple that destroys the three evils. Herein lies the superiority of Mañjuśrī over Padmapāṇi.

The fifteenth stanza in the translation of Sarkar runs: "He, the Wielder of Vajra, the auspicious one, is Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara; he is full of all gods and is praised as Mañjuvāk". To translate it again: "He the auspicious Vajradhara, he the Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, he the Lord *(svāmī)* comprehending all the devas or Hindu gods, is hymned as Mañjuvāk". Vajradhṛk refers to Mañjughoṣa in the Vajrayāna context, in his elaboration of the yoga-tantras, wherein his Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara maṇḍala comprises a surprisingly large number of 219 deities, including the four Tathāgatas, their consorts, four guardians of the gates, eight uṣṇīṣas, twelve bhūmis in the east, twelve pāramitās in the south, twelve vaśitās in the west, twelve dhāraṇīs in the north, four pratisaṁvits, sixteen bodhisattvas, ten krodha deities, eight dikpālas, fifteen Hindu gods beginning with Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, nine planets, eight kings each of nāgas, asuras, yakṣas, twentyeight nakṣatras, etc. (Niṣpannayogāvalī, introd. 60-66, text 54-65). The word *sarva-deva* is thus really significant, as an effort has been made to include all the Hindu deities. The word *deva* in the maṇḍala refers to Hindu deities.

Sarkar translates the sixteenth stanza as: "This Mañjuśrī (-image) is present here to protect his own region (and also) to preserve carefully (?) the properties of others, (thus) increasing the welfare and prosperity of both (?)". The prose order will be: *ayaṁ Mañjuśrīs tasya pravarasya deśasya parāṁ rakṣāṁ kurvan atrāste* "this Mañjuśrī is here

providing protection to this excellent region (*deśa)*", so that this temenos endures for long.

Sarkar translates the nineteenth stanza as: "I request all future kings with excellent conduct befitting their character.... that by you this (incomparable and) auspicious bridge of religion (in the form of) Bhṛtkumāra (Mañjuśrī) be protected." It is the usual entreaty to all future kings to maintain (*paripālanīyaḥ)* this religious foundation (*dharmasetu*) which is the incomparable Kumāra (=Mañjughoṣa) who holds (*bhṛt)* a ... (word broken). The Bhṛtkumāra of Sarkar has to be corrected.

Sarkar translates the twentieth stanza as: "The illustrious Saṅgrāmadhanañjaya, the great king who has obtained a preceptor through ordination....this construction is his...." It may be altered to: "It is the construction of Śri-Saṅgrāma-dhanañjaya, the noble person (*naravara*) who has found the Guru by his saṁskāra" or noble deeds performed in prior incarnations. The last sentence unambiguously attributes the construction to Saṅgrāma-dhanañjaya, who is undoubtedly the King. Casparis (1950:1.102) discusses the views of Bosch regarding the name of the King. The supposed name Indra in st.5 is not clear in the stampage of the inscription.

Pott (1966:120) says: "that an image of Mañjuśrī was erected by a prince Indra (varman) of the Śailendra dynasty, with the rather obscure information that the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha are concealed in it. The representatives of this triratna together form the Garbhadhātu". Garbhadhātu is a late Japanese term coined on the analogy of Vajradhātu. It cannot be used outside the context of Japanese Mantrayāna. It refers to the Maṇḍala of Vairocana in the Mahāvairocan-ābhisambodhi-sūtra. Garbhadhātu has nothing to do with Mañjughoṣa. Mañjughoṣa is Dharmadhātu.

X. CANDI SEVU AND BOROBUDUR

The Śailendras had regular contacts with Indian seaports. Chinese pilgrims sailed in the reverse direction from Śrīvijaya to Java, to embark for India, because Java had more regular sailings to India than Śrīvijaya. A fragment of an inscription from the ruins of Candi Sevu bears the word: *tiruranu.* It is Tamil: *tiru* = śrī, and *rāṇuvam* 'army'. It may refer to King Samaratuṅga who reigned 812-832 (Casparis 1950:1.201).

The word Bara-*budur* is the Tamil *pudur* 'new settlement or town' (Lokesh Chandra 1980:14), and Bara is vihāra (vahāra>vaāra>vara>bara). The Borobudur is in the village Bumisegoro (Skt.sāgarabhūmi) which alludes to it as the settlement of people beyond the seas, i.e., India. A lead-bronze inscription discovered on the plain west of the Borobudur refers to a locus on a hill of the southern region (*dakṣiṇāpathasya parvvatasthale,* Boechari, Preliminary report on some archaeological finds around the Barabudur temple, cyclostyled paper 1976). In Sanskrit Dakṣiṇāpatha=South India. The

central image of the Buddhist vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭinam was made of solid gold. The Vaiṣṇava saint Alvar Tiru-mangai wanted to renovate the Ranganatha temple of Srirangam. He hit upon the idea of robbing the Buddhist vihara at Nāgapaṭṭinam of its Buddha image of solid gold. In this project, an old Vaiṣṇava lady residing at Nagapattinam informed him: "The sthapati who made this golden image and the vimāna under which it is enshrined lives at present in Dvīpāntara." This statement was enough to send Tiru-mangai to Dvīpāntara where he had no great difficulty in identifying the house of the celebrated artist and architect and getting him, by a ruse, to surrender the secret of the construction of the vimāna, which enabled the Alvar to enter the temple stealthily and remove the golden image according to plan (Ramachandran 1954:15). The word paṭṭinam itself denotes a settlement of sambaras, i.e., those who paid allegiance to Buddhist monks and were rich maritime merchants. The aforesaid event attests flourishing communications between India and Java in the eighth century. It is likely that the sthapati participated in or supervised the planning of the Borobudur.

XI. INSCRIPTION OF ŚRĪ KAHULUNNAN OF ŚAKA 764=AD 842

This inscription has no proper name nor does it refer to the Śailendras. It has been associated with the Borobudur by Casparis on the basis of place names mentioned as villages attached to the *kamūlan i bhumi sambhăra* (Casparis 1.86). The meaning of *kamūlan* is 'temple', and it does not refer to a building symbolising the origin of a royal dynasty. *Bhumi sambhara* means 'a town of sambhara, or rich Buddhist merchants' (for details see Lokesh Chandra 1980:20). The use of *ca* instead of *śa* in the first line of the inscription in *canaiścaravāra* betrays a common Tamil phenomenon, where *śani* is *cani.*

There were several Buddhist foundations in the area around Borobudur, and we cannot be sure of the temenos referred to in this inscription.

Śrī Kahulunnan has been rendered as 'Her Majesty the Queen' by Casparis (1950:1.91, 83-86). Zoetmulder (*Old Javanese-English Dictionary* 1.650) finds the meaning problematic. In the Udyogaparva 120.25 Yudhiṣṭhira speaking to Kṛṣṇa refers to Kunti as *Śrī Kahulunan.* Śrī Kahulunnan (also spelt -nan), though a personage of royal family judging by the title Śrī, is not a sovereign (Damais 1952:29 n.6). Casparis (1950:1.83-86) gives a detailed excursus on the word. Śrī is a technical term to denote the ruling family. *Hulu* means 'head of, chief of' (Zoetmulder). The two together connote the seniormost living member of the royalty, the Queen Mother, as its head, after the passing away of the father of the King. To this day a Rajamata plays an important role in the affairs of her former state.

XII. INSCRIPTION OF KARAṄTĔÑAH OF ŚAKA 746=AD 824

1913 Brandes, 0J0.5 (Śaka 769=AD 847)
1913 Juynboll, 0J0.233 (Śaka 710 =AD 788)
1930 Goris TBG.70.100 n.5 (Śaka 710=AD 788)
1950 Casparis 1.38-41, 105-07 (Śaka 746=AD 824)
1952 Damais, BEFEO.46.27 n.6 (Śaka 7[4]6=AD 824)
1971 Sarkar 1.64f (follows Casparis)
Script: agrees with the Borobudur script (Casparis 1950:1.203)

The first stanza of maṅgalācaraṇa refers to *uttuṅga-śailastha-śūro,* who is the central deity of the Sumeru-like temple complex. In the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī all the maṇḍalas are on a kūṭāgāra atop the Sumeru mountain, as per the norm in Vajrayāna. The Śailendras followed Vajrayāna and hence the *śūra* or main deity must have been in a temple on a high hill or on an artificially created hillock, as of the Borobudur. The deity is seated in the vajraparyaṅka posture (*mahāvajraparyaṅka-baddhaḥ*). Sarkar (1.73 n.15) has misunderstood: "The use of the word vajrāsana, leaves the stamp of Mahayana Buddhism, it states further that this vajrāsana is *uttuṅga-śailastha* i.e. located on a lofty hill. The phrase lofty hill is obviously a synonym for Śailendra. The *uttuṅga-śaila* i.e. Śailendra therefore supported the vajrāsana". The word *uttuṅga-śaila* is *not* a synonym of Śailendra.

The expression *atula* in the second stanza alludes to the tradition of Vaipulya or more correctly *Vaitulya* (from vi-tula 'incomparable'). The third quarter has *akhila-bhava-vyādhi-bhaiṣajyam agram* 'prime medicine for all the ills of saṁsāra'. This compound has a bearing on the interpretation of *ghananātha* in st.11. The fourth line should read: *saddharmaṁ yuktacittaḥ* (not yukti) *praṇamati.* Sarkar translates: "the right thinking (*yukti*) people pay homage." The context indicates that the King "pays homage to the noble Dharma with a devoted (*yukta)* mind".

The third stanza speaks of "the world overwhelmed by endless suffering of hundreds of births", and his devotion (*bhakti).* The third quarter is uncertain and deserves to be re-read. Sarkar says the king "equal on earth to Yama (in justice)" (*rājā tale daṇḍadhara-tula).* He is the source of the two sambḥāras (jñāna-s. and puṇya-s.) that lead to Enlightenment and Nirvāṇa.

Sarkar translates the fourth stanza as: "By all the exalted Sugatas together with their sons....the queller of enemies...(bearing) young (love) for all troubled creatures, and supreme love for the doings of Buddha." It has to be corrected to: All the glorious Sugatas, with their acolytes, who have vanquished their enemies....[broken] compassion towards grieved beings and steadfast faith in the ways of Buddhas" (*karuṇām atha duḥkhiteṣu sattveṣu, vuddha-cariteṣu garīyasīñ ca śraddhām).*

The fifth stanza in Sarkar is: "He rendered devotion....surpassed the multitude of virtues, he obtained his greatness from the hiding rulers of men, (an ornament of the) Śailendra dynasty". The general tenor is that he surpassed the multitude (*gaṇa*) of highly (*agra*) virtuous people (*guṇavad*), and attained an eminence from the multitude of other advanced (*virūḍha*) kings. *vigūḍha* 'hidden, concealed' can be changed to *virūḍha* 'ascended, matured, advanced'. *gaṇāt* (ablative) 'from the multitude'. *mahiṣya* from *mahiṣa* 'great, powerful, buffalo', like *puṅgava (puṁ* ' man', *gava* 'bull') 'a hero, eminent person, chief', *go*-tama (*go* 'cow' with the superlative suffix *tama)* or its derivative patronymic *gau-tama.*

The eighth stanza says that King Samaratuṅga, the great support (*ādhāro mahīyān*), had a very darling daughter who constructed a jinālaya in this village. Sarkar (n.16) changes the name of the King to Samarottuṅga, for no reason. She was endowed with the qualities (*guṇa*) and virtues (*śīla*) of the King, yet not without feminine grace, compassionate, unattached [to worldly ways], was devoted to higher pursuits (st. 9). She, known as Prāmodavardhanī steals loveliness from the moon, gait from the swan, voice from the kalaviṅka (st. 10).

The eleventh stanza is the most important in the entire inscription. It has been misunderstood and a lot of interpretation has been imagined on wrong premises. Sarkar translates "In the Śaka year passing with the (six) savours, four seas and seven mountains (i.e. in the year 746), in the month of Jyaiṣṭha (or Āṣāḍha), on the last day of the dark fortnight, on the day tuṅlai, umanis, on thursday, he installed in a temple, according to the purāṇas, (the image of) the illustrious Ghananātha (the lord of clouds i.e. Indra) with others worthy of worship". The stanza is in pure kāvya style at its Classical perfection with phrases like *aindryām yāntyām, ārya-sahitam* and *prātiṣṭhipat.* Aindrī is the name of the lunar mansion Jyeṣṭhā in Varāhamihira's Bṛhat-saṁhitā (MW). *Aindryāṁ yāntyām* means "during the Jyeṣṭhā mansion'. *Sa (*so Casparis) has to be read *sā,* that is Prāmodavardhanī. *śucau* is supplied and we should not base any interpretation on it. *Kāṣṭhā* with a verb expresses excellence or superiority, Pāṇini 8.1.67-68 (MW): so the best date (*tithi*) was chosen for the consecration of the two statues. This date had to be specially auspicious, and needs to be verified for its astrological significance. The phrase *purāṇād gu[rau]-pte. pte* is *prāpte.* Instead of *purāṇād,* we expect the name of a place. For sanctity Gurus were invited from India, e.g. from Gauḍīdvīpa, or Gurjara. *gurau prāpte* 'when the Guru had arrived' from....in India.

Śrī Ghananātha has been equated with Indra. The word is not found in the dictionaries of MW, Edgerton, and Zoetmulder. It is not given as a synonym of Indra in the Amarakośa. Yet, Casparis (1950:139) suggests that Ghananātha=Indra, who is the Śailendra King Indra in the Kelurak inscription. According to him (p.204) Indra died

around AD 812, and the present inscription refers to his deification. The reading of the Kelurak inscription where the word Indra occurs is not certain, and Casparis himself has proposed *dharaṇiṁdhareṇa* instead of *dharaṇindranāmnā*. Casparis, at times, leans heavily on dubious readings, emendations, or on synonymy. The compound *ārya-sahitam* has been rendered as 'and others worthy of worship' (Sarkar following Casparis 1.46). It holds the key to the meaning of this stanza in śārdūlavikrīḍita, the most elaborate metre in the inscription. It has a bearing on the intent of the inscription as a whole. *Ārya* here means 'father-in-law'. In Sanskrit dramas, a wife designates her husband as *ārya-putra* 'son of the noble/father-in-law'. Ghananātha refers to her lord (*nātha*) or husband who has gone to the clouds, skies or heaven. Departed persons are spoken of in the Copper-plates of Mantyasih I as 'rushing through the *ākāśa-patha* or ways of the firmament' (*laṇḍapnyān pakaśapatha* in line 7, *laṇḍapan yān pakaśapatha* in line 9). The day of this inscription is the 11th date of the dark half of the caitra month, tuṅlai, umanis, saturday, the lunar mansion pūrvabhadrapadā, the deity ajapada, and conjunction of Indra (*caitra māsa, tithi ekādaśi, kṛṣṇa-pakṣa, tu.u., śa.vāra, pūrva-bhadravada nakṣatra, ajapada devatā, indra yoga).* The indra yoga in both the inscriptions calls for a study of its auspiciousness and ritual context. Princess Prāmodavardhanī had the portrait statues of her husband and his father consecrated by a Guru who had specially come from..., most probably from India. The sombre and solemn tone of the event is evident from an epithet of the main deity who is the prime panacea for all the ills of saṁsāra (*akhila-bhava-vyādhi-bhaiṣajyam agram,* st.2). He is supreme compassion (*kāruṇyam agram*) in this world afflicted by the infinite sufferings of hundreds of births (*jagati gati-śat-ānantaduḥkha-abhibhūte,* st.3). He bestows his compassion on afflicted beings (*karuṇām atha duḥkhiteṣu sattveṣu,* st.4). The king was a great support (*ādhāro mahīyān,* st.8) for his dear daughter. The daughter was full of compassion (*karuṇātmikā*) and engaged in bhakti (st.9). The Princess was overwhelmed by the grief of the demise of her husband, became attached to Dharma, and sought solace by erecting a stūpa, a temple and a monastery as an entreaty to the Supreme Buddha for his grace and compassion. Even her father, King Samaratuṅga, who had vanquished so many kings, had to console himself by being pure in mind, by discrimination, and by accepting the inevitable, inscrutable saṁsāra (*bhava-toṣa-vivikta-cittaḥ,* st.7).

The princess constructed (i) a jinālaya stūpa, (ii) a temple, and (iii) a monastery *in memoriam.* She had a jinālaya constructed in the village, perhaps where her husband was born. In Nepal, jinālaya is a special type of stupa, with four Buddhas in the four directions, e.g. the Kvathu Bahal has the Śrī Dharmadhātu jinālaya caitya (illustrated in Hemaraj Sakya, *Caityayā thaḥgu Ātmakathā,* 1993:83 pl.24). The Jinas could also be in niches (*ālaya,* from which is derived the Hindi word *ālā* for niche). For a full-scale

memorial temple, a Guru had been invited from India, and in the interval she had such a temple (*mandira)* built, and the portrait images were sanctified in it on the arrival of the Guru. Thereafter other structures were constructed with lofty spires towering into the skies, like the peaks of mountains, and hence veritable mountains (*bhūbhṛt*) themselves. The word *bhūbhṛt* means both king and mountain. Casparis and Sarkar take it as a king, but a king is not intended here. In the first stanza the central deity of the main temple is termed *uttuṅga-śaila-stha-śūro* 'the Hero on the high mountain'. The peripheral temples of the Candi Loro Joṅgraṅ are supposed to correspond to the cakravāla mountains, and the eight temples in the inner court to the eight pinnacles of the Mānasa mountain. This popular conception has been cited here to show that the spires of temples were considered cosmological mountains. A word about *vedim udeti.* The spires of the temple arise from an elevated platform or *vedi.* The square base, and accentuated niches can be seen all over Java e.g. in Candi Puntadeva on the Dieng Plateau (Kempers 1959:pl.26,27). The Cambodian Phimean-akas (=ākāśa-vimāna) built in the last quarter of the tenth century has a very high base, and a tower covered with gold once stood at its top. Such a splendid structure, towering like a mountain, a splendour to behold (*manojña*) was inhabited both by aged monks (*vṛddhaiḥ*) steeped in wisdom, as well as by young monks (*taruṇaiḥ)* of noble deeds (*sukṛtya* instead of *sakṛtya). Kṛtya* or Pali *kicca* means 'duty, obligation, service, ceremony, performance'. The young monks performed incumbent duties, services and rites. The Princess venerated her father-in-law by providing for the old monks and paid due deference to her husband by making arrangements for young monks to carry on the monastic duties.

The prose order of the twelfth stanza is:

rāhor bhiyā dharitryāṁ sapadi sampatitaṁ
tac ca indubimba-śakala-pratimaṁ vibhāti/
atha tasy ānupūrvaṁ vṛddhais sukṛtya-taruṇair
uṣitaṁ manojñam bhūbhṛt vediṁ udeti.

The first half refers to the image of her late husband (Ghananātha) that shines like the moon by its life-like resemblance to his handsome appearance. The temple arises on a raised base in regular succession like the mountain ranges, in all magnificence, and vibrant with life, both young and old, filling it with noble deeds.

The thirteenth stanza has been translated by Sarkar as: "With the merit that he acquired by building the temple of Jina which is given the name beautiful Veṇuvana (bamboo-forest), may he (the king) attain Sugatahood ten-fold (?)". The sacred complex was named Veṇuvana, after the first *ārāma* bestowed on the Buddha by Bimbisāra. Buddha stayed here when he first visited Rājagṛha and it was during this stay that Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana joined the order. It was a very peaceful place. Various

sutras were preached here. The Princess must have given this name out of deep piety and glorious hopes. She says: whatever merit I have acquired by constructing this glorious temple of Jinas named Veṇuvana thereby may the world (*jagat* for daśad) attain Sugata-pada (Buddhahood), which is extremely difficult to obtain, supermost, and beyond perception. I have (*mayā*) provided (*yuktam*) for the monks (*Tatsuta*= Jinasuta) so that the world can attain (*labheya)* Buddhahood immediately. The construction of the Jinālaya caitya and the temple for statues is puṇya-sambhāra. It can be complete only by the spread of knowledge through the academic activities of monks in a monastery. This is jñāna-sambhāra. Enlightenment is possible only by the two sambhāra. The Princess provided both, and she explicitly states that she had arranged the monstery for Buddhist monks who could teach sentient beings so that they attain Buddhahood (*saugatam padam*) in the shortest time (*tūrṇam eva*). The Sanskrit portion ends with the vihāra being termed the aggregation of the virtues of the Sugata (*sugata-guṇa-gaṇaḥ*).

Three important historical hypotheses have been derived from this inscription by Casparis:

Ghananātha = Indra (Casparis 1.139-140, Sarkar 1.74 n.19)
Samaratuṅga = Samarāgravīra (Casparis 1.187, Sarkar 1.74 n.16)
Bālaputradeva is the 'younger' son of Samaratuṅga (Casparis 1.133, Sarkar 1.74 n.17)

As elucidated above, Ghananātha does not refer to Indra, and no conclusions can be drawn. *Bhūbhṛt* is not 'king', but mountain. The structure created by Casparis around Indra needs to be changed.

Sarkar says that King Samaratuṅga "has sometimes been identified with Samarāgravīra, the son of the king of Yavabhūmi referred to in the Nalanda charter" (1.74 n.16). In the Nalanda charter the Śailendra King of Java is named Vīra-vairi-mathana, whose son was Samarāgravīra who had a son named Bālaputradeva from Queen Tārā the daughter of Varmasetu (not Dharmasetu).

XII. NALANDA COPPERPLATE OF DEVAPĀLA, 39TH REGNAL YEAR

1923-24 Hirananda Sastri, The Nalanda Copperplate of Devapāladeva, EI.17.310-26.
1925 Bosch,TBG.65.509-88.
1942 Hirananda Sastri 1942:92-102.

The Nalanda Copperplate give the following information about the kings of Java. The great king of Yavabhūmi, named Vīra-vairi-mathana was an ornament of the Śailendra dynasty. He had a valiant son Samarāgravīra. The queen of Samarāgravīra was Tārā, the daughter of Śrī Varmasetu a king of the Lunar Dynasty. Their son Śrī-Bālaputra-deva had a monastery constructed in Nalanda. The relevant portions of the

original inscription are:

lines 37-38 *Suva[rṇṇa]-dvīp-ādhipa-ma[hā]rāja-śrī-Vā(Bā)laputra-devena dūtaka-mukhena vayaṁ vijñāpitāḥ yathā mayā śrī-Nālandāyāṁ vihāraḥ kāritas*

lines 52-53 *Śailendra-vaṁśa-tilako Yava-bhūmipālaḥ śrī-Vīra-vairimathan-ānugat-ābhidhānaḥ*

lines 55-56 *tasy-ābhavat... ...sūnur... Samarāgravīraḥ*

line 59 *rājñaḥ soma-kul-ānvayasya mahataḥ śrī-Varmasetoḥ sutā tasy-ābhūd avanibhujo 'gramahiṣī Tār-eva Tār-āhvayā*

lines 60-61 *tasyān tasya...śrī-Vālaputro 'bhavat*

The word Suvarṇadvīpa has been understood specifically as Sumatra and Bālaputra has been taken to be the king of Sumatra. In the Kathā-sarit-sāgara the capital of Suvarṇadvīpa was Kalaśapura, which can be identified with Kalasan, as demonstrated earlier. Thus Suvarṇadvīpa would be Java in this inscription. Alberuni (c.AD 1030) says that "the eastern islands in this ocean are the islands of Zābaj called by the Hindus Suvarṇadvīpa..." (Sachau 1.210, 2.106). Wolters (1967:63) opines that after Vespasian cut off supplies of Roman bullion to India a search for gold became an important motive for the Indian explorations in Southeast Asia. Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa are general expressions for wealthy regions.

The date of the Nalanda inscription is the 39th regnal year of Devapāla. The years of his reign have been computed by different scholars as follows:

	regnal years	39th year
R.C. Majumdar	810-849	849
D.C. Bhattacharyya	800-839	839
R.D. Banerji	809-849	848
A.M. Chowdhury	821-861	860
B.P. Sinha	820-860	859
D.C. Sircar	812-850	851

(Susan L. Huntington, *The 'Pala-Sena' Schools of Sculpture*, Leiden 1984:32-38,also see Casparis 1956:2.297)

Brandes (0J0.IV) read Samarottuṅga and this is impossible paleographically (Damais 1952:27). So the name in earlier works has to be corrected to Samaratuṅga, read by Casparis and confirmed by Damais from its estampage 113 at Jakarta and its photograph at Leiden. Krom has identified Samarāgravīra with Samaratuṅga of the Karaṅtĕṅah Inscription and Casparis (1950:1.110) says that Bālaputra was reigning in Sumatra. Sarkar (1971:1.74 n.17) points out: "De Casparis has postulated (op.cit.,p.133) that Samarottuṅga had one daughter called Prāmodavarddhanī, as stated in the present record, and one son called Bālaputradeva, who has been mentiond in the Nalanda charter.

This, of course, depends upon the identity of Samarottuṅga with Samarāgravīra. In case they are identical, Prāmodavarddhanī would appear to be the eldest issue of the king and Bālaputradeva (the Hon. young prince) her younger brother, possibly through a junior queen". Bālaputra 'young prince' does not mean 'the younger brother of...' The idea expressed by *bāla* is a handsome, young person, e.g. in the name of Kaniṣka (the youngest), or Nana Phadnavis (*nānā*=Hindi *nanhā* 'the small one'), a term of tender endearment. Putra means a 'prince', and to it we can compare the very common Balinese name Oka 'child'. The name Bālaputra has nothing to do with his being the second or youngest child of his parents.

It has been taken for granted, and that too beyond doubt, that Bālaputra was the king in Sumatra. Casparis 2.258, who has built up an elaborate concatenation of historic events on this basis, confesses that "one important detail is left unexplained, viz. the problem why and how a son of the Javanese Śailendra king Samaratuṅga could become a king in Sumatra; we know, however, that this happened". This interpretation is due to the equation Suvarṇadvīpa = Sumatra. How did Bālaputra go to Sumatra? The seventh stanza of the OJ. metrical inscription of 856 mentions Bālaputra at the end. Casparis 2.293 connects stray elements, arisen out of doubtful readings, into a connected narrative:

7a : He was a Śaiva in contrast to the queen, the spouse of the hero
7b : exactly a year was the time of the ...
7c : stones (heaped up) by hundreds...(place of) refuge
7d : killings as fast as (?) the wind [he attacked] Bālaputra.

Casparis projects the dubious as historic events: "By combining the above interpretations it may be concluded that Bālaputra, presumably after a defeat in the open country, retired to a place (this seems to be implied in *uṅsyan)* which could be transformed into a stronghold by means of defence works built up with hundreds of stones. However, before having succeeded in establishing an almost unconquerable position he was attacked and defeated by Kumbhayoni, who was as swift as the wind and wiped him off from there. Presumably, Bālaputra was not killed in battle, but being chased from his strong positions he managed to escape to Sumatra, where he became a king of Śrivijaya in a manner still completely unknown".

The translation of the first quarter of the stanza needs to be emended to: He was Maheśvara and the consort *(patnī)* of this hero *(śūra)* was Īśvarī. The royal couple were the veritable divine couple of Umā-Maheśvara. *Vatunn* has been translated as *vatu* 'stone, rock' by Casparis. *Vatun* means 'to weed out'. The reading *uṅsyan* "is not beyond doubt" in the words of Casparis himself (2.312 n.7). The word *uṅsyan* meaning '(place of) refuge' is crucial to the hypothesis that Bālaputra had retired to a place that could become a stronghold of defence.The word *uṅsyan* itself is uncertain, a weakhold, how can we

make it a stronghold of an argument. We cannot rule out the possibility that both the King and Queen, supervised for a long year, hundreds of persons who weeded out or cleared the site on the mountain for a Śiva temple, which was an extensive complex sprawling over a vast area.

The fourth quarter is again not apparent. *Avali mvaṅ* '(on a) level with, as fast as'. *Avali=avaluy* is 'to come back, return' (Zoetmulder). A tentative interpretation can be: finally (*hanta=anta)* they returned with Bālaputra. The mother of Bālaputra was the daughter of Varmasetu of the great Lunar Dynasty (*soma-kul-ānvayasya mahataḥ*), like Tārā and her name too was Tārā. The Nalanda inscription compares Bālaputra to Skanda the son of Śiva and Umā (*Skando...Śambhor Umāyām iva*). There are other Śaiva comparisons too in the Nalanda inscription which point to reverent respect for Lord Śiva in the mind of Bālaputra. The thesis of Casparis posits a conflict between the Śivaites and Buddhists which is not borne out, and on the contrary refuted by the Nalanda charter. Even the Śaiva inscription of the Ratubaka plateau and the OJ metrical inscription dated AD 856 (nos.X and XI is Casparis 2) seem to indicate amicable relations between Kumbhayoni and Bālaputra. The third Sanskrit inscription from Ratubaka regarding the setting up of a Haraliṅga by Kalaśodbhava, that is Kumbhayoni Rakai Valaiṅ, clearly says that the King was born in the Lunar Dynasty (*himakāntiḥ...tadanvayāt prasuto 'yam vara-śāstra-kalānvitaḥ rarāja manuja-śreṣṭhaḥ kalaśodbhava-saṁjñitaḥ,* Casparis 2.277). The mother of Bālaputra should have come from *this* Lunar Dynasty and hence cordial ties between the two royal houses. The Ratubaka plateau was the counterpart of Srisailam in India which was a major centre of Mahayana as well as had the Mallikārjuna Jyotirliṅga, one of the Twelve Jyotirliṅgas of the Śaivas. The setting up of a Śivaliṅga at a Śaiva sanctuary, alongside the sprawling Abhayagiri-vihāra at Ratubaka, was in tune with the Javanese spirit of syncretism as well as in keeping with the traditions of Srisailam, whence the Śailendras should have originated. Śrīparvata, a centre of Buddhist learning, is today the Buddhist site of Nagarjunakonda with ruins of stupas and monasteries. The Sātavāhana King had a monastery constructed on Śrīparvata for Nāgārjuna in the first century. After the Sātavāhanas, the Ikṣvāku kings changed the capital from Amaravati to Nagarjunikonda under the name Vijayapura (or -purī). It is described in the chapter on pilgrimage in the Vanaparva 85.11 of the Mahābhārata. The Epic says that those who go to Śrīparvata and offer worship to Śaṅkara get the same reward as from an aśvamedha sacrifice. In keeping with the Epic tradition, King Kumbhaja/Kumbhayoni, the Victor of Valaiṅga, paid obeisance to Lord Śaṅkara by the consecration of a Liṅga.

Tārā the mother of Bālaputra and his father Samarāgravīra are compared to divine couples: Paulomī and Surādhipa (=Indra), Prīti and Saṅkalpayoni (=Kāmadeva), Śailasutā (=Pārvatī) and Manmatharipu (=Śiva), Lakṣmī and Murāri (=Viṣṇu). King Bālaputra

himself is likened to:

Kāmadevavijayī (=Buddha), the son of Śuddhodana

Skanda, the son of Śambhu from Umā.

The comparison of his parents with Śailasutā (=Pārvatī) and Śiva, and of himself as their son Skanda is a clear indication of the explicit reverence of King Bālaputra towards Śaivism, and that too from his own inscription.

The family of the mother of Bālaputra is called Somakulānvaya in the Nalanda inscription. The Sanskrit Inscription from Ratubaka Xc says that Kumbhayoni was born in the Lunar Dynasty (*himakāntiḥ tadanvayāt prasutaḥ).* So the two major dynasties in Java were the Śailendra-vaṁśa and Soma-kula. If would be better to replace the word Śañjaya-vaṁśa by Soma-kula. King Kumbhayoni of the Soma-kula emphasises the divine origin of his dynasty, which originated from the Moon that had descended from the immaculate sky.

The stabilisation of the power of Soma-kula was ensured by homage to the lotus feet of Lord Hara(=Śiva), which radiate royal splendour. As pointed out by Casparis there is no term on which the accusatives depend. The *namaḥ* of the first stanza has been imagined to fill the lacuna.

The second stanza reads:

Daśavadana-Bāṇa-Pārtha-pramukha-madhukara-ātul-abhinandakarīm/

Hara-pada-paṅkaja-rakaḥ-kaṇik-āvodan-mahallakṣmīm//

Casparis (1956:2.278) has translated it as:

"(Pay homage to) the Great Lakṣmī, who gives unequalled pleasure to (the heroes) with the ten-headed (Rāvaṇa), Bāṇa and Arjuna, (adoring her lotus feet like) honey-making (bees), at their head, and from Whose body the granules of pollen of the lotus feet of Hara trickle down like drops of water (do from the body of those who have just taken a bath)".

It would be better to translate it as follows:

"[Glory] to the great (*mahal*) resplendence (*lakṣmī)* that is radiated (*avodan)* by the dust (pollen) of the lotus-feet of Hara (=Śiva), that has given unequalled joy to Daśavadana (=Rāvaṇa), Bāṇa, Pārtha (=Arjuna) and others (*pramukh=ādi*) who like bees resort to the lotus-feet of her Lord." As the bees (*madhukara)* [resort to the lotus-feet of the Lord]." As the bees (*madhukara)* resort to the lotus trickling (*avodan)* with honey (*madhu),* so have the prominent heroes of the past resorted to the feet of Lord Śiva to seek ever-increasing royal splendour. The translation "Great Lakṣmī" by Casparis is not possible as Lakṣmī the goddess is never associated with Śiva. Here it refers only to royal style and splendour, to the good fortune and glory of a sovereign (rājyalakṣmī in Sanskrit), which is sustained by devotion. In the inscription, the divine origin of the Lunar

dynasty is from the Moon that rests in the matted locks of Śiva, and the stabilisation of power is assured by constant devotion to his lotus-feet. Both the regimens of power, its *utpatti* and *sthiti,* are the grace of Lord Śiva. In popular Indian parlance, it is a *nakha-śikha* approach, from top to toe, that is the whole being of Lord Śiva hallows the fortunes of the King. The moon on His topknot and the radiance of His toe-nails bestow their grace on the King, as he bows in reverence and his hair black like the bees touch the lotus feet the Lord.

Royal dignity has been expressed by the following words in the three inscriptions:

Xa. atha Kṛttivāsaso vara-caraṇāṅgulis sadā...maṇi-kānti-śobhinīṁ purārcitāṁ *śriyaṁ* vo dadātu.

Xb. tryambakasya caraṇa-yuga-vidheya-śrīmatiṁ śūra-*lakṣmīm* āśrayadhvam

Xc. Hara-pada-paṅkaja-rajaḥ-kaṇik-āvodan *mahal-lakṣmīṁ*

Casparis has translated *śriyam* 'prosperity [or: the royal dignity]' in Xa, *śūra-lakṣmī* 'Heric Lakṣmī' in Xb, and *mahal-lakṣmī* 'Great Lakṣmī' in Xc. He has taken Lakṣmī as the Goddess, who is the consort of Viṣṇu. In all the three inscriptions it is royal power, prosperity and dignity. This changes the translations of the inscriptions (which we shall take up later). For instance:

vikaca-kamala-bhāsvat-tantra-mālā-sarūpāṁ
yama-yata-yati-candr-aiśvarya-mūrtt-īṣṭa-dātrīm/
caraṇa-yuga-nidheya-śrīmatīṁ śūra-lakṣmīṁ
tribhuvana-hita-dātuḥ Tryambakasy āśrayadhvam//2//

Casparis (2.275) translates it: "Taketh thou refuge with the Heroic Lakṣmī, whose beauty is equal to the garlands of .....(?) brilliant with fully open red lotuses, who grants the wishes of Him whose appearance is (marked) by the domination of the moon of the ascetics subdued by Yama, and who bears Majesty necessarily hidden in the juncture of her legs, ---(the Heroic Lakṣmī) of the Three-Eyed (Śiva), who grants welfare to the three worlds."

It should be translated: "Take refuge in the splendour (*lakṣmī*) of the valiant (*śūra*), which is radiant like the pencil (*mālā)* of rays (*aṁśu* for tantra) shining forth from blossomed lotuses (i.e. lotus-feet of Śiva), which are the givers of all wishes embodied as sovereignty emerging from the Moon (on the head of) the Yati (ascetic yogin or Śiva) who is self-controlled (*yata*) by yamas (and niyamas of yoga) and full of majesty stemming from the pair of feet of Tryambaka" (=Śiva) who grants welfare to the three worlds". Royal power and splendour emanates from the radiance of the feet of Śiva, which have to be and are invoked by the King. The interpretations of Casparis have to be reviewed in the tradition of Sanskrit kāvyas, of which they are an integral part. The translation of *caraṇa-yuga-vidheya-śrīmatīṁ* (not -nidheya) as 'hidden in the juncture of

her legs' was uncertain to Casparis (p.275n.137). Later he conjectures in note 140 "probably an Umā-maheśvara-mūrti of the āliṅgana type". It simply means that the glory can be obtained by appropriate devotion (*vidheya*, cf. *vidhi*) to the pair of feet of Lord Śiva. We have undertaken this rather long detour to show that the readings of the inscriptions, their translations and interpretation need re-consideration.

An important step in the endeavour to ensure stabilisation of the state, was the construction of a vast complex of Śivālaya in the holy mountain of Ratubaka. As already shown above, the cooperation of Bālaputra was forthcoming and the model was Śrīparvata hallowed by both Buddhist and Śaiva structures. A conflict situation is not warranted by epigraphical evidence.

XIII. THE SOMAKULA

The Somakula is actually mentioned in line 59 of the Nalanda charter. It is also clearly implied in the Ratubaka Inscription. There could be and were more than two ruling dynasties in Java. The presence of 'two' derives from our preconditioning by the prevalent paradigm of Vogel-Naerrsen.

The Śailendra-vaṁśa and the Soma-kula were contemporary dynasties, with matrimonial alliances. The Śailendras cooperated with them in the construction of Śaiva foundations. The Soma-kula commences with Sannā or Sannāha, the father of Sañjaya. Sannāha means 'armour, mail, a coat of mail' and it is like the name *Varman* which has the same meaning. The final *ha* of Sannā*ha* has coalesced in pronunciation and the name has also been spelt *Sannā*.

Śrī mahārāja Rakai Panaṅkaran is enumerated among eight deceased kings in the Copperplates of Mantyasih I (Kedu) of King Balituṅ, dated Śaka 829=AD907. The inscription reads:

rahyaṅta rumuhun. ri mḍaṅ. ri poh pitu.

1.			rakai	matarām saṅ ratu Sañjaya	(732)
2.	Śrī	mahārāja	"	Panaṅkaran	(ca. 750)
3.	"	"	"	Panuṅgalan	(ca.770).
4.	"	"	"	Varak	(ca.790)
5.	"	"	"	Garuṅ	(829 or 839)
6.	"	"	"	Pikatan or Kumbhayoni	(842-856, (Casparis 1956:2.289-90)
7.	"	"	"	Kayuvaṅi or Lokapāla	(856-882, (Casparis 1956:2.288)
8.	"	"	"	Vatu-humalaṅ	(886)
9.	"	"	"	Vatu-kura dyāh Dharmodaya Mahāśambhu	(907)

The first eight kings were deified and may have been intended to act as the powerful Eight Dikpālas, who are gods like Indra, Īśāna, Varuṇa, etc. They were *rahyaṅta* 'deified ancestors' (Zoetmulder) for protection of the crucial places (0J0 48/943 vo 25: *maṅrakṣa kaḍatvan rahyaṅta i Mĕḍaṅ.*

Certain royal personages have tripartite names, e.g. Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Watukura Dyāh Balituṅ Śrī Dharmodaya Mahāśambhu. The Rakai part can refer to the assignment of a territory to the child prince, e.g. the Duke Battenburg was assigned a regal title as Lord Mountbatten of Burma. Dyāh Balituṅ can be the name given to the crown Prince or *Yuva*rāja on his attaining eligibility. *Yuva* means 'young' and *dyāh* also means 'young man or woman of gentle birth' (Zoetmulder). On coronation he became Śrī Dharmodaya Mahāśambhu. Compare the Cambodian ceremonies of coronation and rites preliminary thereto.

Naerssen (1947:251) in his paper 'The Śailendra Interregnum' says that 'the princes of Sañjaya's dynasty had little authority at the time'. He goes on: "There was no question of one mighty central Javanese kingdom, unless it were under the hegemony of the Śailendras. As appears from the charters several autonomous heads of the district must have ruled then by the side of "princes" of Sañjaya's dynasty, whose authority was completely thrown into the shade by the Śailendra princes. The waning of the Śailendra authority in Central Java was attended with a greater activity of the Sañjaya dynasty" (p.252).

Naerssen has established that with Sañjaya a dynasty had emerged, and he himself had founded a Śiva-liṅga in Śaka 654=AD 732 (Caṅgal Stone Ins.) and his father was Sannā or Sannāha. The Panaṅkaran of the Mantyasih Copperplates cannot be identical with the Rakai Paṇaṅkaraṇa of the Kalasan Stone Inscription. The first Panaṅkaran would have been active around AD 750, while the second is dated in 778. There is a gap of one generation. Three charters of Pikatan are known and in one of them he calls himself *ratu.* Rakai Kayuvaṅi or Lokapāla has the epithet of Mahārāja, and he initiated agrarian measures to bring prosperity. Lokapāla does not refer to the four guardians of the cardinal directions, but it is identical with the commonly used proper name Narendra. Only one charter has come down to us from the reign of Vatuhumalaṅ, dated AD 886, where he is called *haji* 'Lord'.

The following situations emerge from the aforesaid facts:

(i) There was a dynasty which went back to Sañjaya, and whose great king was Balituṅ. Whether Balituṅ came from East Java or shifted there remains a question.

(ii) Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Panaṅkaran of the Mantyasih Copperplates is earlier than the one of the Kalasan Inscription, and the two are different persons. The successors and/or descendants of Sañjaya were a dynasty in their own right, separate from the Śailendras.

(iii) In Java, there were a number of states and no single dynasty whose writ ran all over Central Java. The possibility of the whole of Java being under a single authority has to be ruled out due to the lack of efficient communications in ancient times, which are a must for effective control. The ground realities are reflected in "charters from other men in power, nay from other 'princes' during his [of King Vatuhumalaṅ] time" (Naerrsen 1947:252).

(iv) The assumption of Vogel (1919:634) that "we have got to do here with a Javanese potentate who politically was dependent upon the ruler of Śrīvijaya" has bedevilled Javanese history. Though cautious, Naerrsen states: "From this it appears firstly that for the Javanese the Śailendra dynasty was a foreign one, whereas Sañjaya's was the legitimate one, and secondly that the latter has continued to live on, also during the Śailendra interregnum, be it entirely in the background." The idea of foreign sovereignty and the presence of national rulers, stems from the political realities of the time when Vogel wrote, that is AD 1919. The unconscious of Dutch rule cast its shadows and Sumatran suzerainty over Javanese rulers was surmised. The Śailendras were assigned to Sumatra and the successors of Sañjaya to Java. This naturally provoked Poerbatjaraka, but in the state of knowledge at his time it was not possible to present a clear and coherent picture. The political conditions existing in Indonesia in 1956 when Casparis wrote the second volume of his *Prasasti Indonesia* with the help and facilities provided by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Indonesia, the Śailendras had to retreat to Sumatra after heavy fighting and defeat, like the armed struggle of Indonesia against foreign rule.

(v) There was no "Śailendra period" in Java, and Naerssen (p.249) is right in prefacing it with the adjective "so-called". Besides the Śailendras, was the dynasty beginning with Sañjaya, and other kingdoms too may have flourished.

(vi) Rakai Pikatan has been equated with Kumbhayoni, who belonged to the Lunar Dynasty. The mother of the Śailendra King Bālaputra, Tārā by name, was from the Soma-kulānvaya (Nalanda Ins.). The Soma-kula and Śailendra-vaṁśa had matrimonial ties, and they cooperated in their religious foundations.

(vii) Sacred foundations were constructed in holy places even in the territory of another king. Installation of a Liṅga or the building of a vihāra did not *ipso facto* imply that the place of its location belonged to the donor. For example, kings of several Indian states built temples at the holy city of Mathura, without any claim to territorial rights. Like the Ganga-Yamuna Doab, the Kedu plain was bounded by the rivers Opak and Praga, and the second river Praga was joined by the River Serayu. The situation is similar to Prayaga (mod. Allahabad) which is the confluence of Gaṅgā, Yamunā and the now lost Sarasvatī. Regions between two rivers, the mesopotamian areas, were important cultural

centres in ancient times.

XIV. BHŪJAY-OTTUṄGADEVA

Early or middle of the ninth century
Casparis 1956:2.175-206

The Candi Plaoson Inscription in Pre-Nagari mentions a royal name Bhūjay-ottuṅgadeva. He may be a Śailendra king as their abhiṣeka names have the element tuṅga or uttuṅga (Casparis 2.180 n.25).This name is not known from any other source. Casparis, who has read this inscription, writes "the transcribed portion of this line seems sufficiently certain" (2.192 n.69). The Buddha temple (*jinamandira)* constructed by him was regularly worshipped by persons from the Gurjara country (st. 14):

satata-gurjara-deśa-samāgatais
sugata-bhakti-bhara-praṇataisU /
(line broken)
UUU *tkriyate jinamandiram//*

The approximate date of the inscription is "the first half or the middle of the ninth century AD" (2.189).

XV. MĀRAVIJAYA-OTTUṄGAVARMAN (c. AD 1008)

In 1003 King Śrī-Cūḍāmaṇi-varma-deva sent two envoys to China and informed the Emperor that a Buddhist sanctuary had been erected to pray for his long life.

In 1008 Śrī-Māravijaya sent three envoys to the Sung Emperor of China with tribute (Majumdar 1936:1.169).

The Great Leiden Charter issued by Cola king Rajendra I (1014-44) describes the King of Śrīviṣaya, whose sovereignty extended as far as Kaṭāha, as a descendant of the Śailendra dynasty (EI.22.229, 282). The King is referred to as:

(1) *Śailendra-vaṁśa-sambhūtena Śrīviṣay-ādhipatinā Kaṭāh-ādhipatyam ātanvatā...* (Sanskrit portion, lines 80-81).
(2-3) *Kaṭāh-ādhipati* (ib., lines 90, 100).
(4) *Kiḍāratt-araiyaṉ* (Tamil portion, line 6).
(5-6) *Kaḍāratt-araiyaṉ* (ib., lines 13, 200).

The Śailendra King of Śrīviṣaya had extended his kingdom as far as Kaṭāha (var. Kaḍāra, Kiḍāra) or Kedah in Malaysia.

The Sanskrit inscription reads: *Śailendra-vaṁśa-sambhūtena Śrīviṣay-ādhipatinā Kaṭah-ādhipatyam ātanvatā...Culamaṇivarmmaṇaḥ putreṇa śrī-Māravijayottuṁgavarmmaṇā sva-pitur nnāmnā nirmmāpitam adharīkṛta-Kanakagiri-samunnati-vibhavam atiramaṇīyañ Cūlamaṇivarmma-vihāram adhivasate Buddhāya* " Rājarāja gave, in the

twenty-first year of his universal sovereignty, to the Buddha residing in the surpassingly beautiful Culamaṇivarma-vihāra, of (such) high loftiness (as had) belittled the Kanakagiri (i.e. Meru), which had been built — in the name of his father, by the glorious Māravi-jayottuṅgavarman, who, by the greatness of his wisdom, had conquered the teacher of the gods, who was the sun to the lotus-forest (viz) the learned men, who was the Kalpa-tree to supplicants, who was born in the Śailendra family, who was the lord of the Śrī-Viṣaya (country), who was conducting the rule of Kaṭāha,....(and) who was the son of Cūḷāmaṇivarman that had mastered all statecraft at Nāgīpattana, delightful (on account of) many a temple, rest-house, water-shed, and pleasure garden and brilliant with arrays of various kinds of mansions, (situated) in the division called Paṭṭanakūṟṟa (included) in the big group of districts named Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, which was the forehead-mark of the whole earth" (EI. 22.257).

The construction of the vihāra at Nagapattana was started by Cūḍāmaṇivarman (as we know from the Tamil) and completed by his son Māravijay-ottuṅgavarman in the twentyfirst regnal year of Rajendra Cola. The Śailendras had been a naval power and their fleet had raided the coast of Annam as far as Tonkin. The Yang Tikuh inscription of Indravarman I of Campa, dated Śaka 721=AD 799 refer to naval raids by forces coming in ships from Java. The destruction of the Śaiva sanctuary by the Javanese navy, indicates that they should be the Buddhist Śailendras. The adventure and might of the Javanese navy is clear. The names of Śailendra kings, like Vīra-vairi-mathana, Samaratuṅga, Samarāgravīra bespeak of their daring perceptions of power. It is only in the eleventh century that the Śailendras extended their dominion as far as Kedah, though paleographic evidence points to the Śailendras being restricted to the Kedu plains. Did they annex Śrīvijaya? The identity of the two names Śrīviṣaya and Śrīvijaya cannot be taken for granted, as Māravijayottuṅgavarman is called Śrīviṣay-ādhipati 'ruler of Śrīviṣaya' only once, and in five other cases he is simply referred to as king of Kaṭāha. Śrīviṣaya can refer to "The Prosperous (śrī) Kingdom (viṣaya)" of the Śailendras. The Ratnaparikṣā of Buddhadatta speaks of their capital as a market for precious jewels. A Sanskrit scholar of the learning of the writer of the Charter could not confuse the words *viṣaya* and *vijaya*.

XVI. CONCLUSIONS

(i) Suvarṇadvīpa is a general term and denotes several places in SE Asia. It refers to affluent golden lands and not to *a* Gold-land of gold-rush.

(ii) Śrīvijaya and Śailendras are separate political entities.

(iii) Śrīvijaya is Sumatra, and its rulers migrated from Vijayapurī, earlier than the Śailendras. They followed the Mūla-sarvāstivāda form of Buddhism.

(iv) Śailendras ruled in Central Java and migrated from Śrīśailam. They were adherents of Vajrayāna, whose centre was Śrīśailam, also known as Śrīparvata and Vajraparvata.

(v) Śailendras dominated the economy of Java by their advantageous geographical position of access to China and to India. Other Javanese kingdoms, like that of Mataram, could not compete with them. They had a regular merchant marine, so much so that Chinese pilgrims travelled in the reverse direction, from Sumatra to Java, to board ships to India. Śailendra vessels must have had regular schedules of sailing to India.

(vi) The mercantile marine gave the Śailendras a powerful navy recorded in the inscriptions of Campā.

(vii) The Śailendras were at the height of prosperity, which enabled them to construct great monuments like the Sevu, Borobudur, Mendut, etc. They also patronised the rise of a national literature, e.g. the OJ. version of the Amaramālā as a repertoire of vocabulary for poets.

CHRONOLOGICAL FOOTHOLDS

AD	
606-47	Kalaśapura in Harṣa's hymn
664	Hui-ning worked with Jñānabhadra
752	Bhānu
775-82	Viṣṇu (Dharmatuṅga), Ligor Ins. (Majumdar 1.149)
778	Paṇaṅkaraṇa, Kalasan Ins. (Majumdar 1.150)
782	Indra(?), Kelurak Ins. (Saṅgrāma-dhanañjaya) (Majumdar 1.151). Died c.812
792	Śaka 714 Dharmatuṅgadeva, Ratubaka Ins. (Casparis 1950:1.101, Artibus Asiae 1961:24.241-48)
No date	Śrī-Vīra-vairi-mathana (grandfather of Bālaputradeva in the Nalanda Ins.)
824	↓ Samaratuṅga and his daughter Prāmodavardhanī (Kayumwuñan Ins., Majumdar 1.60)
	Samarāgra-vīra + Tārā daughter of Varmasetu (parents of Bālaputra)
	↓
860	Bālaputradeva, Nalanda Ins. (Majumdar 1.152)
851	Sulaymān, revised by Hasan in ca. 916 (Majumdar 1.156, 160)
903	Ibn Rostah (Majumdar 1.161)
907	Ishak bin Imrān (Majumdar 1.161)
935	King Siṇḍok founded the Jayamĕrta monastery at Añjuk (Fontein 1990:231)
ca.950	Ibn Serapion (Majumdar 1.161)
ca.1030	Alberuni (Java is Survarṇadvīpa, Majumdar 1.164)
1003	Śrī-Cūḍāmaṇivarman sent two envoys to China
1005	Māravijay-ottuṅgavarman constructed a monastery at Nāgapaṭṭinam
1008	Māravijay-ottuṅgavarman sent three embassies to China

16. BIMA BUṄKUS — AN INDONESIAN EPISODE OF THE MAHABHARATA CYCLE

The Oriental Institute, Prague, has an Indonesian lontar or palmleaf manuscript consisting of ten leaves protected by beautifully carved wooden boards.[1] The text ends abruptly on the tenth folio. It is a fragment of the lakon story *Bima Buṅkus*. This story is also found in a lontar-manuscript of the Museum of Ethnology at Leiden 3405/17, in a complete, although somewhat different version. It is written in the Balinese script. The language is "Kawi muda". The rest of the first leaf has two interesting scenes. One depicts Kuntī and Pāṇḍu facing each other with a flower-pot in between. At the back of Pāṇḍu is Arjuna. The names are inscribed. The second scene shows Arjuna near the shell encasing Bhīma with the elephant Gajahsena using all his might to break open the shell. Here too the name of the elephant is written. The scene is laid in the forest which is delineated by the foliar designs around the shell and on the side of the elephant.

The text is in the three metres: sinom, smaradahana and pañkur. The first seven stanzas are in sinom, stanzas 2-25 in smaradahana, and 26-55 in pañkur. They are specified at the beginning of every group.

The ending of the stanzas can be located by the double daṇḍas in the lontar. We have serially numbered all the stanzas in the text. The numbers have been indicated in the translation. The text has been kept close to the lontar. The important mss readings and corruptions have been noted. Scribal errors like the nasalised *iṅkaṅ* for *ikaṅ*, *dannava* for *dānava* have been corrected without being recorded in the footnotes. The interchange of short and long vowels, of the three sibilants, of the aspirates and nonaspirates, of cerebrals and dentals in Sanskrit words is a common phenomenon in Indonesian lontars and as such they have been left out in the present apparatus. Though the translation follows the original closely, it is not verbatim.[2]

TEXT

‖sinom[1] ‖

1. Viṅkiṅ carita vinarṇa | Pnava[2] ikaṅ[3] kavarṇi[4] | Rājā Paṇḍu-deva vastaneka[5] | duk andrave putra iki | aṅiṅ bari binuṅkus iki | iki mañke nora mtu | karika sajroniṅ

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[1] The size of the ms is 32.3 × 3.4 cm. Every leaf is numbered in the left upper corner of the verso. Every page has 4 lines. See the photographs.

[2] I am grateful to Tjokorda Rai Sudhartha for his invaluable help in the translation of this text.

[1] Name of a metre. [2]=Pāṇḍawa. [3] L. iṇkaṅ (L. = lontar). [4] -i is metri causa. [5] It may be corrected to °nika.

buńkusan | vus lave tahun uvurnika | kantos kandrave[6] rahi nuńgal ||

2. rahine vastaniral saṅ Pārtha[7] vastaneki[8] | Arjuna masih[9] ya[10] | Arjuna aṅgava rakaneki | anujeṅ alas Gondhamahi[11] | pinasah aṅkaneṅ riku | Arjuna añjajaga | vus umahaseṅ dunuṅ | neṅakna polahe Arjuna ||
3. nagrī Batareta kavarṇaha | ṅarane[12] punaṅ Yakṣi | nāmane ratuni ditya[13] | rājā Duloma[14] ikaṅ[3] nāmi | duk kalane sineba iki | diniṅ[15] patih ira iku | nāma patih Pragalbha[16] | lavan ĕmbanne saviji | nāmane ĕmban[17] Kĕpĕtmegha[18] ||
4. rājā Duloma[19] aṅdika "e Kĕpĕtmegha sireki | apa kuraṅan haneṅ jro pura" | Kĕpĕtmegha umatur bhakti | "siṅgih deva śrī bhūpati | nora nana[20] kiraṅ sadudu | mivah kahula haneṅ jaba | saṇḍaṅ-paṅan pĕpĕk sami | mivah bala dānava haneṅ gyu sdaya[21] ||
5. nora lĕsu amamānisa[22] | buron kañcil katah sami | nora nana kiraṅ[23] sanuṅgal | naṅiṅ saviji kiraṅ gusti | nora nana sariniṅ purī | naṅiṅ andika duruṅ kayun[24] | aṅulati kaṅ garva[25] | saṅ nātha[26] aṅandika aris | "e sira maṅke ĕmban[17] Kĕpĕtmegha[27] ||
6. mariṅ ĕndi[28] hana vārtā | putraniṅ ratu kaṅ lvih ādi[28a] | Kĕpĕtmegha umatura | "siṅgih deva prabhu haji | kahula amyarsa vārti | sakiṅ voṅ dagaṅ iku| [29]hana koda[29] sakiṅ Java | hana putrane śrī bhūpati | mariṅ Tasikmadhu[30] kaṅ ngara ||
7. rājā Kratagĕna[31] punika | nāma divi[32] Citravarṣiti[33] | baguse lvir suparabhā[34] | akeh ratu aṅlamarin | saṅ ratnā datan apti | kari aṅamoṅ śarīranipun" | Prabhu Duloma aṅadika | "e Kĕpĕtmegha sireki | manavi kari aṅantos ratu kaṅ kaya ||

|| smaradahana[35] ||

8. "ikaṅ sugih kaya mami | tur śakti riṅ apraṅ | mantke manira luṅha[36] rĕke | aṅlamara saṅ ratnā | yendatann arsa mariṅ ṅvaṅ | iṅsun lurug ṅra[37] nipun | masa vaṅde lĕbur kaṅ ngara" ||
9. Kĕpĕtmegha umatur bhakti | "siṅgih deva śrī narendra[38] | aja andika luṅha[39] rĕkel kadi datan andrabe patya | bĕcik ki patih lumampah" | rājā Duloma aṅandika harum | "e patih Pragalbha" ||
10. sira uga luṅha[40] maris | mariṅ Tasikmadhu[41] ngara | aṅgava layaṅ i ṅoṅ |

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[6] L. *kandhra.* [7] L. patra. [8] It may be corrected to °niki. [9] L. matsih. [10] L. hya (in this ms. we often find the visarga). [11] So in the lontar. It can be Gandhamāyu, which occurs in Sri Tañjuṅg. [12] = nagara. [13]= daitya. [14] L. dulosa. [15]= OJ. deniṅ. [16] L. bragalba. [17] L. hĕ°. [18] L. Nĕ°. In other occurrences it is Kĕ°. [19] L. Dulomṣa. [20] = OJ. nor hana. [21] L. sdhaya. [22] V māmsa. [23] = OJ. kuraṅ. [24] = kahyun. [25] < garbha? It means "(royal) consort". [26] In this lontar it is always spelt nata. [27] L. Pĕpĕtmega. [28] L. hĕndhi. [28a.] L. adi. It can also be *adhi.* [29] L. hana kkoda. *anakoda* "sailor, master of a vessel". [30] Literally "Honey-ocean". [31] L. Kratagĕna. It is always spelt so. It may be Kṛtteguṇa? [32] = devī. [33] L. °si. [34] metri causa for *Suprabhā*, name of a vidyādharī. [35] L. smarandhana. Name of a metre, usually met with in sad themes. [36] = luṅha. [37] = nagara. [38] L. usually spells it as nalendhra. [39] = luṅha in OJ. [40] L. luṅ. [41] L. tamadu.

haturakna[42] mariṅ saṅ nātha[43] | mariṅ rājā Kratagĕnal[44]ya norakna[44] saṅ ayu | sira aja umantuka" ||

11. ki patih umatur bhakti | "sapaṅarthika nira saṅ nātha | nda upamit kahula rĕke" | saṅ nātha aṅan dika | "lah luṅaha sira" | ki patih anuli lumaku | umijil sakiṅ jro pura ||
12. kapaṅgih balaneki | pra sama vinarahan | anuli sama umambur rĕke | livir barat lampah ira | anujeṅ[45] Tasikmadhu ngara | syaṅ rātri[46] lumaku | vus prāpteṅ Tasikmadhu ngara ||
13. tumurun sakiṅ gyatti[47] | lumampah anujeṅ ngara | duk balane saṅ nātha rĕke | sineba haneṅ paseban | diniṅ putranira karova | raden Sitavarṣita[48] iku | nora lyan rinahosan ||
14. amuṅ putrane saṅ putrī | divi[49] Citravarṣit[50] ika | datan harsa krama rĕke | duk kālane agĕnlu[52] rasa | voṅ iṅ jaba hahurahan ṅandulu dānava akatah ravuh | hana umatur riṅ saṅ nātha ||
15. saprāptane umatur bhakti | "siṅgih deva śrī narendra | akatah dānava haneṅ jaba maṅke | saṅ nātha aṅandika | "e Sitavarṣita | lah tilikna punaṅ diyu | baya paran gavenya" ||
16. satreṅ[53] kĕmbar nuli lumaris | tumurun sakiṅ paseban | amarani pranah | dānava rĕke | nora suve savus kapĕndak[54] | Sitavarṣita aṅucap | "danava sakiṅ pundi sireku | mivah paran kāriyanira" ||
17. ki patih Pragalbha anavurin[55] | "manira sakiṅ Batareta ngara | patih Pragalbha nāmani ṅoṅ | dūtane śrī narendra | rājā Duloma[56] kanāma | aṅaturana[57] sevalapatra[58] iku | mariṅ[59] rājā Kratagĕna" ||
18. Sitavarṣita anahurin | "e patih Pragalbha | antosna[60] manira maṅke | manira umatur riṅ saṅ nātha" | Sitavarṣita lumampah | umuṅgah i sĕndhi batur | umarĕk mariṅ saṅ nātha ||
19. Sitavarṣita umatur bhakti | "siṅgih deva śrī narendra | dānava sakiṅ Batareta rĕkel dūtane prabhu Duloma | nāma patih Pragalbha" | saṅ nātha aṅandika harum | "lah akona[61] namerene ya" ||
20. satren kĕmbar nuli lumaris | tumurun sakiṅ paṅastriyan | vus kapaṅgih rĕke | kahana[62] ki patih ika[63] | Sitavarṣita aṅucap | "e Pragalbha sireku | payu umuṅgah mariṅ paseban" ||
21. anuli sama lumaris | umuṅgah mariṅ paseban | saprāptane umatur sĕmbah rĕke |

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[42] L. haturrĕnna. [43] L. spells it always as *nata*. [44] L. yannorakna. [45] L. anujeh. Cf. line 2 of 13, line 1 of 33. [46] L. latri. [47] Cf. Sanskrit *viyat*. [48] L. °varsita. [49] = devī. [50] L. ovarsiti. [52] L. aṅĕndhu. [53] L. satra < kṣatriya. [54] L. °dhak. [55] L. anahurrin. [56] L. Dulaṁsa. [57] L. turrĕnna. [58] L. na°. [59] L. ṃari. [60] L. antesna. [61] L. akenna. [62] L. kahan. [63] L. ina.

"siṅgih deva śrī narendra | pasantabe kahula" | saṅ nātha aṅandika harum | "lah luṅguh ta sira dānava" ||

22. vus tatah denira aliṅgih | saṅ nātha aṅandika | "sakiṅ pundi[64] sira iki rĕke | lavan paran kāriyanira" | ki patih umatura | "kahula sakiṅ[65] Batareta ngara iku | dinūta diniṅ gusti kahula ||

23. rājā Duloma ikaṅ nāmi | aṅatura sevalapatra" | saṅ nātha anampa rĕke | anuli amanaha | bubukane sevalapatra | "e rājā Kratagĕna sireku | ranak anda[66] asih iral|

24. (h)anĕḍi putra nireki | ni divi Citravarṣiti ika | yen sira asraha maṅke | sayan haguṅ dadinta[67] | yen sira nora sraha | ngara Tasikmadhu iṅsun gĕmpur | masa vaṅde dadi alas" ||

25. rājā Kratagĕna brahmantyan miyarsi | vadana abaṅ aviṅaviṅan | surat sinĕbit ta maṅke | sarvi aṅandika | "e Pragalbha sira | Pankvi lah umantuka sira iku | varahna gustinira ||

|| paṅkur[68] ||

26. manira datan paveha | dānava kalintaṅ ciciṅ | dimen hage merene angĕmpur | masa ulap manira | apraṅ kalvan diyu" | ki patih sumahura "tuhu sira datan kasrah maṅkin ||

27. masa vaṅde iṅsun rĕbut | ngaramu masa vaṅde kabhasmin" | Sitavarṣita sumahur | "pakṣa gañcaṅ ko Pragalbha | payo kita sama tumurun | sakrasamu apraṅ | aja kakehan haṅliṅ" ||

28. anuli sama tumuruna | tatĕṅran tinĕmbaṅ nuli | voṅ Tasikmadhu kagegeran ravuh| anuli sama apraṅ | kalintaṅ rameniṅ cucuh | tumbak tinumbakana | bḍil saliṅ bḍil |

29. sama katah ikaṅ pjah | jalma kalavan yakṣi | bala dānava krūra aṅamuk | syaṅ rātri[69] apraṅira | kalintaṅ kasoran voṅ Tasikmadhu apupuh | raden Sitavarṣita lumampah | aṅulati bantu lvih ||

30. luṅa ya mariṅ alas | alas Gondhamahi[70] kaṅ nāmi | mariṅ pranahe Arjuna iku | añjaga rakanira | kaṅ kari binuṅkus | sakvehiṅ bajra[71] nora tumamah | aṅge aṅrusak buṅkusneki ||

31. galandaṅ-glunduṅ[72] mariṅ alas | satreṅ kĕmbar anuli prāpti | raden Sitavarṣita iku| saprāptane umatura | "siṅgih deva raden bagus | kahula prāpta ṇḍa sreya[73] | kahula apraṅ kalavan yakṣi ||

32. yen kasoranta ṅ dānava | ngara Tasikmadhu maṅkin | kahula asrah sḍayeku | mariṅ jĕṅ andika deva" | Arjuna adan sumahur | "saharsanir yayi ika" | anuli sama lumaris ||

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[64] L. pundha. [65] L. saki. [66] L. andha. [67] L. dadidata. [68] Name of a metre. [69] L. latri. L. [70] Gondhamai. [71] L. braja. [72] L. °dhaṅ-glundhuṅ. [73] So the L.; cf. Sanskrit āśraya.

33. anujen Tasikmadhu ngara | sakiṅ glis carita nuli | vus prāpteṅ[74] ngara Tasikmadhu | kari rame ikaṅ praṅ | Arjuna nuli amagut | katmu lavan Pragalbha | sipatih anuli aṅliṅ ||
34. "baya sapa mariṅ harsa niṅvaṅ | bagus hanom rūpa-nireki | rūpane dudu voṅ Tasikmadhu" | Arjuna sumahura | "yen sira nora udani[75] iku | manira sakiṅ ngara Pnava[76] | putrane śrī bhūpati ||
35. rājā Pāṇḍu deva nātha | Arjuna manira iki | harsa anugĕl mastakamu" | Pragalbha sumahura | "pakṣa lañcaṅ mamuṣya iku" | anuli sama apraṅ gada ginada gĕnti ||
36. sakiṅ krūraniṅ dānava | Arjuna cinaṇḍak nuli | binuvaṅ mariṅ luhur | adoh atika nira tiba | satibane anuli baṅun | nora krasa lara | anuli sira anaṅis[77] ||
37. sarĕṅ Bagoṅ smar iku | sakiṅ titahiṅ Bṭāra[78] | Bṭāra Indra anuli ravuh | kaya rūpa voṅ tva-tva[79] | anulih sira aṅliṅ ||
38. "e sira buyut hiṅvaṅ | aja sira lara naṅis diniṅ kasoran puna ṅ cucuh | mūla maṅkana voṅ apraṅ | hana kasor hana uṅgula[80] cucuh | iṅ beñjaṅ iki sira | dadi lalanaṅiṅ jurit ||
39. iki sira iṅsun aveha | panah amunah yakṣi | lavanĕn maliha cucuh" | Arjuna sumahura | "sakrasa kaki iku" | panah vus tinampanan | Bṭāra[81] Indra hical nuli || || durma[82] ||
40. Arjuna maṅke alumampah | amagut puna ṅ yakṣi | anuli sira kapĕndak kalavan patih ika | ki patih anuli aṅliṅ | "Arjuna malih prāpta | maṅke jañjinira mati" ||
41. anuli[83] sama apraṅ dadagan | bantiṅ sleṅ bantiṅ gĕnti | Arjuna śīghraha[84] amĕntaṅ kaṅ panah ira | pgat gulune ki patih | juraṅkaṅan mariṅ lĕmah | balane aniṅalin ||
42. śeṣaniṅ[85] pjah mlayu kasasar | tinumbak sakiṅ huri | sakalahe saṅ dānava | sama muṅgah mariṅ paseban | Arjuna tinaṅkil nuli | saṅ dānava aṅandika "siṅgih deva putra mami ||
43. sukur bhāgya sira avlas | maṅke ngara manira iki | sira kavaśa sḍaya" | Arjuna umatura | "siṅgih deva ama haji | hĕndhi hana ikaṅ bajra[85] | ikaṅ kalintaṅ śakti ||
44. aṅge kahula ṅrusak babuṅkusan" | aṅ nātha aṅandika aris | "siṅgih deva anak iṅvaṅ | yadyan bajra[86] sabhūmya[87] | nora tumanah raka neki | yen nora krasaniṅ ya | antosna uga gusti" ||
45. duruṅ puput kaṅ virasa | kĕtug liṇḍuh hudan prāpti | kagoñcaṅ svarga di lviha | devadhara[88] kagegeran bulan sūrya kagiṅsir | Bṭāra[77] Guru aṅandika | "siṅgih kaka ṅ Nrada[89] sireki ||

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[74] L. °te. [75] L. udanni. [76] = Pāṇḍava. [77] Only one daṇḍa in L. [78] =Bhaṭāra. The lontar spells it as Btāra (with a dental *t*). [79] = OJ. tuha-tuha. [80] L. uṅgulla. [81] L. btala. [82] Name of a metre. [83] L. anula. [84] L. sigraḥha. [85] L. sisa°. [86] L. braja. [87] L. sabumya. [88] L. °dara. Cf. vidyādhara. [89] = Nārada.

46. kaka ṅ uga tumuruna | sarĕṅ liman Gajahsena iki | mariṅ alas Gondhamahi "ika | pcahna babuṅkusan hika" | Bṭāra[77] Nrada sumahur siṅgih | anuli sama umaṅkat | tumurun sakiṅ svargi ||
47. anujeṅ alas Gondhamahi ika | pranahe babuṅkusan hiki | nora suve vus prāpta | saprāptane Bṭāra[77] Guruva | liman Gajahsena nuli | añaṇḍak babuṅkusan | binantiṅan nuli ||
48. nora pasah ikaṅ babuṅkusan | Gajahsena maṅke nuli | aṅĕtog kaśakti(h)an | babuṅkusan malih cinaṇḍak | binantiṅan maṅke nuli | vus picahan[90] | mtu ikaṅ jabaṅ bayi ||
49. vus andruve vastra sdaya | luhurne aguṅ aṅiṅgil | Bṭāra[77] Nrada haneṅ arsanira | anuli amaranana | "sapa iki voṅ tva tiki" | Bṭāra[77] Nrada aṅandika | "manira Bṭāra"[77] sakiṅ svargi ||
50. ha Bṭāra[77] Nrada iki manira | dinūteṅ Bṭāra[77] Guru mami | aṅluwarkĕnta sira | sakiṅ pajinĕmanira | malih vastanira iki | saṅ Bratasena | sira maṅke umulih ||
51. mariṅ ngareṅ Astina punika | sapanartika Arjuneki" | Bṭāra[77] Nrada anuli ical | amantuk mariṅ yaṅanira[91] | saṅ Bratasena anuli aṅliṅ | "iki sira sapa" | Arjuna anahurin ||
52. "iki kahula rahi paduka | Arjuna manireki" | saṅ Sena sumahura | "aduh sira ari niṅvaṅ | payu mariṅ Astina ngari" | Arjuna sumahura | "mapaṅarthi kaka ṅ mami"||
53. Anuli sama lumampah | mivah Gareṅ Petruk haṅiriṅ | nora suve alumampah vus prāpteṅ Astina | Arjuna kiṅĕpunan teki | ṅarsa pinjahan | saṅ Sena nulih prāpti ||
54. anuli riṅĕbutan | diniṅ ni Kurava iki | kalavan Śakuni[92] ika | aṅiṅ sami binantiṅan| puh sami anuliha lari | saparan paran hana pcah guluneki ||
55. nora nana vani tumaṇḍana rike[93]....

FREE TRANSLATION

Now we shall narrate an ancient story of the Pāṇḍavas. The name of the king was Pāṇḍu-deva. He had a son who was encased in a hard shell, which could not be broken. So the son could not come out. He remained in the shell even till he attained the age of twenty-five years. By now, he had a younger brother, (2) whose name was Pārtha and who was also called Arjuna. Arjuna brought his elder brother to the forest Gondhamahi. He put him there. He kept watch over it and resided in the watch-house. Now let us drop the story about the deeds of Arjuna.

Now (3) we will describe the Batareta country of the demons (yakṣa). The name of

[90] L. pincaḥhan. [91] L. yaṅṅannira. It is equal to OJ. hyaṅanira. [92] L. saṅkuni. [93] The lontar ends here abruptly.

the daitya king was Duloma. The name of his minister commanding the armies was Pragalbha. He had an aide-de-camp named Kĕpĕtmegha. (4) King Duloma asked: "What is lacking in the palace?" Kĕpĕtmegha replied reverentially: "Pray, Your Majesty the King, nothing is lacking. Outside the palace too, people are well-provided with food and clothing. The danava armies are in high spirits. (5) They are not tired of eating. Beasts and chevrotain etc. are plentiful. Nothing is lacking. Only one thing is lacking, My Lord: the paragon of the palace, because My Majesty did not yet think of looking for a queen." The Lord spoke slowly: "How, aide-de-camp Kĕpĕtmegha, (6) is there any news about the daughter of a preeminent king?" Kĕpĕtmegha replied: "Pray, Your Majesty My lord, I have news from a merchant, a ship-captain of Java, that there is a daughter of the King of the Tasikmadhu country, (7) King Kratagĕna. The name of the princess is Citravarṣiti. In charm she is like the nymph Suprabhā. Several kings have asked for her hand, but the jewel-one has not consented. She is happy by herself alone." King Duloma spoke: "Oh you Kĕpĕtmegha, she might be waiting for an affluent king, (8) for one like me, affluent and powerful in battle. Now I will go there to ask the hand of the jewel-one. If she does not accept me, I will attack her country. How can it escape destruction?" (9) Kĕpĕtmegha spoke: "Pray, Your Majesty the King, please do not think of going there yourself, as if you have no minister. It is better that the minister goes." King Duloma spoke gently: "Oh minister Pragalbha, (10) you yourself go straightaway to the Tasikmadhu country to carry my letter. You give it to King Kratagĕna. If he refuses to give the beautiful one, then do not return." (11) The minister replied reverentially: "As My Lord commands. Now I take leave of Your Majesty." The King said: "Do go." The minister departed. He came out of the palace. (12) He found his army waiting. He gave them the command. All of them went thence flying. Their flight was like a tempest towards the Tasikmadhu country. They marched day and night.

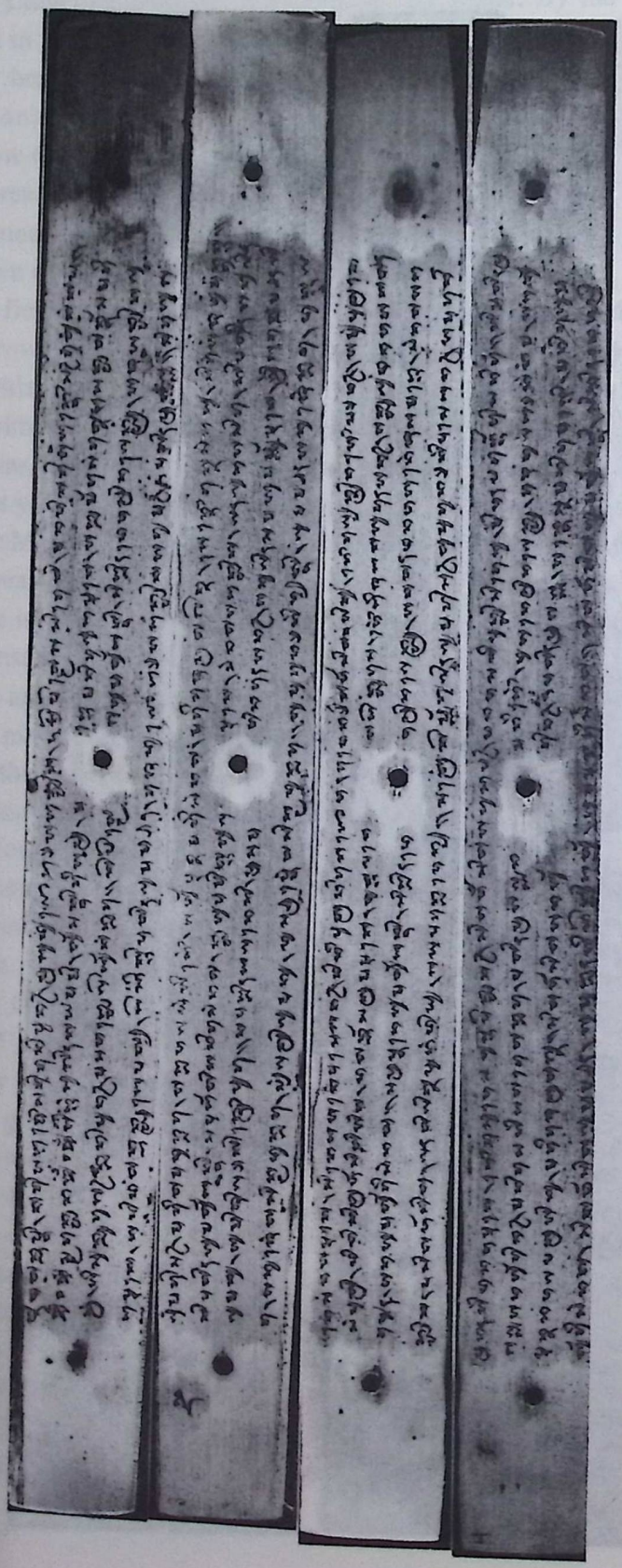
Reaching Tasikmadhu, (13) they descended from the sky. They went towards the capital. The army of the king over there was assembled in the court by his twin son raden Sitavarṣita. Nothing else was being discussed (14) but his daughter devi Citravarṣiti, who was not willing to marry. When they were in the midst of discussion, people outside were perturbed to see a host of dānavas (demons) coming. One among them informed the king. (15) Coming in the court he said reverentially: "Pray, Your Majesty the King, there are many demons outside." The king said: "Oh Sitavarṣita, go and see them. Wherefrom and what for have they come?" (16) The twin prince went straight towards them. He got down from the Court, went near the dānavas, and immediately on contacting them he asked: "From where are you and what is the purpose of your coming?" (17) Minister Pragalbha replied: "I am from the Batareta country. My name is minister Pragalbha, the messenger of His Majesty King Duloma by name. I want to hand over this letter to King Kratagĕna." (18) Sitavarṣita replied: "Oh minister Pragalbha, await me for a moment. I will inform His Majesty." Sitavarṣita went away. Sitting on the stone base of the pillar, he informed the king. (19) Sitavarṣita spoke reverentially: "Pray Your Majesty the King, the dānava is from Batareta,

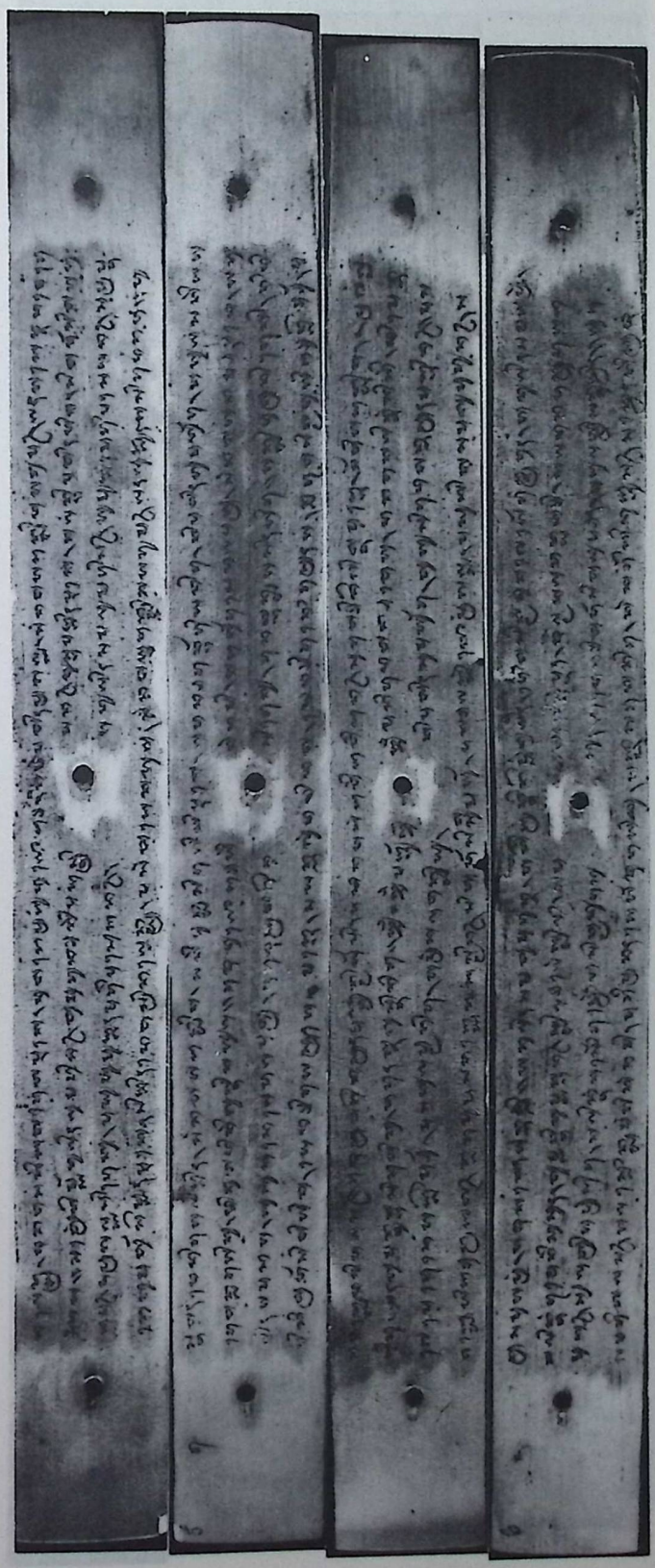
messenger of King Duloma, minister Pragalbha by name." The king spoke gently: "Go, ask them to come in." (20) Then the twin prince quickly departed. Getting down from the side of the harem and reaching the place where the minister was, Sitavarṣita spoke: "Oh Pragalbha, please come up to the court." (21) Then both of them started. They came up to the Court. On reaching he paid homage: "Pray Your Majesty the King, my homage to you." The king spoke gently: "Be seated, you dānava." (22) After he sat down comfortably, the king spoke: "From where are you coming, and what is the purpose?" The minister replied: "I am, Your Majesty, from the Batareta country. I have been commissioned by my master, (23) King Duloma by name, to hand over this letter." The king accepted it. Then he pondered before opening the letter. [It read as follows]: "Oh King Kratagĕna, I love your daughter, (24) that charming daughter of yours, Princess Citravarṣiti. If you will give her to me now, you will become greater. If you will not give her, then I will attack the Tasikmadhu country until it is turned into a forest." (25) King Kratagĕna become furious on knowing its contents. His face was glowing red. He tore the letter and said: "Oh Pragalbha, go back and tell your master that (26) I will not give her. A dānava is lower than a dog. He wants to come to attack. I am not dazzled by this threat of a fight." The minister replied: "Really you are not going to give her now. (27) Without delay I will carry her away by force. Your country will be reduced to ashes." Sitavarṣita replied: "You Pragalbha, you are a swollen-head. Let's get down and fight in any manner you want. Don't talk much." (28) Both of them got down. The town-signal was sounded. The people of Tasikmadhu came agitated. They all fight. There was heavy fighting. They struck with spears and were struck back, they shot and were shot back. (29) Many died on both sides, men as well as demons. The demon hosts fought cruelly day and night. The people of Tasikmadhu were down and they were loosing. Raden Sitavarṣita went away to look for a powerful ally. (30) He proceeded towards the forest named Gondhamahi near the place where Arjuna was guarding his elder brother who was still in his shell, as no weapon could pierce it and break it. (31) Wandering about in the forest the twin-prince raden Sitavarṣita reached there and said: "Pray Your Highness the handsome one, I have come to beseech your help. I am fighting with demons. (32) If you can defeat the dānavas I shall at once surrender to Your Highness the Tasikmadhu country." Slowly spoke Arjuna: "My dear young one, as you wish." Then both of them set forth (33) to the Tasikmadhu country.

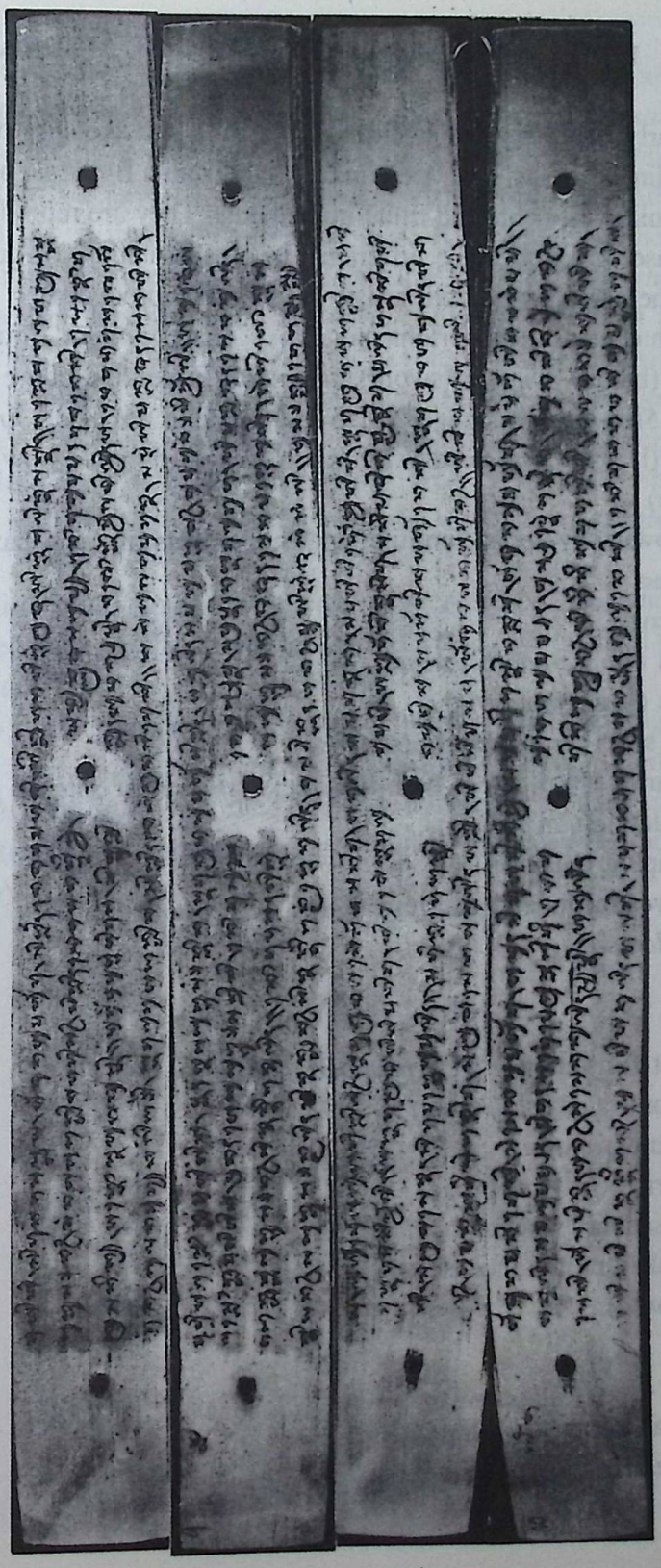
To narrate the story in short, when they reached Tasikmadhu, heavy fighting was going on. Arjuna confronted Pragalbha. The minister spoke: (34) "I wonder who you are in front of me, young and handsome, different from the people of Tasikmadhu in appearance." Arjuna replied: "You do not know me. I am from the Pāṇḍava (Pnava) country, son of His Majesty (35) the King Pāṇḍu deva. I am Arjuna. I want to sever your head." Pragalbha replied: "You are too daring, boy." Then both of them fought. They struck with and were struck by mace. (36) Because of the cruelty of the dānavas Arjuna was captured and thrown up [in the air]. He fell far away. As soon as he fell he got up. He did not experience any pain,

but he wept (37) together with his aides Bagoň and Sĕmar. By the grace of Bhaṭāra, Lord Indra descended in the form of a very old man and said: (38) "Oh my great grandson, do not weep so bitterly because you have suffered defeat in fight. Such is the rule of warriors: one is defeated and another wins the battle. Tomorrow you take up the fight again. (39) I will give you an arrow to kill the demons. Confront them in the fight." Arjuna answered: "As my grandfather desires." After the arrow had been accepted by Arjuna, Lord Indra disappeared.

(40) Arjuna went back to face the demons. He confronted the minister who said: "Arjuna, you have come back again. Now is the time for you to die." (41) Straight away they plunged into a fierce fight. They crushed and were countercrushed. Arjuna hastened to discharge that arrow of his. It cut the throat of the minister, who rolled down to the ground. When those of this army who had not been killed saw it, (42) they fled in confusion. They were attacked with spears from behind. When the dānavas were routed, all went up to the Court. Arjuna was brought up. The king said: "Your Highness my dear son, (43) it is our good fortune that you came to our help. Now my country is entirely at your disposal." Arjuna said: "Pray Your Majesty my uncle, where is the bajra which is mighty powerful, (44) so that I can use it to break the shell of [my brother]?" The king spoke slowly: "Your Highness my son, even if there is a bajra sufficient for the entire globe, it will not pierce [the shell] of your brother, if he himself does not want it. Just wait for it, my son." (45) Before the talk finished, the earth quaked and rains burst forth. Heaven was shaken terribly. The gods were confused. The sun and the moon were dislodged. Bhaṭāra Guru said: "Pray brother Nārada, (46) please come down together with the elephant called Gajahsena, to the forest Gondhamahi and break the shell [of Bhima]." God Nārada replied yes. Both started and descended from Heaven, (47) heading for the forest Gondhamahi towards that shell. Without delay they reached there. On the arrival of Bhaṭāra Guru, the elephant Gajahsena took hold of the shell and threw it down. (48) But it did not break. Gajahsena applied all his force. He took hold of it and threw it down once again. After it was broken, thence came out a bearded person, (49) completely dressed and very tall. God Nārada was in front of him. Approaching him [he asked]: "Who is this old man?" God Nārada said: "I am a god from Heaven. (50) I am God Nārada, commissioned by my Bhaṭāra Guru to take you out of your shell. Your name will be Bratasena. Now you go back home (51) to the city of Hastinā together with Arjuna." God Nārada disappeared to return to Heaven. Bratasena said: "Who are you?" Arjuna answered: (52) "I am your younger brother. I am Arjuna." Sena replied: "Oh, you are my younger brother. Let us go to the city of Hastinā." Arjuna replied: "As you desire, my elder brother." (53) Then both of them departed together with Gareň and Petruk who followed them. Shortly after their departure they reached Hastinā, and there Arjuna was chased. They wanted to kill him. Sena came to the rescue. (54) Both of them were mobbed by the Kauravas together with that Śakuni. But all of them were thrown down. They fled wherever they could, some with their heads broken. (55) None dared to confront them....







17. ILLUSTRATIONS OF BALINESE MUDRĀS

In the early fifties my father, Prof. RaghuVira, had sketches of Balinese worship done by two Balinese artists. They pertain to a Śaiva and a Buddhist priest, their eighteen mudras, ceremonial vestments and ritual implements. They are reproduced in the following pages. In case of a noticeable difference in ornamentation, or greater clarity or for other reasons, the sketches by both artists have been reproduced.

The eighteen mudrās pertains to: *muṣṭi* (fist), *padma* (lotus), *vajra, śaṅkha* (conch), *daṇḍa* (baton), *khaḍga* (sword), *nāgapāśa*(serpentine noose), *dhvaja* (banner), *cakra* (discus), *Śiva Buddha tuṅgal* (Śiva and Buddha are one), *hṛdaya* (heart), *śara* (arrow), *hṛdaya* (heart), *nara amraśika, triśūla* (trident), *dhanuḥ* (bow), *kavaca* (armour), and *paraśu* (axe).

The following symbols, furniture and implements of ritual have been illustrated.

Vestments of a priest

8. Mitre (*bava*)
9. Ear-rings (*hantiṅ-hantiṅ karṇṇa)*
10. Necklace (*kaṇṭhābharaṇa)*
11. Slimpĕt (stole across the shoulder)
12. Two rosaries worn across both shoulders (*smayut* or *smayut gaṇitrī*)
13. Two armlets (*mlaṅ taṅan*)
14. Prayer-napkin (*kakasaṅ*)
15. Box for vestments and mattress (*kotak mivah luṅka-luṅka*)
16. Seat (*dadampar*)

Ritual implements

17. Water-pot for washing feet (*pavijakan sokor*)
18. Pitcher for water (*palukatan*)
19. Flower-cup (*śamśam*)
20. Cup for rice (*pavijan bras*)
21. Cup for sandal (*pavijan candana*)
22. Two śivakaraṇa for incense and flowers
23. Bell (*ghaṇṭā*)
24. *Canti*
25. *Vajra*
26. Śivāmbhaḥ on tripod (*tripada*)
27. Sandal censer (*pasĕpan*)

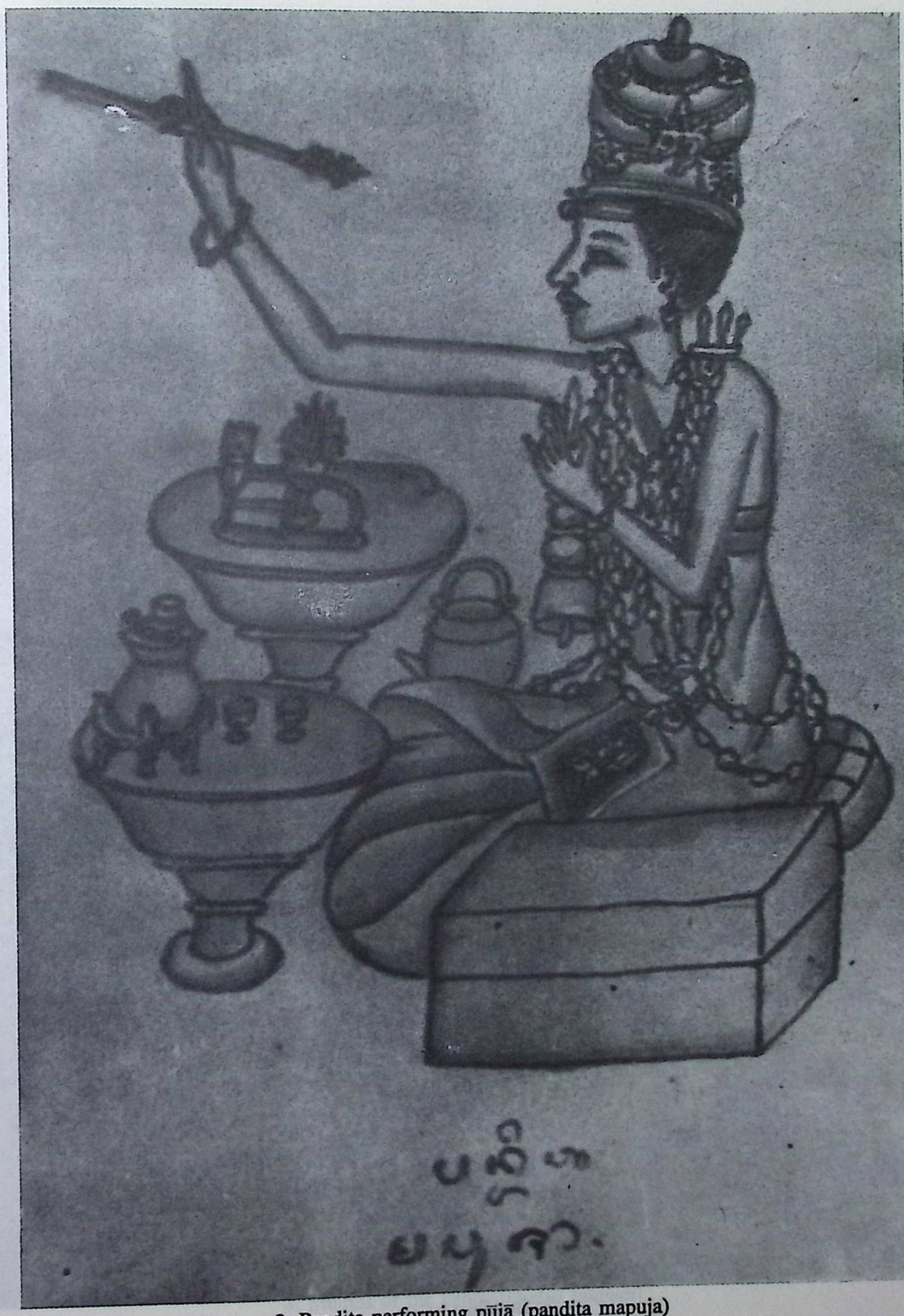
28. *Padamaran* with Nandī
29. *Sasirat* for sprinkling holy water on devotees, and *Cantiṅ* to pour out holy water

The Śaiva priest (fig.1) wears the mitre (*bava*), ear-rings (*hantiṅ-hantiṅ karṇa*), stole (*slimpĕt*) over the right shoulder which is twisted round his breast, two rosaries across the breast (*smayut gaṇitrī*), prayer-napkin in his lap, as he sits on a mattress (*luṅka-luṅka*) with the vestment-box besides him. His right hand holds a sasirat to sprinkle holy water on the devotees, as the left hand rings the bell (*ghaṇṭā*). There are two stands in front. On the first is the *śivāmbhaḥ* 'Śiva's Water' on a tripod, a bowl containing holy water. It is sprinkled on the devotees with the sasirat. Next to the śivāmbhaḥ are two cups for rice-grains and for sandal (*pavijan bras* and *pavijan candana*), and strewn flowers. The powdered sandal wood is thrown on the burning censer (*pasĕpan*) to give a sweet fragrance. The brass lamp (*padamaran*, also called *pĕdipan*) is filled with coconut oil and is decorated with a nāga (*serpent*) and a Nandī (bull).

The Buddhist priest (fig.3) has an extra flower-cup on the stand, and a *canti* or brass flag on the second table. The *canti* is directed to the four cardinal points during the chanting of prayers.

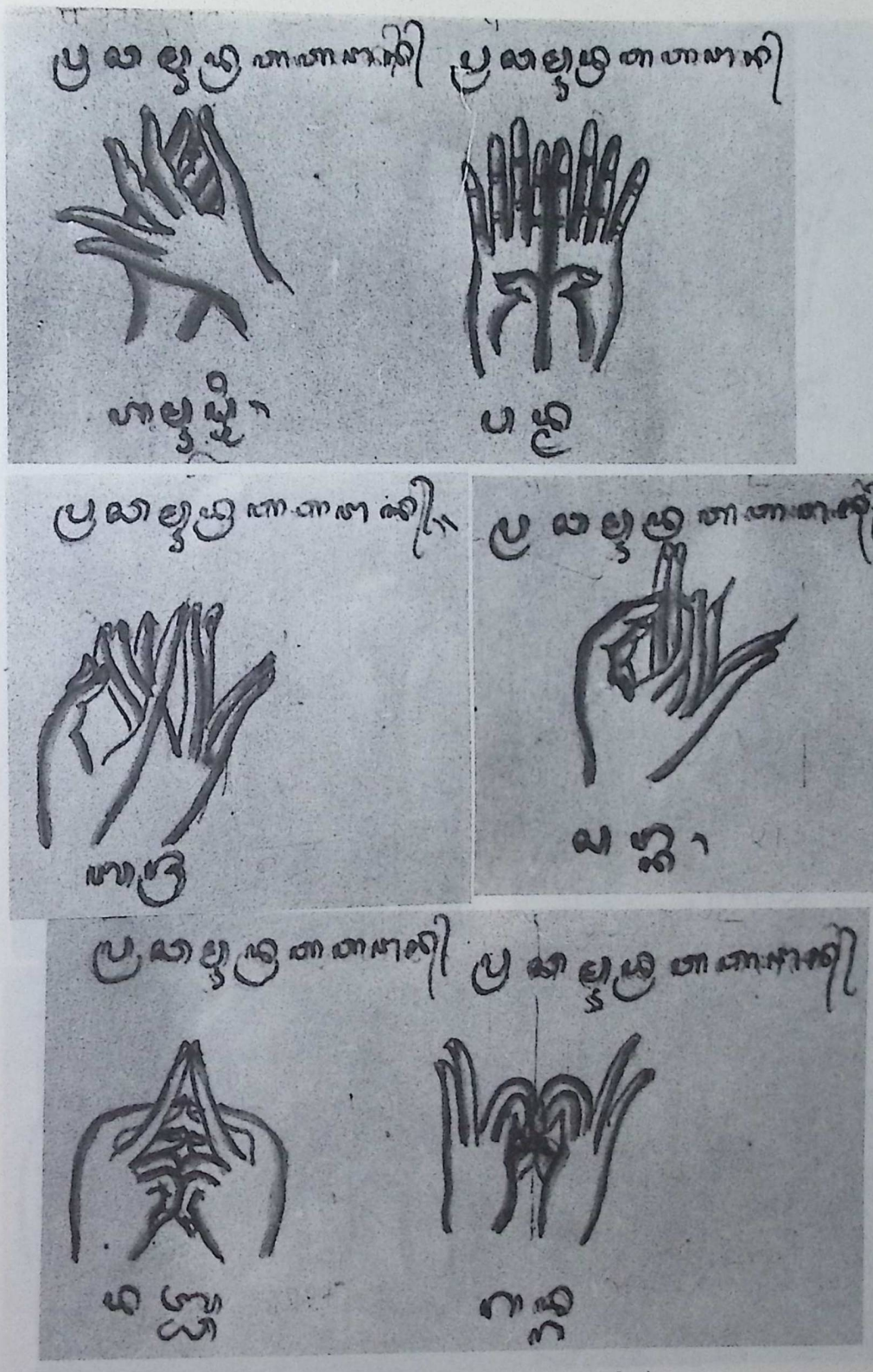
Figures 30-57 are line drawings done by an artist for Prof. RaghuVira from the English edition of Tyra de Kleen, *Mudrās: the Ritual Hand-poses of the Buddha Priests and the Shiva Priests of Bali.* Only the front views have been taken and the side views have been left out (e.g. pl.30 is included, but not pl.31). Plates 30-39 show five variations of the mitre (*bava*).

1. Śaiva priest



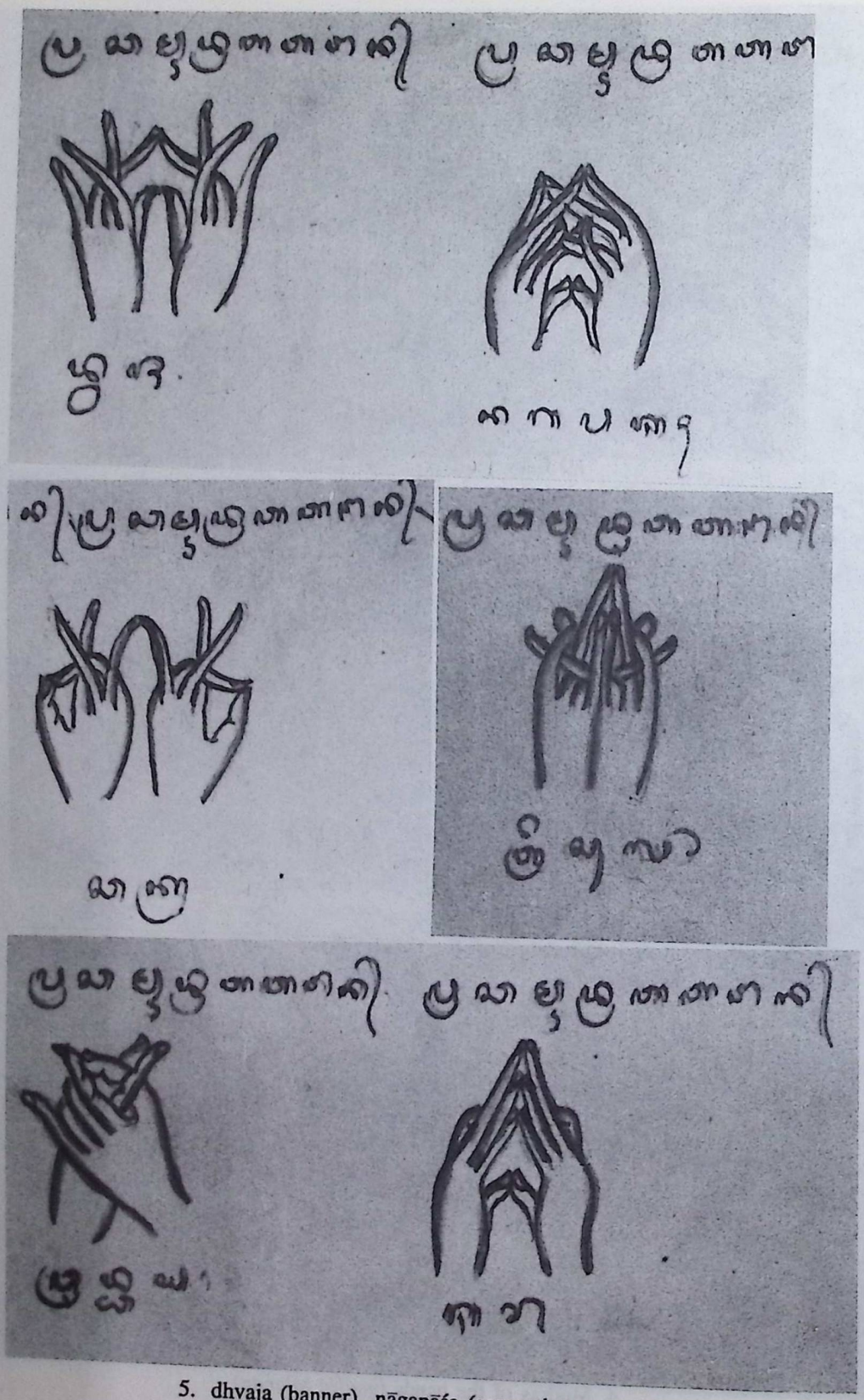
2. Paṇḍita performing pūjā (paṇḍita mapuja)

3. Buddhist priest

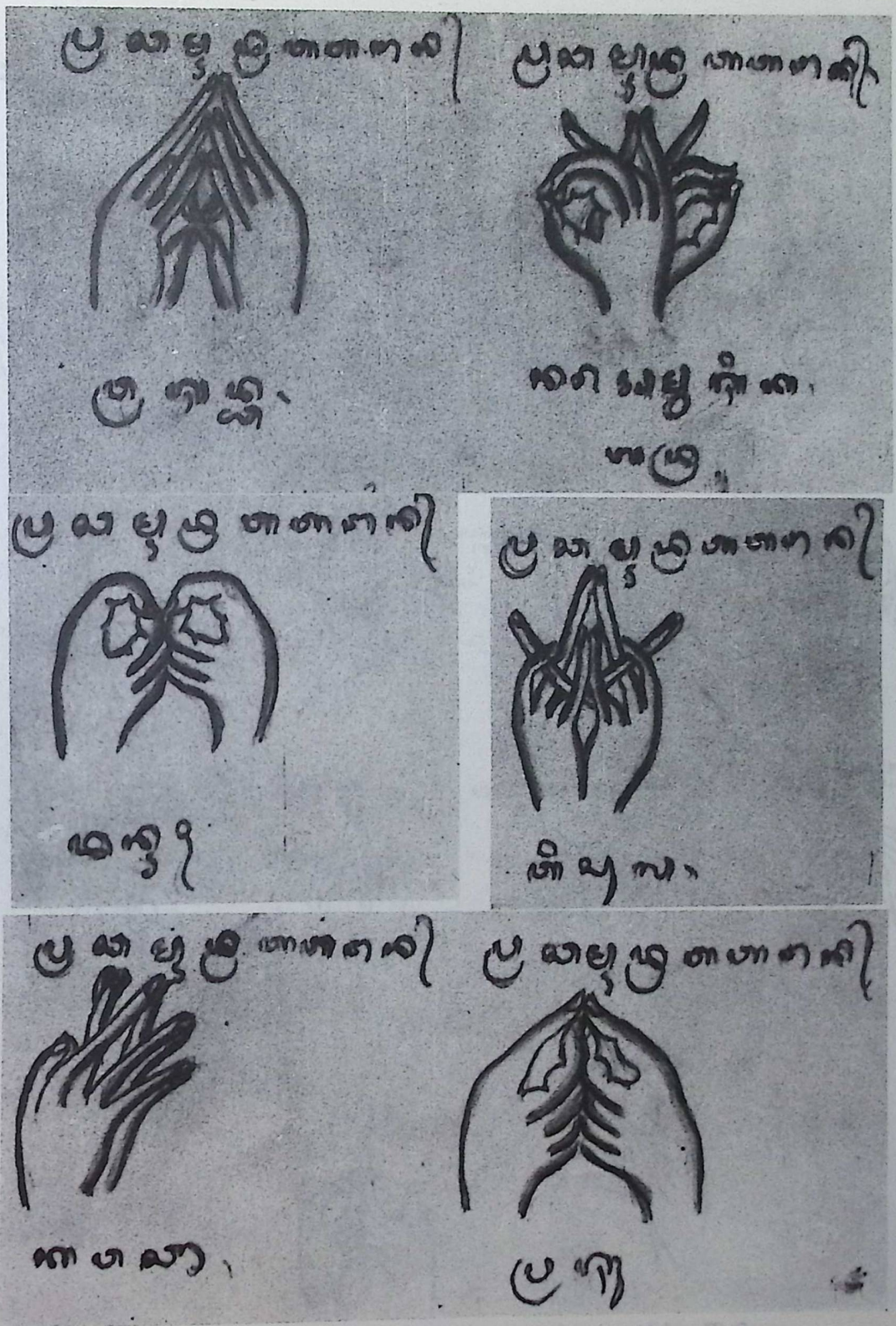


4. Mudras of the hands (*mudrā tataṅan*)

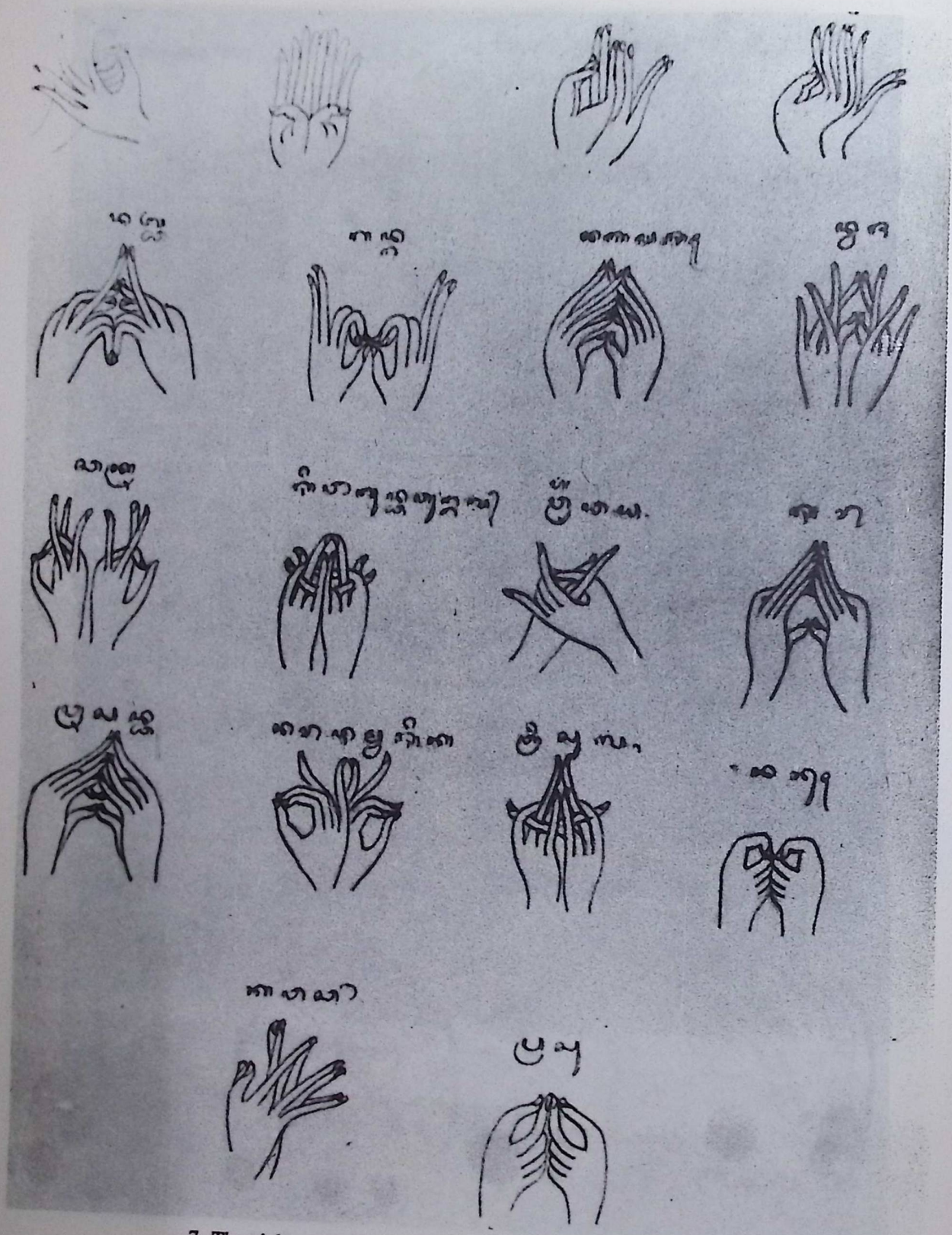
muṣṭi (fist)	padma (lotus)
vajra	śaṅkha (conch)
daṇḍa (baton)	khaḍga (sword)



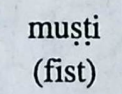
5. dhvaja (banner) nāgapāśa (serpentine noose)
cakra (discus) triśūla (trident)
hṛdaya (heart) śara (arrow)

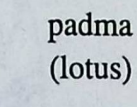


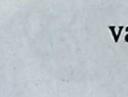
6. vraśaddha = prasāda? nara amraśikabadra
dhanuḥ (bow) triśūla (trident)
kavaca (armour) paraśu (axe)

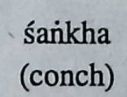


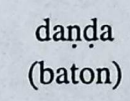
7. The eighteen mudrās, shown earlier, drawn by another artist.

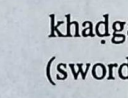

muṣṭi
(fist)

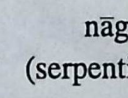

padma
(lotus)

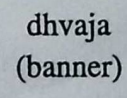

vajra

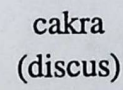

śaṅkha
(conch)

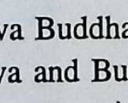

daṇḍa
(baton)

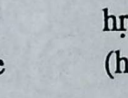

khaḍga
(sword)

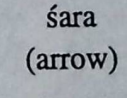

nāgapāśa
(serpentine noose)

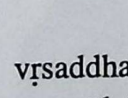

dhvaja
(banner)

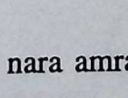

cakra
(discus)

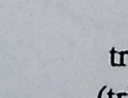

Śiva Buddha tuṅgal
(Śiva and Buddha are one)

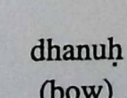

hṛdaya
(heart)

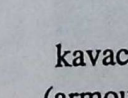

śara
(arrow)

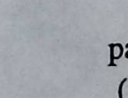

vṛsaddha
=prasāda?

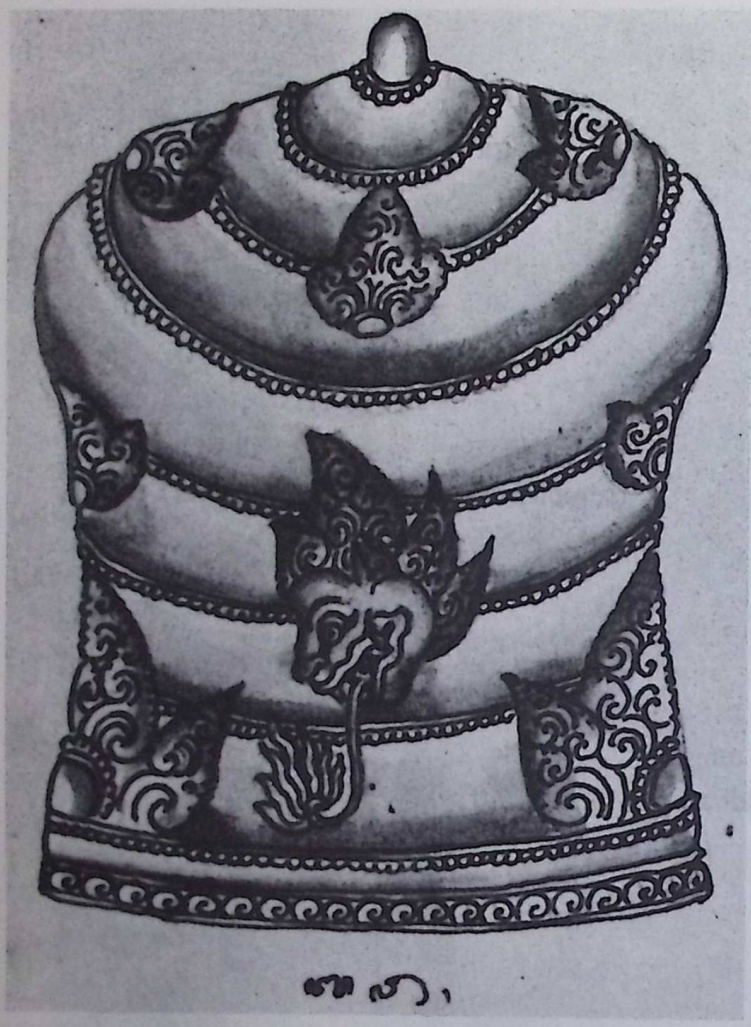

nara amrasika

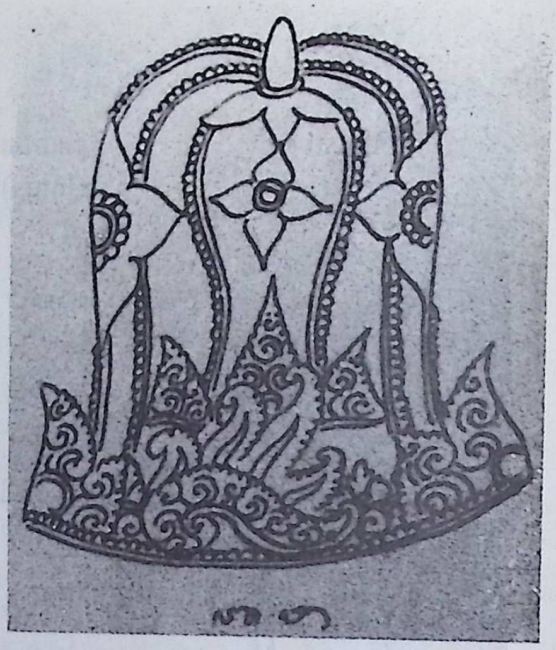

triśūla
(trident)


dhanuḥ
(bow)

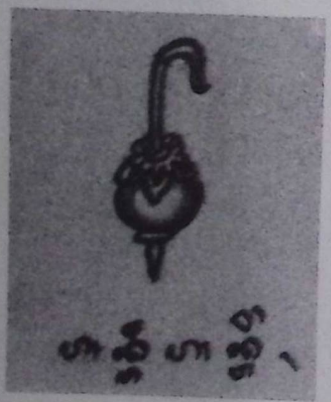

kavaca
(armour)

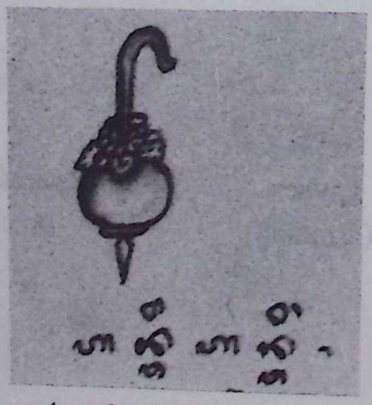

paraśu
(axe)





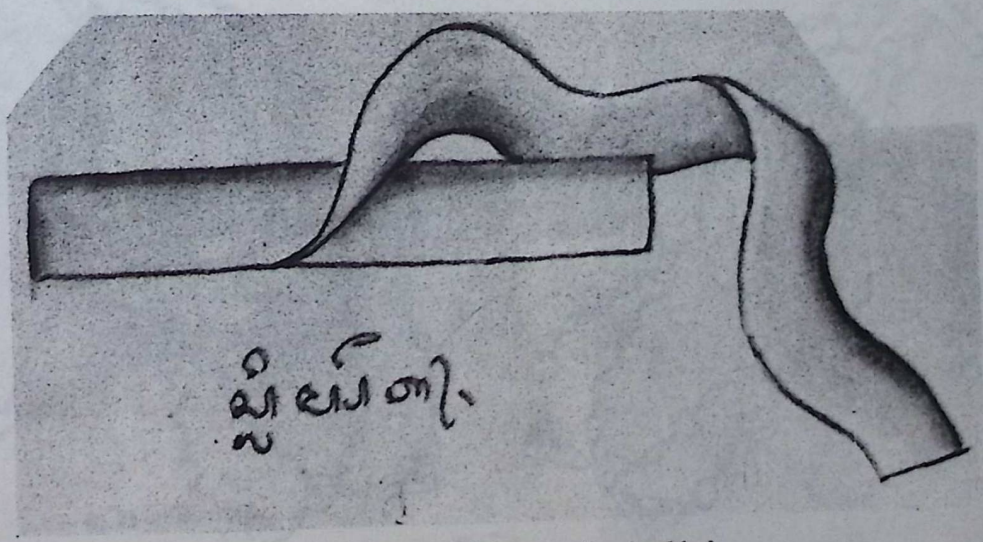
8. *bava* 'mitre'



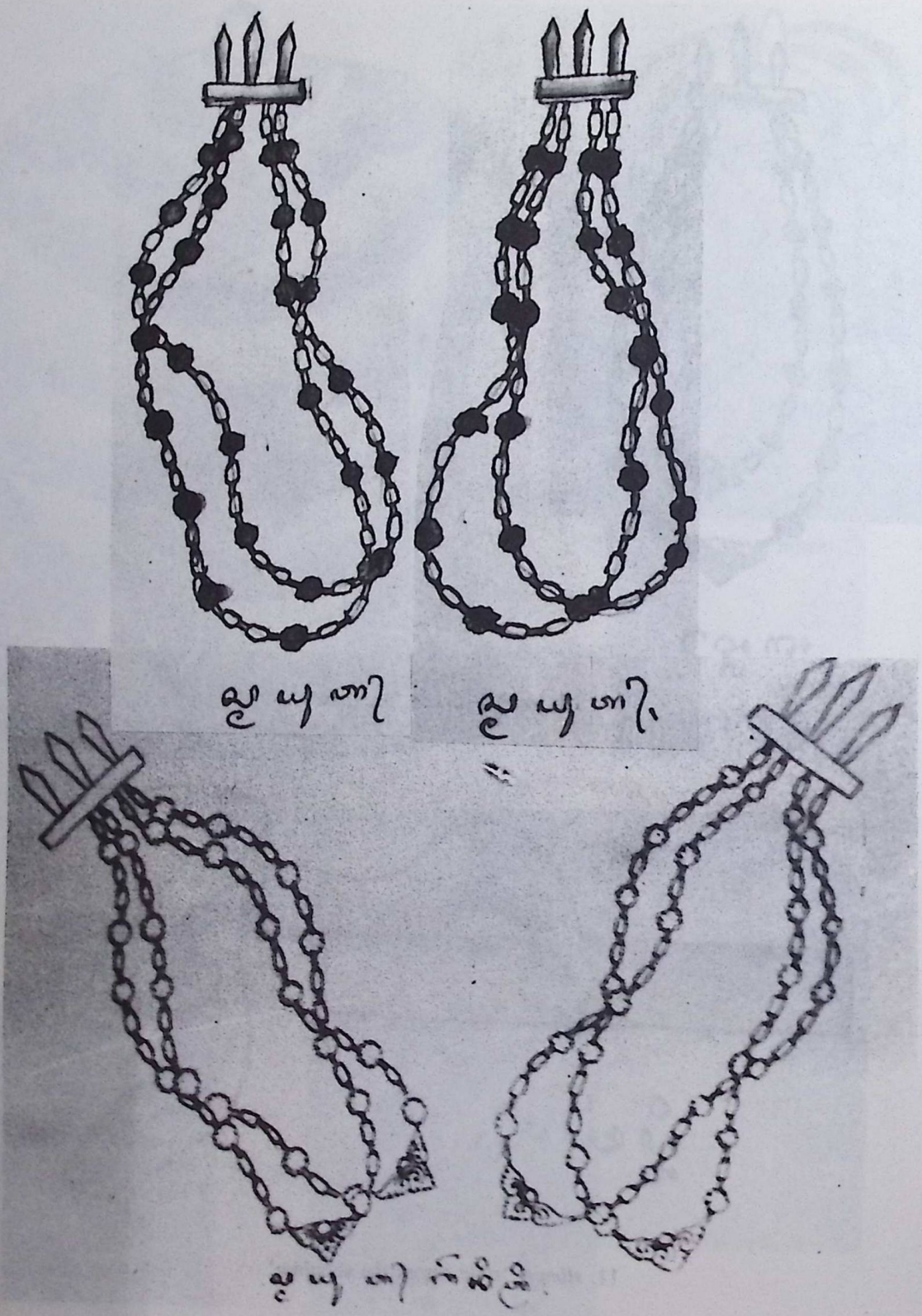


9. *hantiṅ-hantiṅ karṇṇa* 'ear-rings'

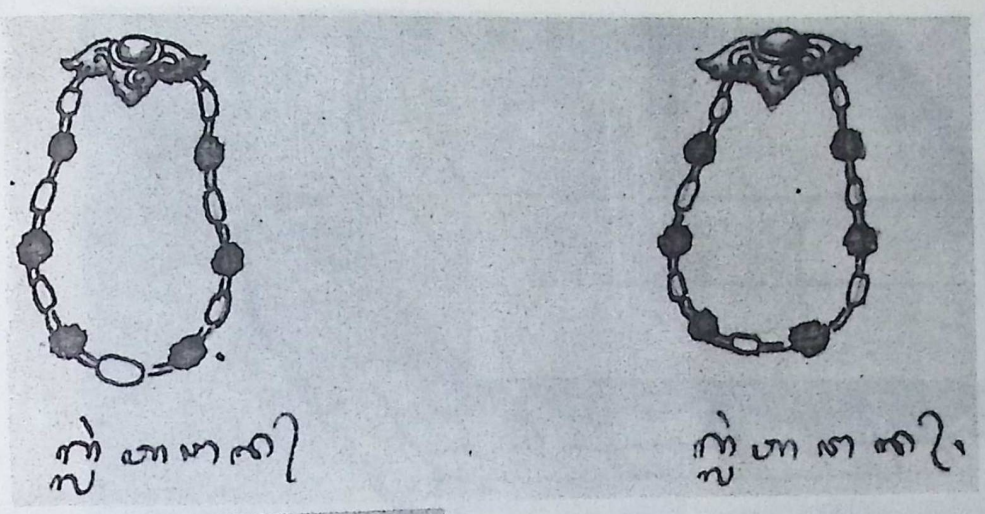
10. *kaṇṭhābharaṇa* 'necklace'

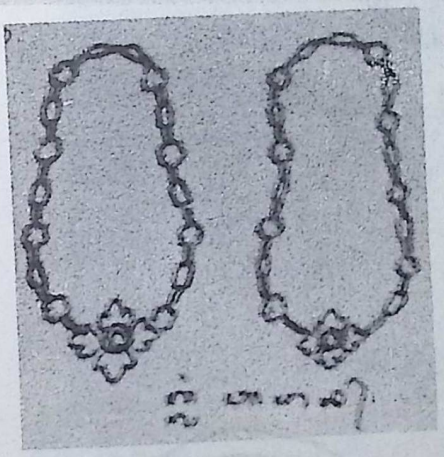


11. *slimpĕt* 'stole across the shoulder'

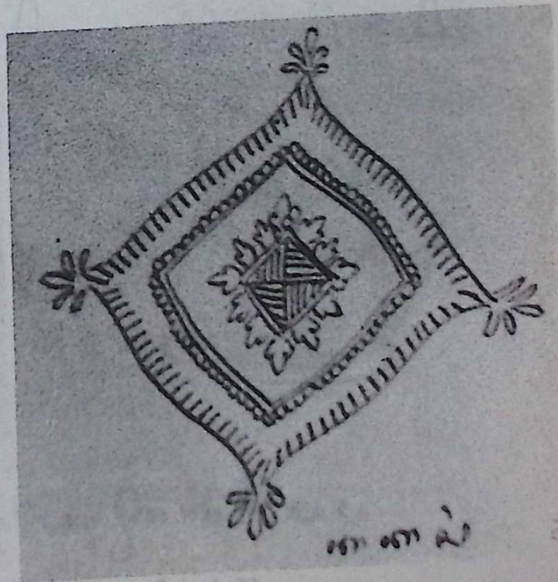


12. two rosaries worn across both shoulders (*smayut* or *smayut gaṇitri*)

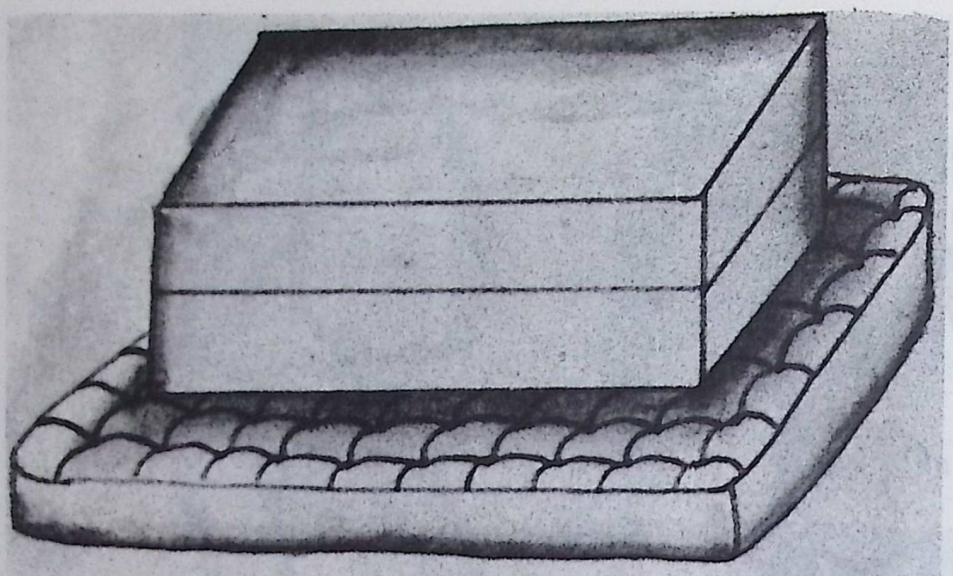


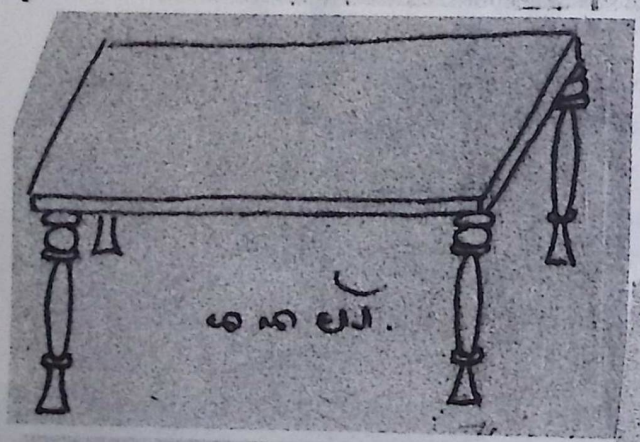


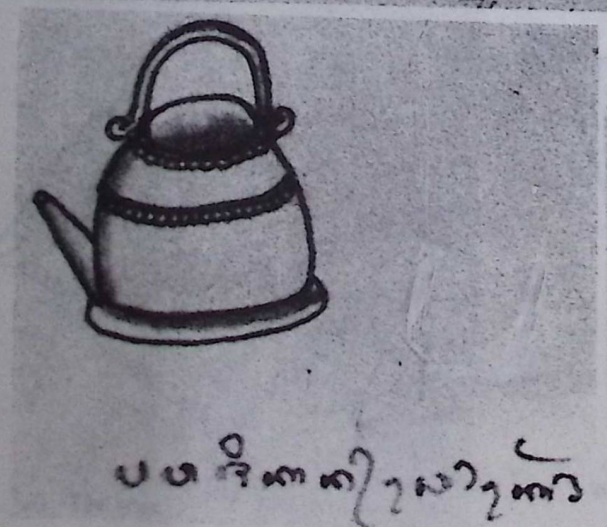
13. two armlets (*mlaṅ taṅan*)

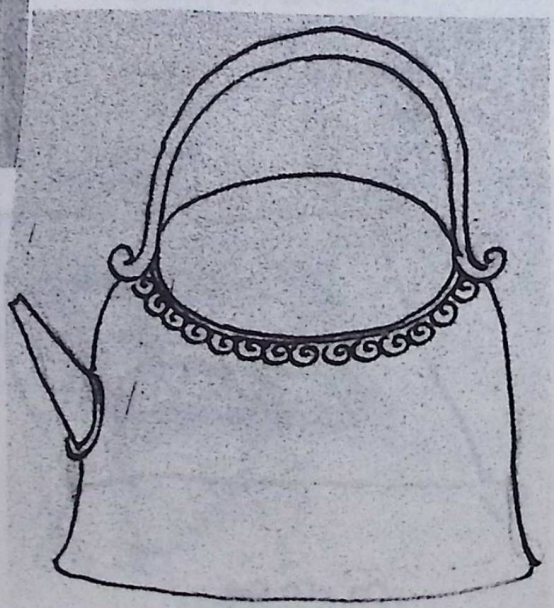


14. prayer-napkin (*kakasaṅ*)

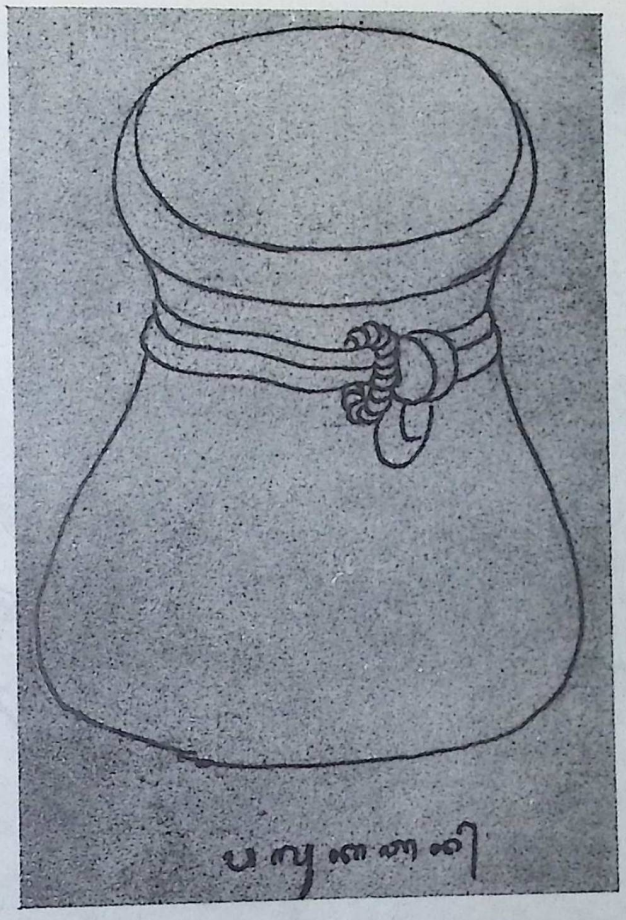


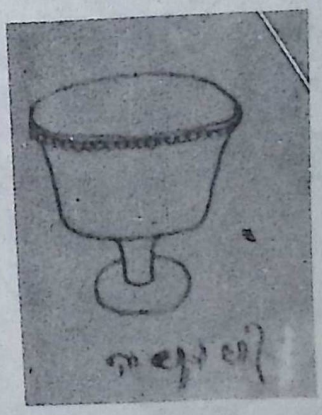




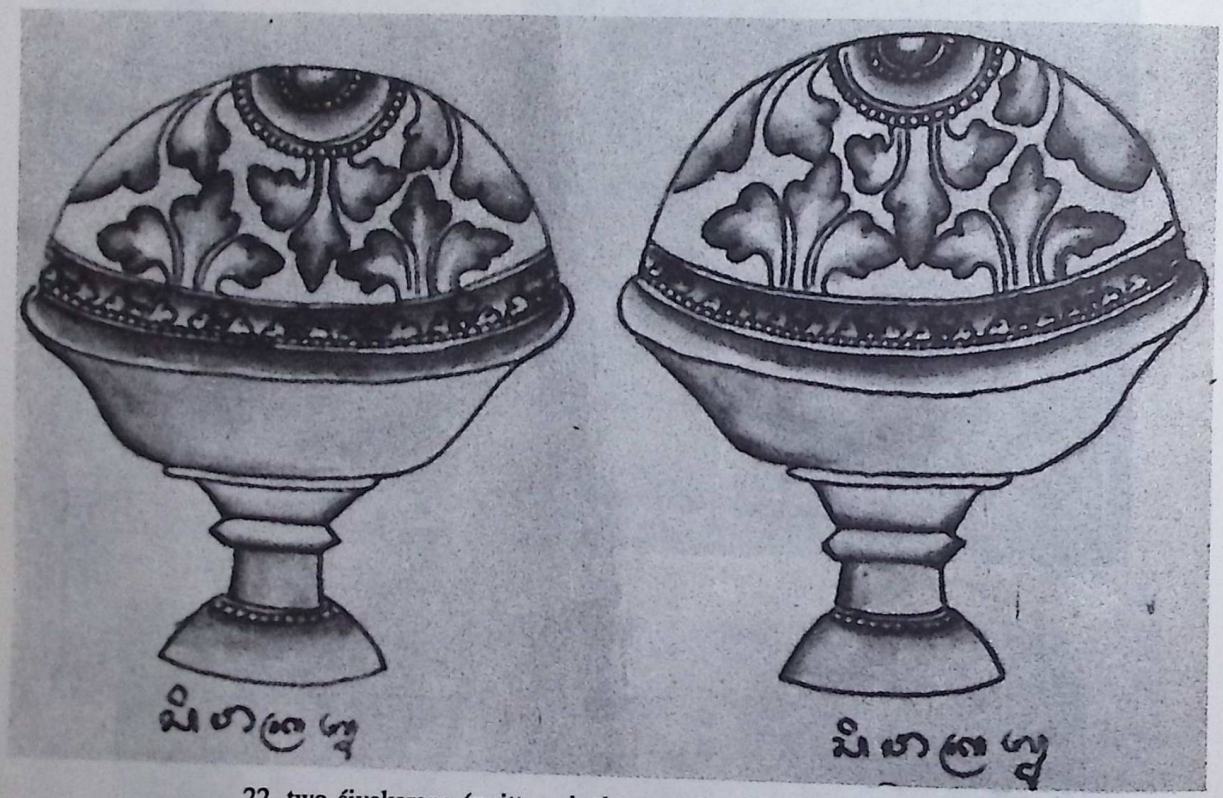


15. box for vestments and mattress (*kotak mivah luńka-luńka*)
16. seat (*dadampar*)
17. water-pot for washing feet (*pavajikan*, or *pavajikan sokor*)

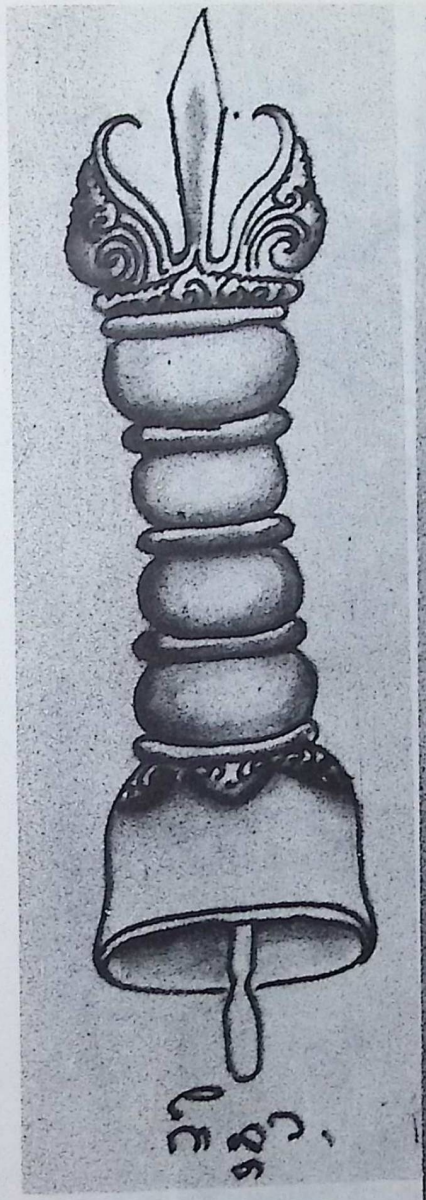




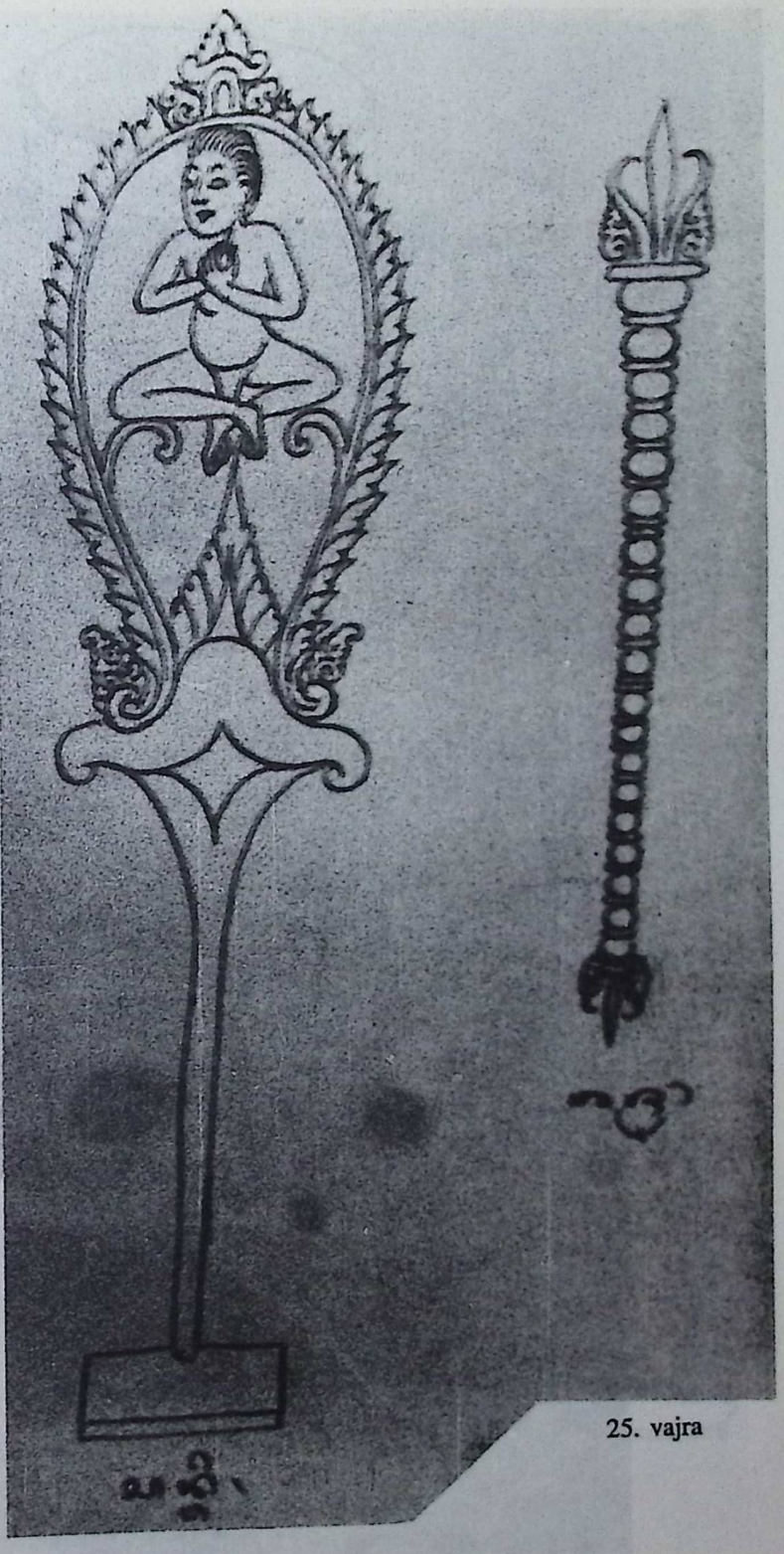
18. pitcher for water (*palukatan*)
19. flower-cup (*śamśam*)
20. cup for rice (*pavijan bras*)
21. cup for sandal (*pavijan candana/ cnaṇṇa*)



22. two śivakaraṇa (written sivākraṇṇa) for incense and flowers



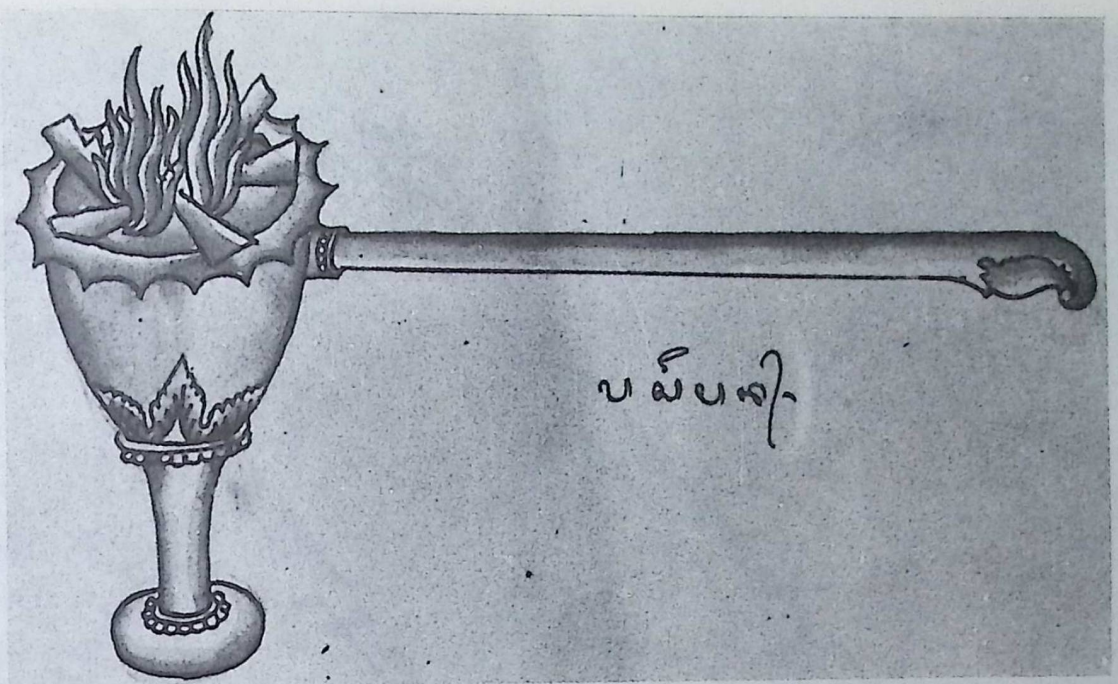
23. ghaṇṭā (bell)

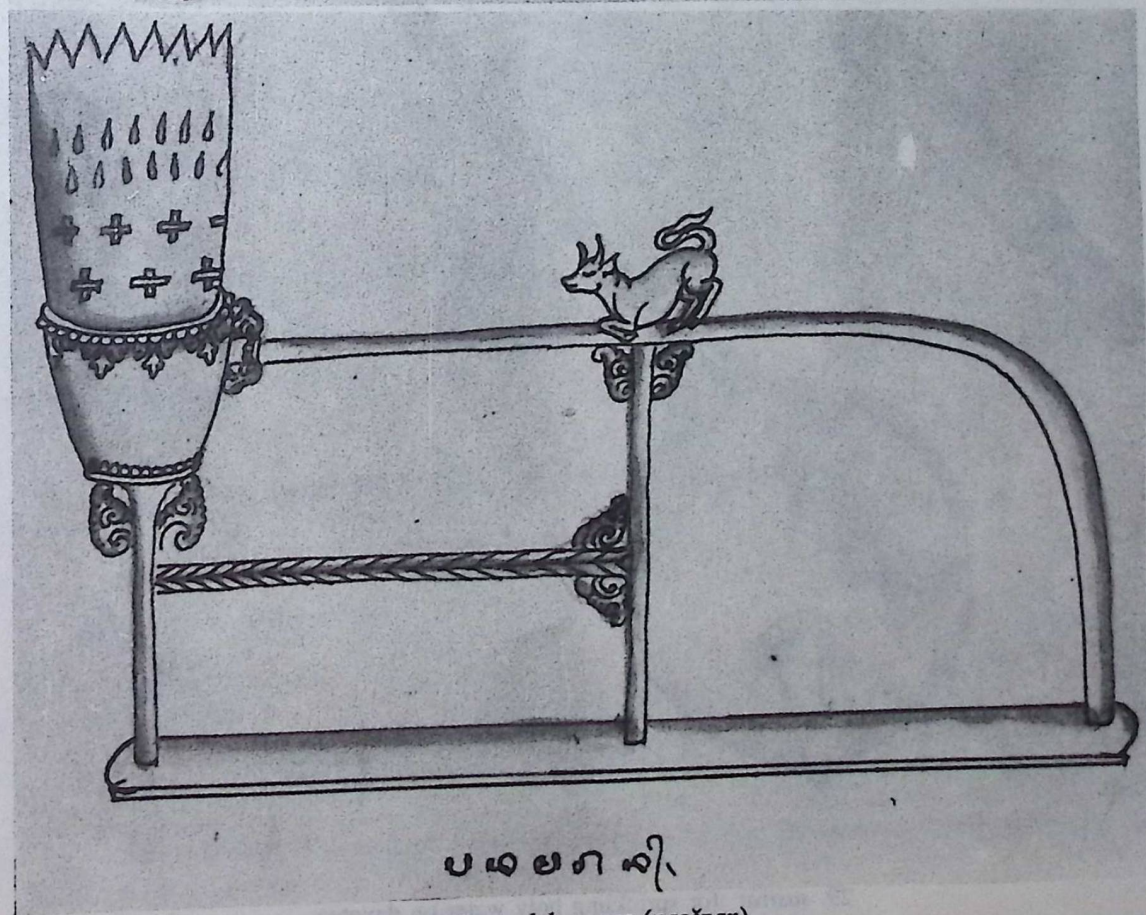


24. canti

25. vajra

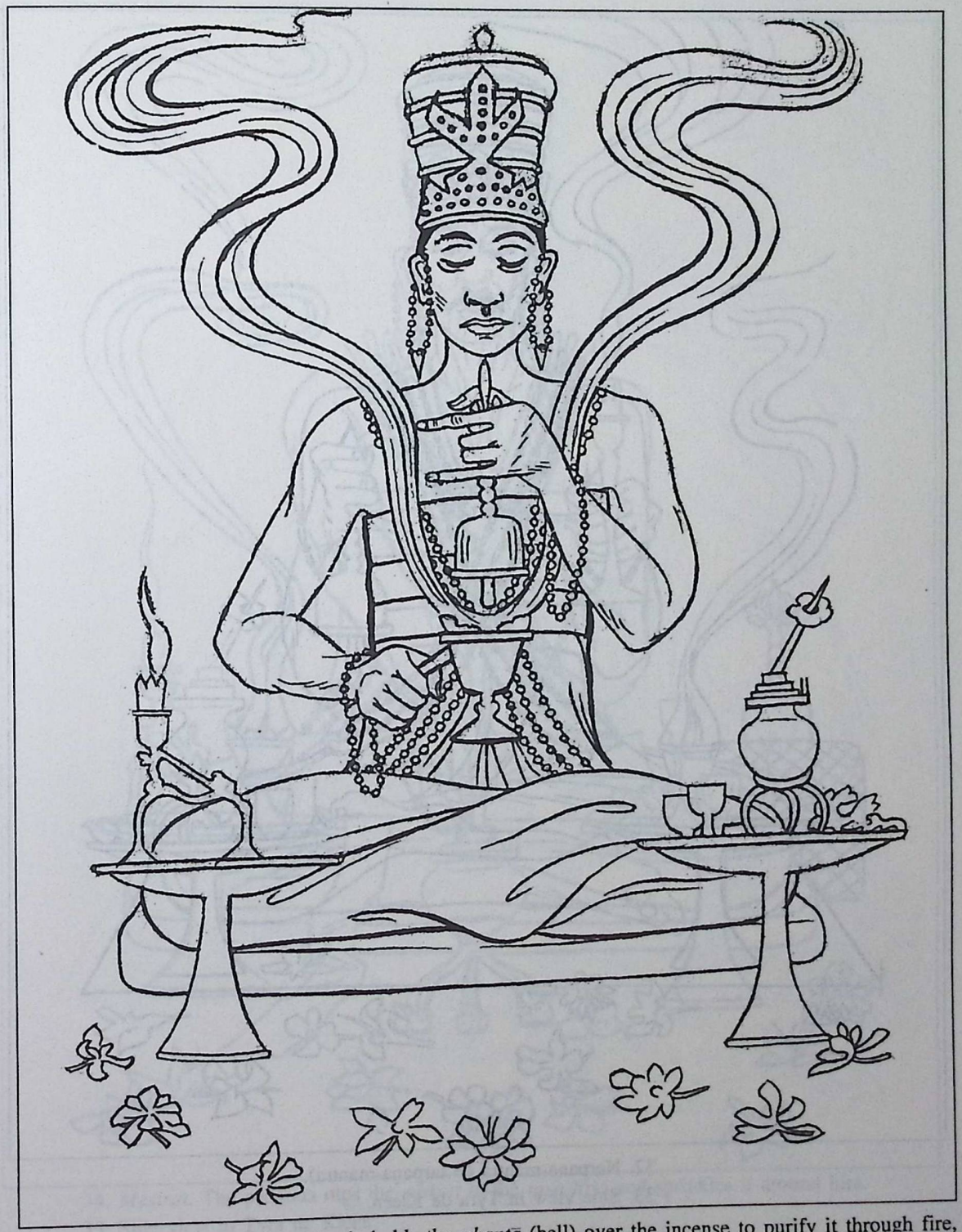
26. *śivāmbhaḥ* (written *svāmbā*) on tripod (*tripada*)





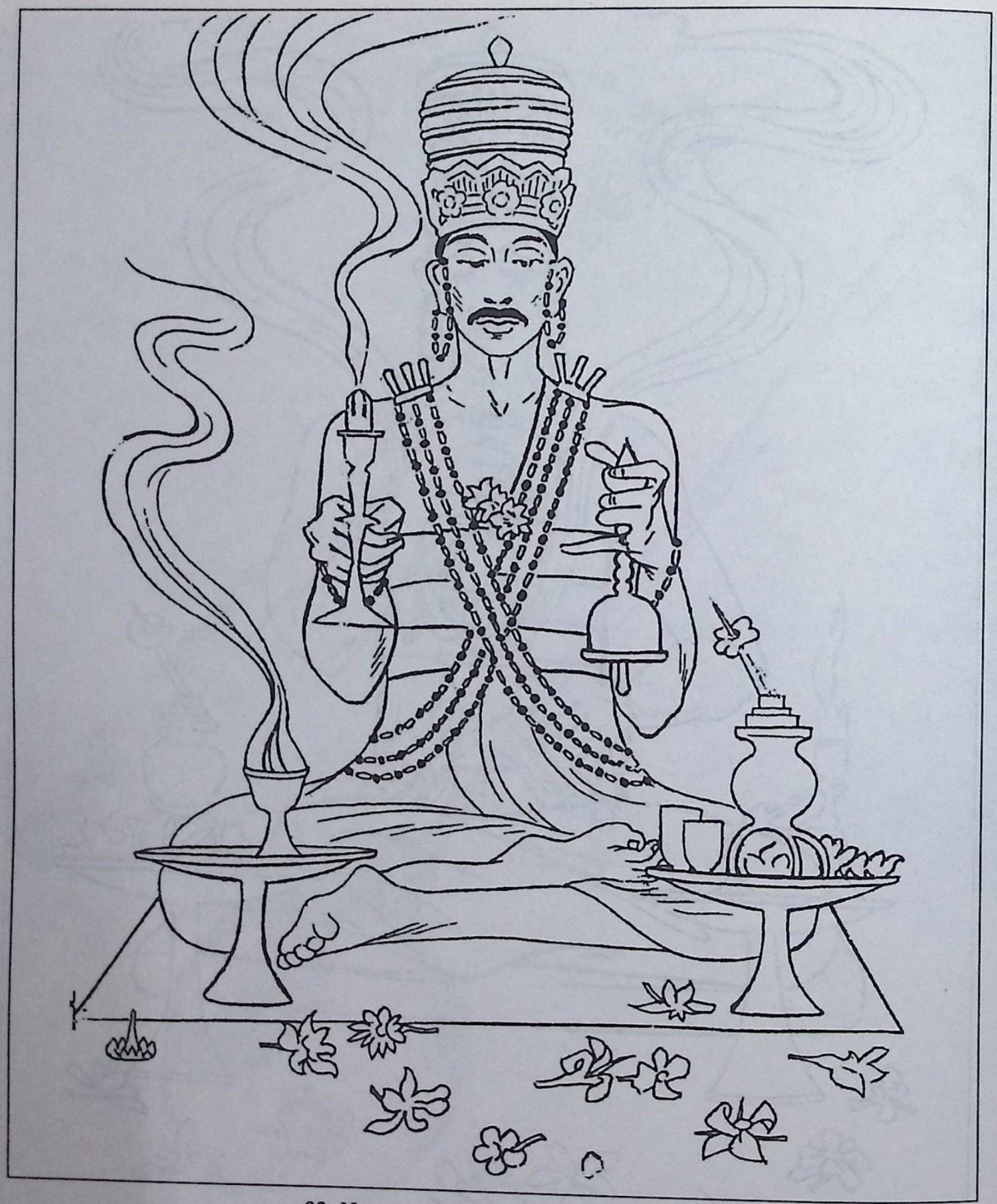
27. sandal censer (*pasĕpan*)
28. *padamaran* with Nandī

29. *sasirat* for sprinkling holy water on devotees
cantiṅ to pour out holy water

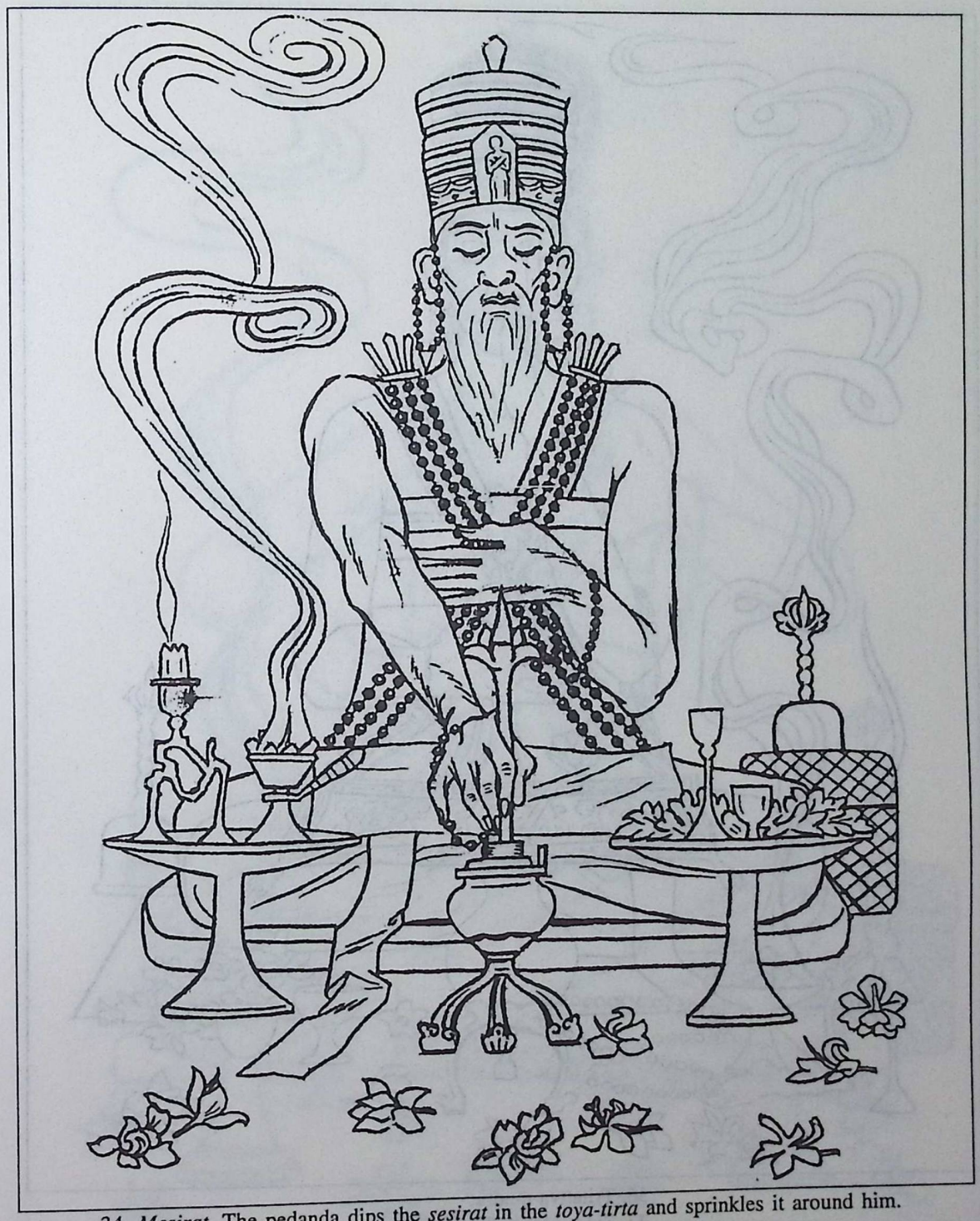


30. *Nyaṅkĕpin.* The pedanda holds the *ghaṇṭā* (bell) over the incense to purify it through fire, before he begins ringing.

31. Side view in Tyra de Kleen.

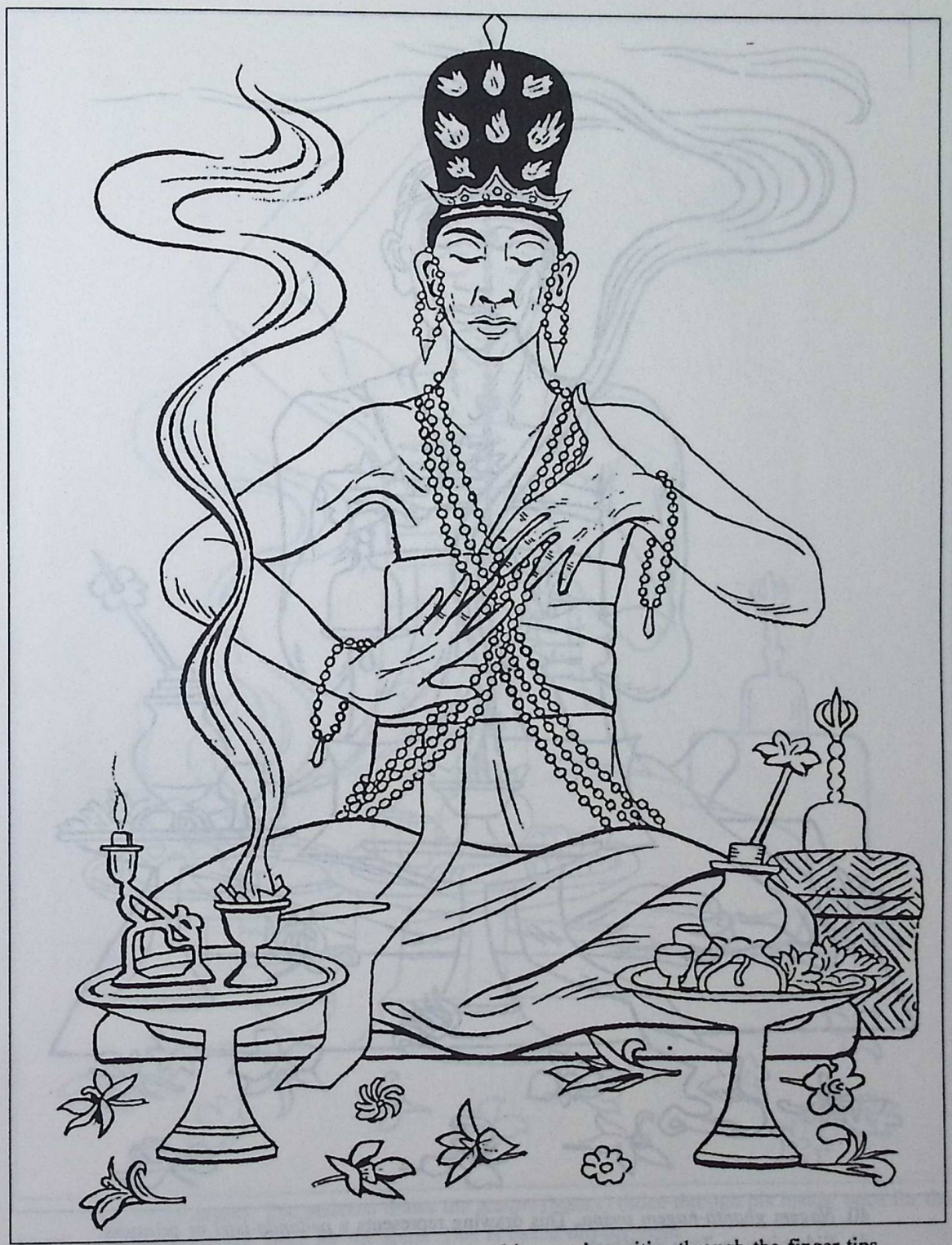


32. Narpana-mantra (= tarpaṇa-mantra).
33. Side view in Tyra de Kleen.

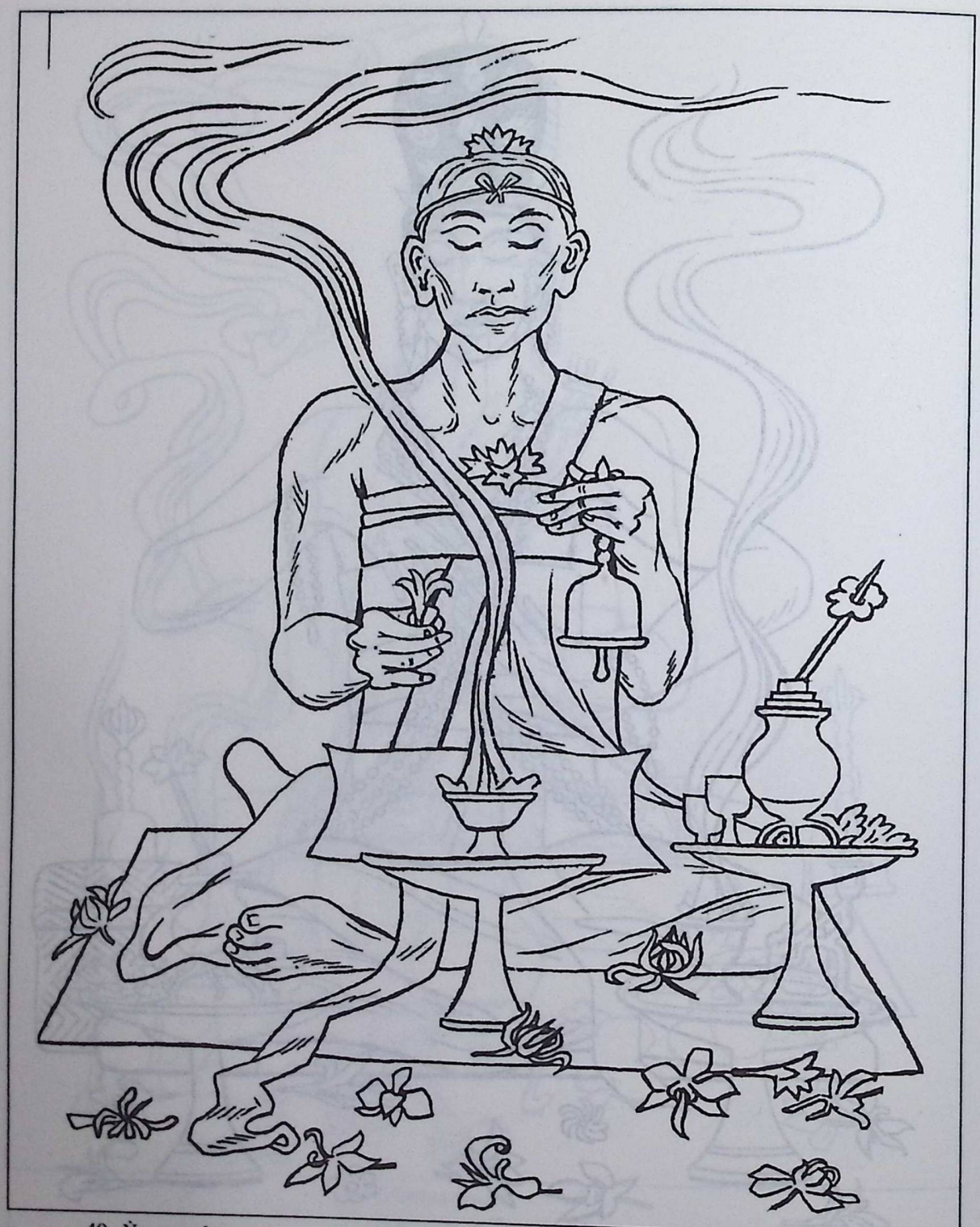


34. *Mesirat.* The pedanda dips the *sesirat* in the *toya-tirta* and sprinkles it around him.
35. Side view in Tyra de Kleen.

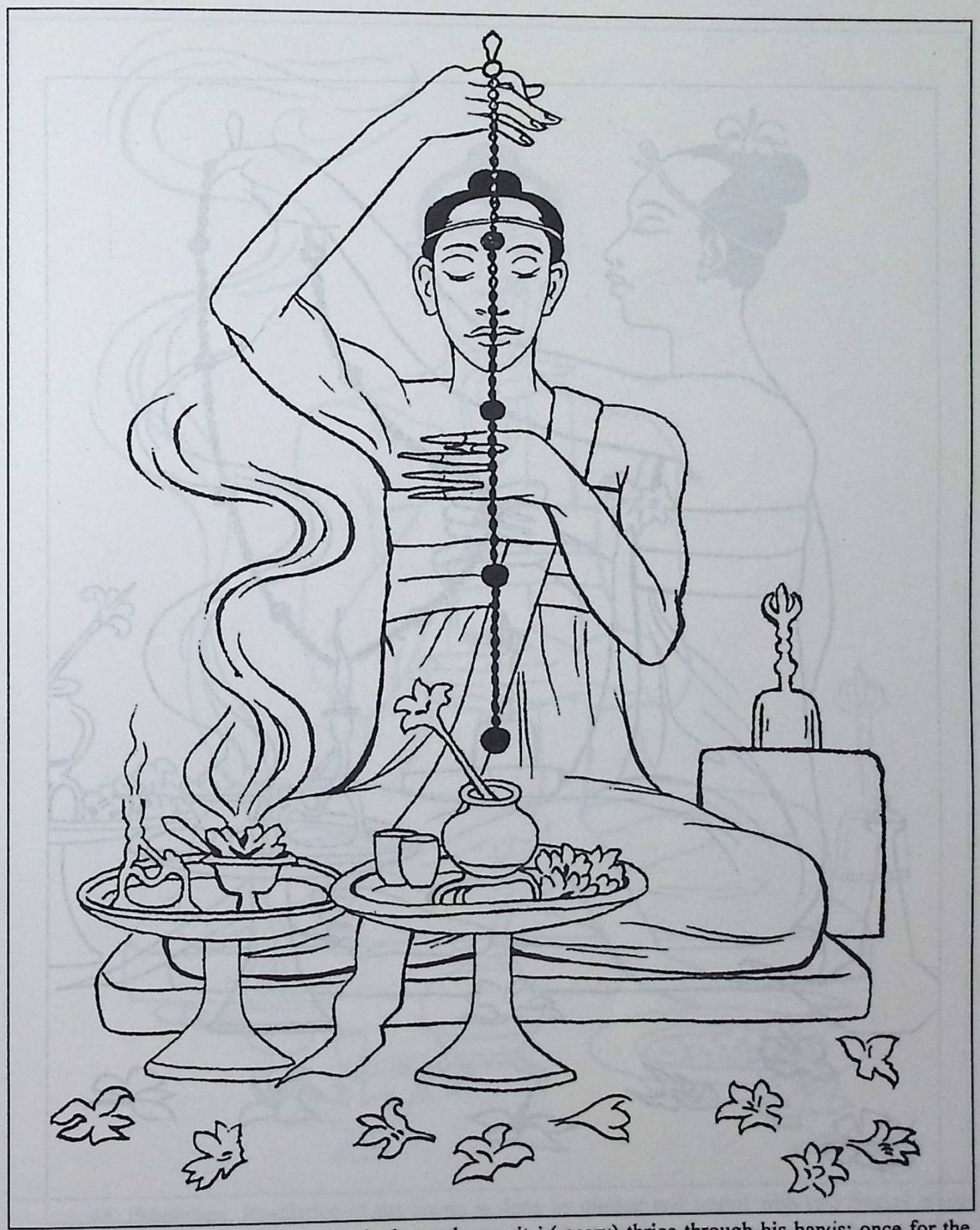
36. Tritattva-mudrā.
37. Side view in Tyra de Kleen



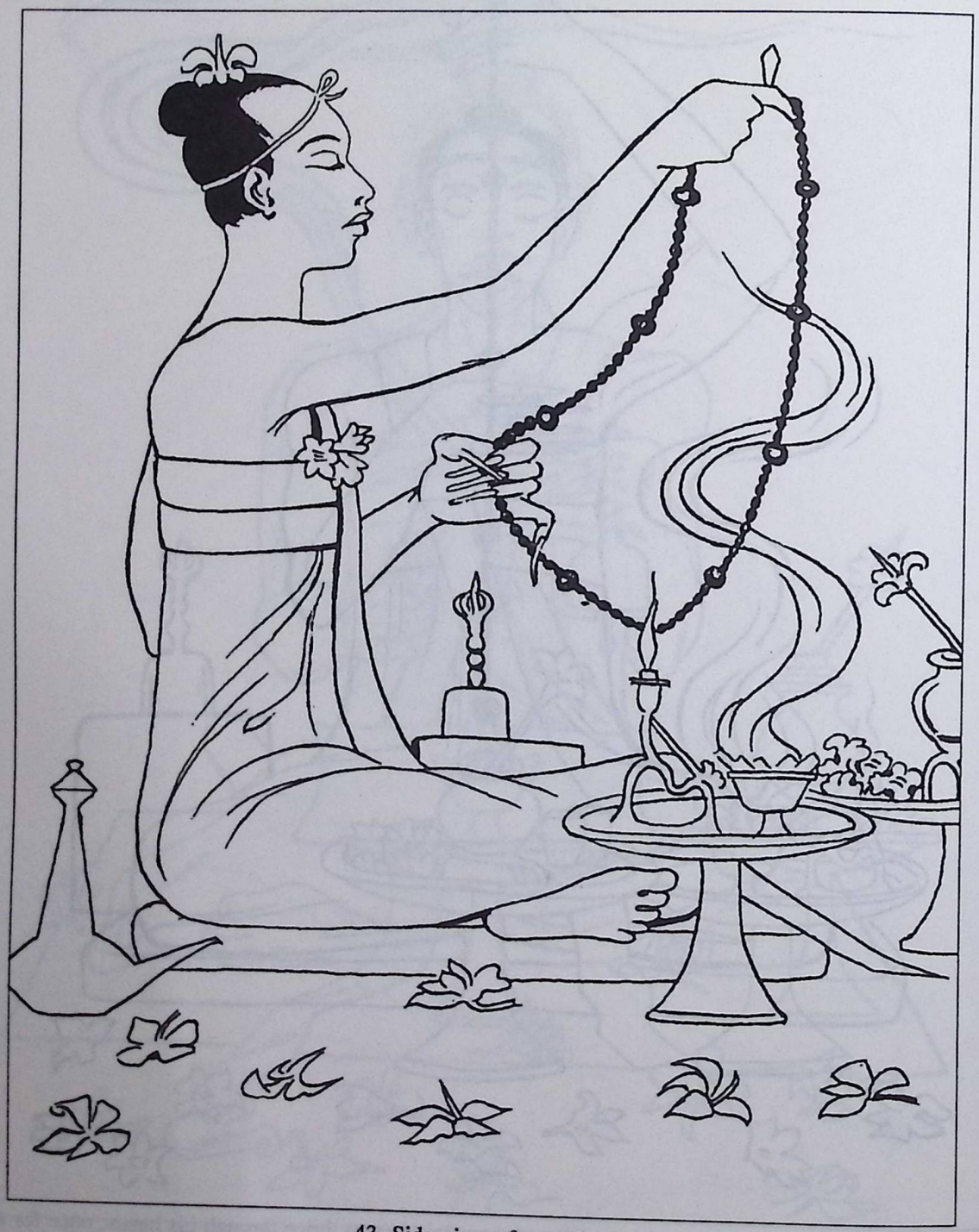
38. *Tatkaraśodhana.* Purifying the hands, to drive out impurities through the finger-tips.
39. Side view in Tyra de Kleen.



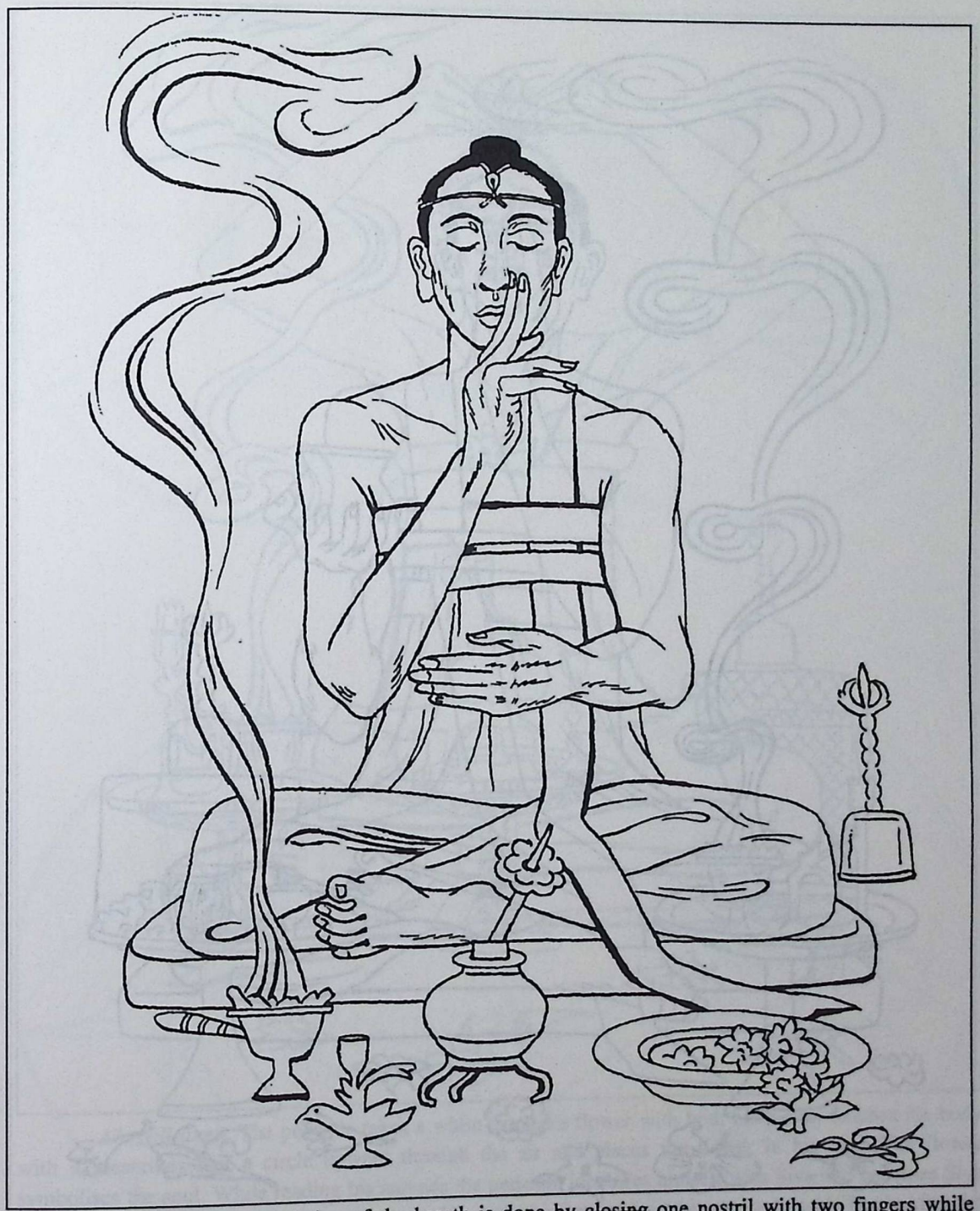
40. *Ṅagem ghaṇṭā-ṅagem puṣpa.* This drawing represents a *pedanda-istri* or priestess.
41. Side view in Tyra de Kleen.



42. Muter gaṇitri. The pedanda draws the *gaṇitri* (rosary) thrice through his hands: once for the breath, once for the voice, once for the spirit. This is called dhyāna-yoga.

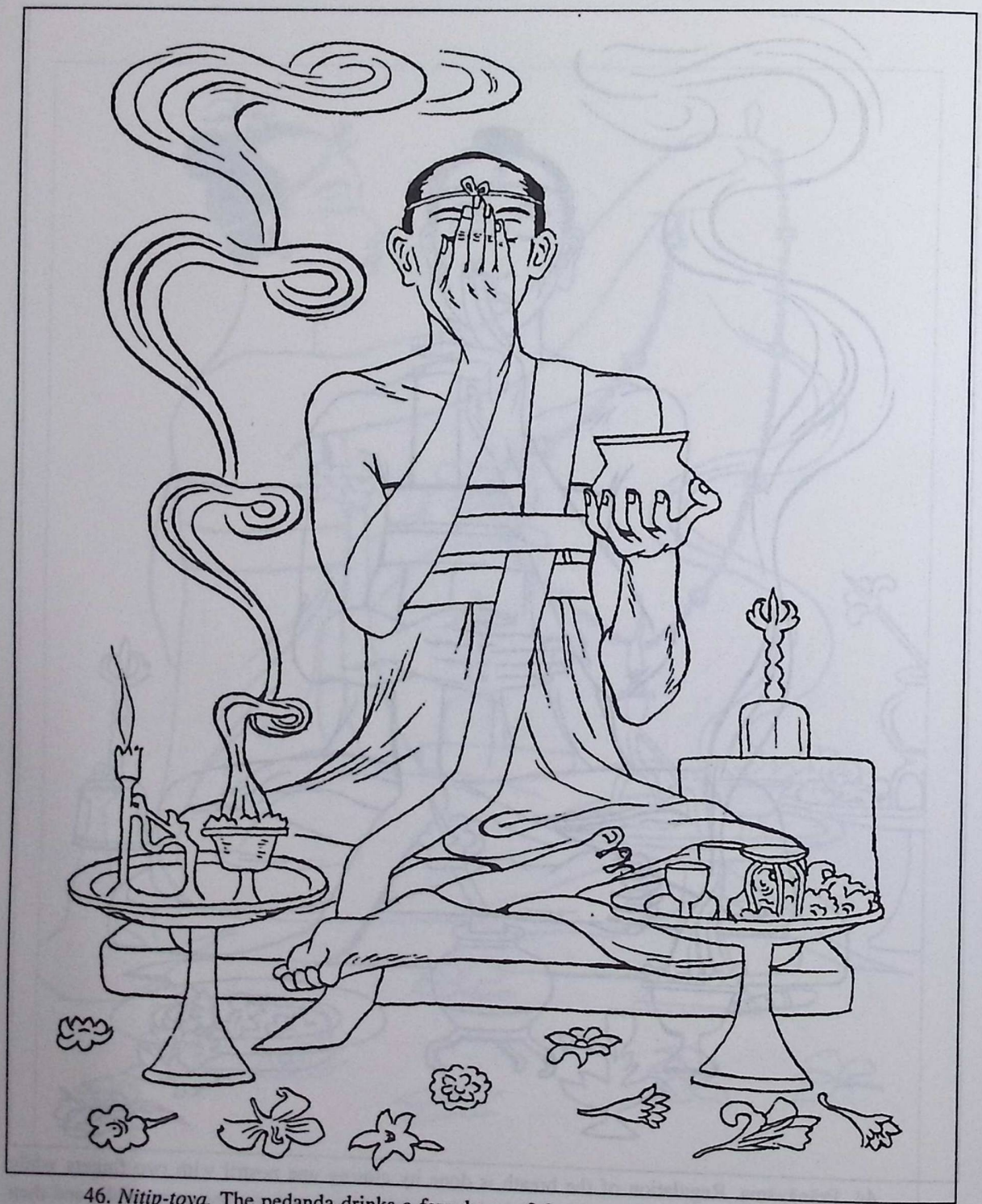


43. Side view of no. 42.



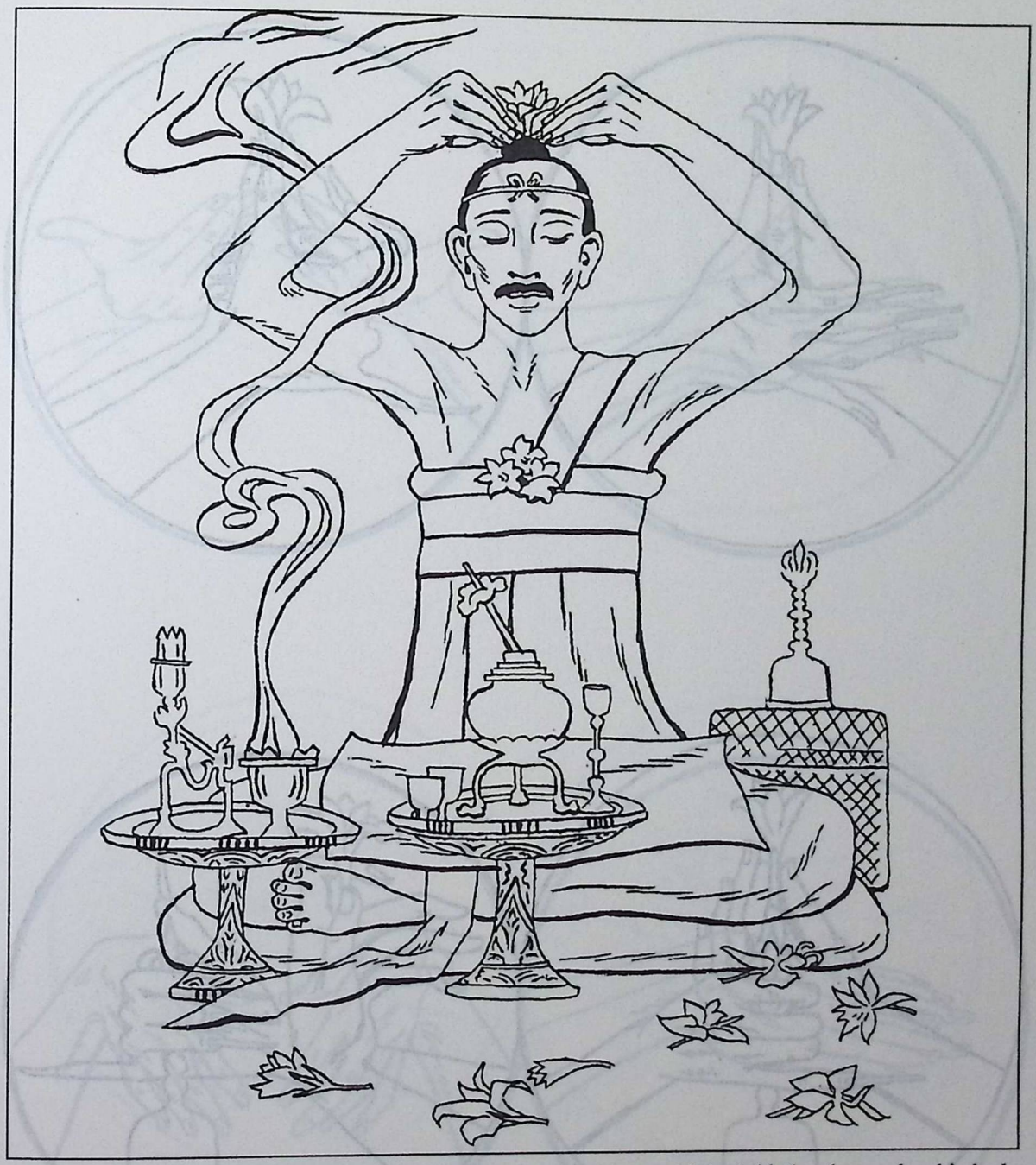
44. Prāṇāyāma. Regulation of the breath is done by ~~closing~~ one nostril with two fingers while evenly and silently drawing-in the air through the other; retaining the breath as long as possible; and then closing the other nostril while breathing-out through the first. During *maveda,* the pedanda does not do the breathing itself, but only makes the gesture of it.

45. Side view in Tyra de Kleen.



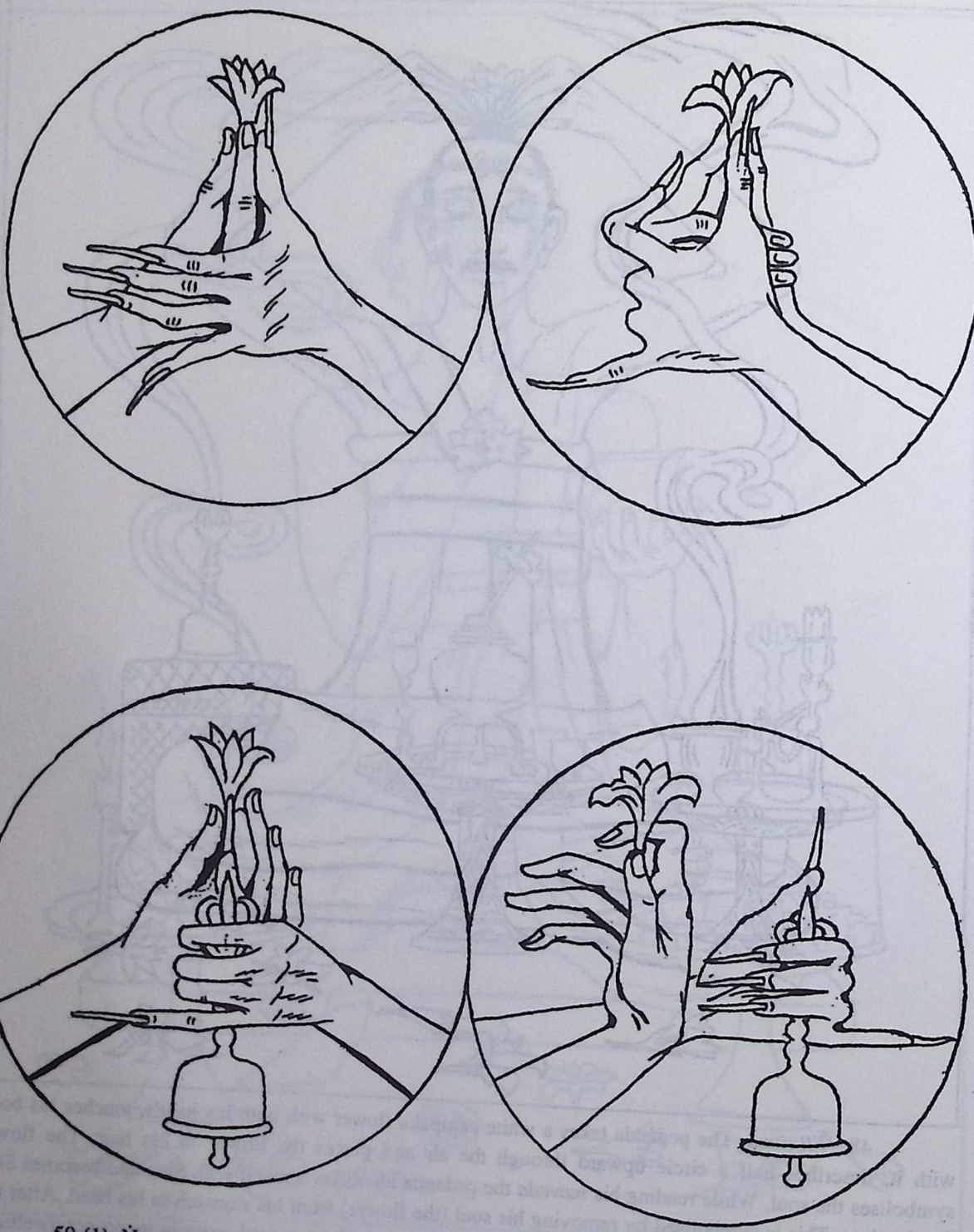
46. *Nitip-toya.* The pedanda drinks a few drops of the *toya-tirta* from the hollow of his hand, in order to purify himself internally.

47. Side view in Tyra de Kleen.



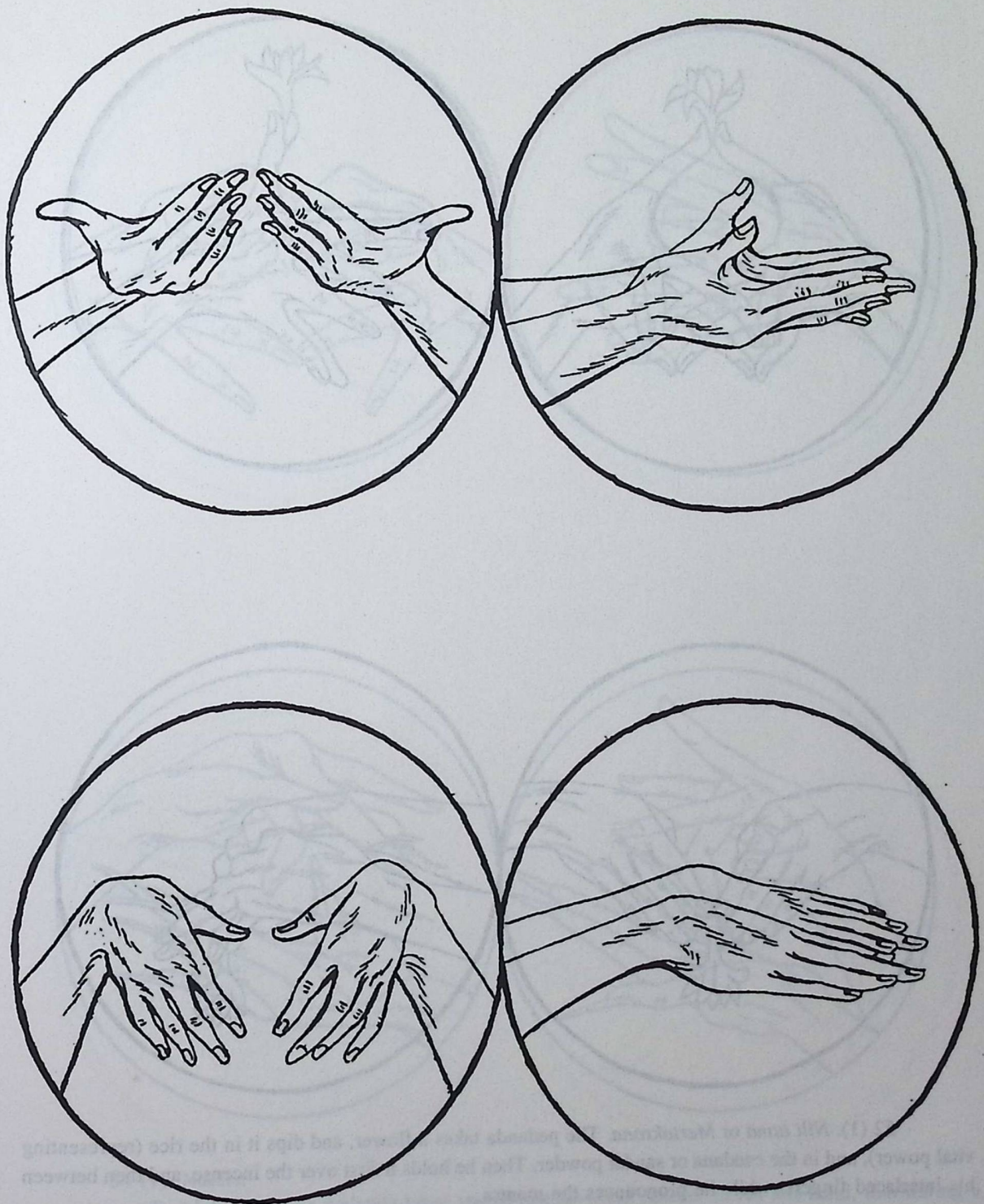
48. *N̄ili-ātmā.* The pedanda takes a white campaka flower with both his hands, touches his body with it, describes half a circle upward through the air and places the flower in his hair. The flower symbolises the soul. While reading his *maveda* the pedanda identifies himself with Śiva and becomes Śiva for the time. This is symbolised by removing his soul (the flower) from his stomach to his head. After the *maveda* is finished, the pedanda reverses the mudrā, reviving the human soul again in its proper dwelling-place, the stomach. He then flicks the flower away and becomes a man again.

49. Side view in Tyra de Kleen.

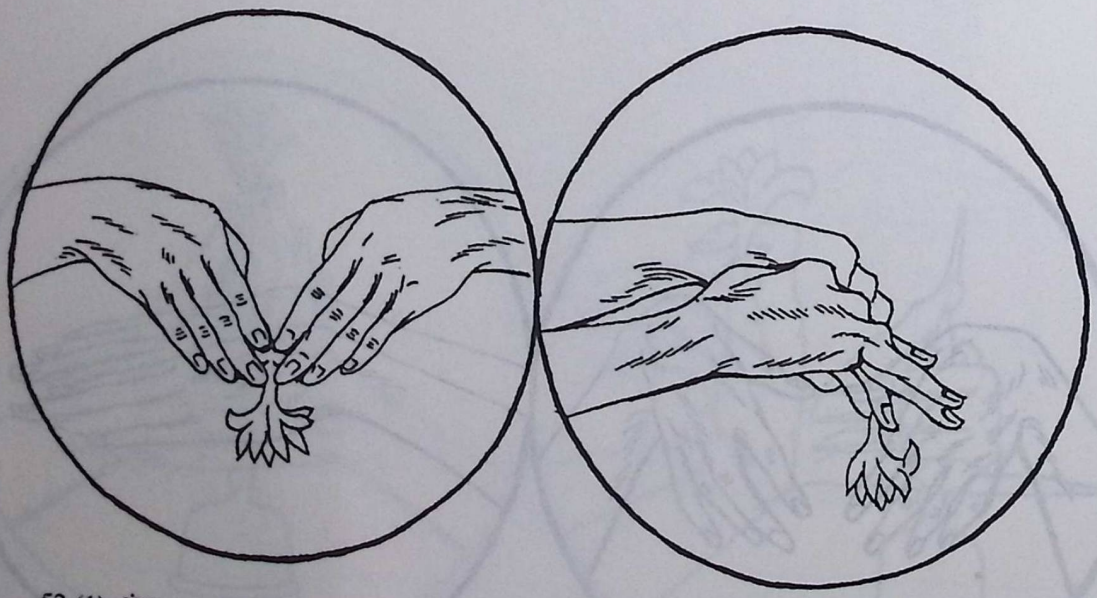


50 (1). Ṅagem sĕkar. The priest first holds a flower over the incense, then forms the mudrā with his hands saying the mantra, and finally flicks the flower away.

(2). Ṅagem sĕkar-ṅagem ghaṇṭā.



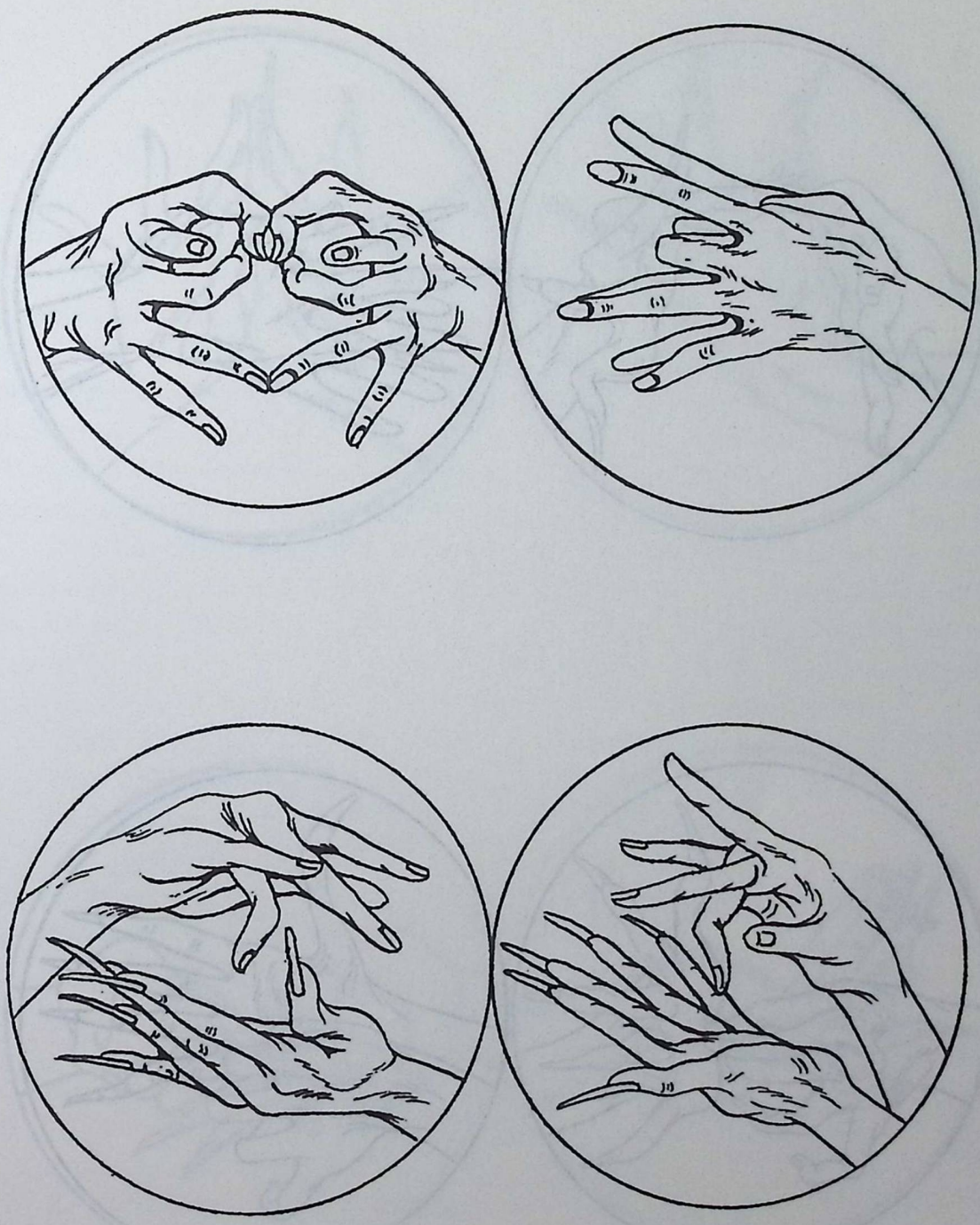
51. Tala Bedana
    1. Śiva creates heaven.
    2. Śiva creates earth.



52 (1). *Ṅili ātmā* or *Mertakrana.* The pedanda takes a flower, and dips it in the rice (representing vital power), and in the candana or sandal powder. Then he holds it first over the incense, and then between his interlaced fingers, while he pronounces the mantra.

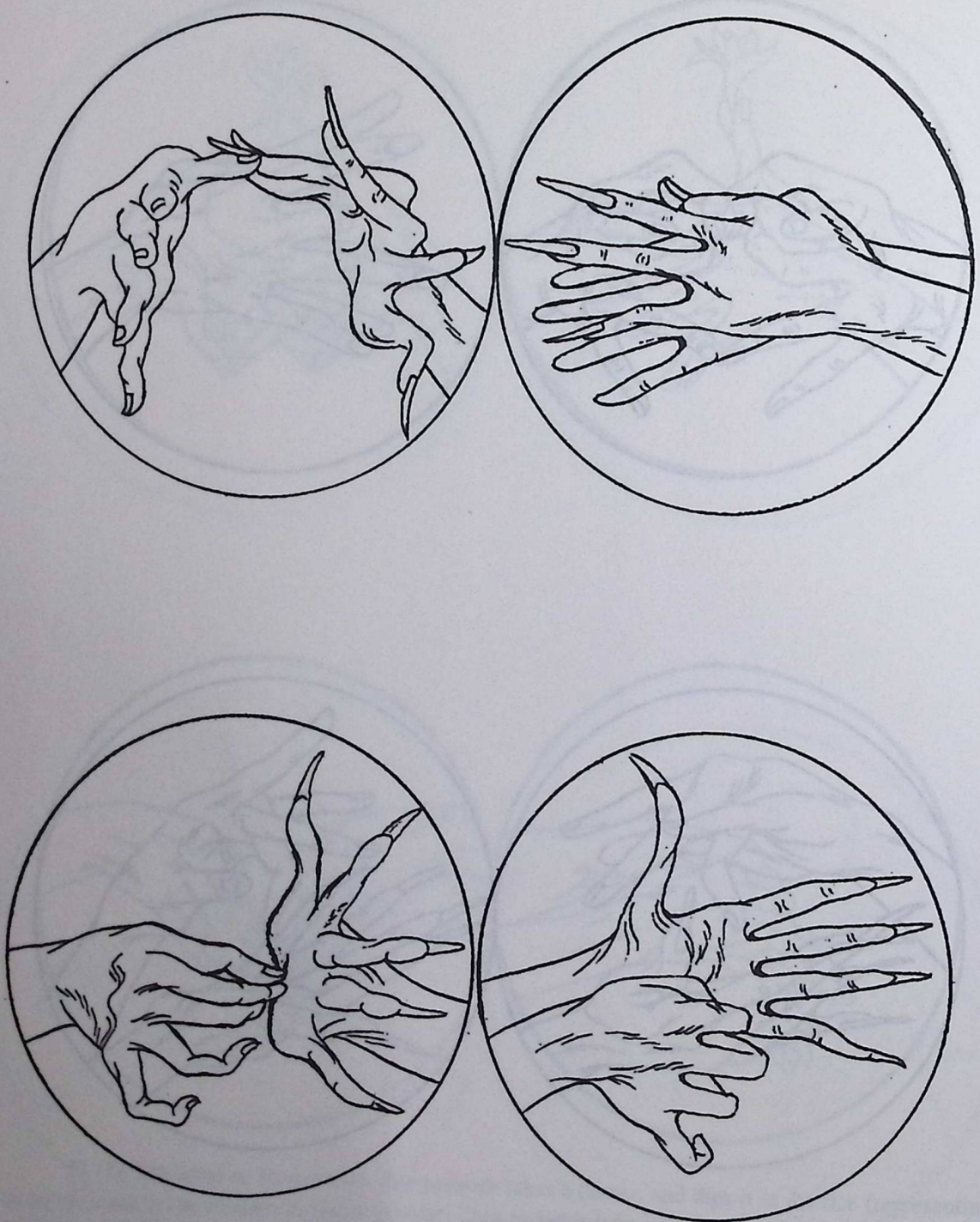
(2). *Nuntun ātmā.* Then he turns it downwards and throws the consecrated flower into the śivāmba (holy-water vessel).

53. Drawing lost.

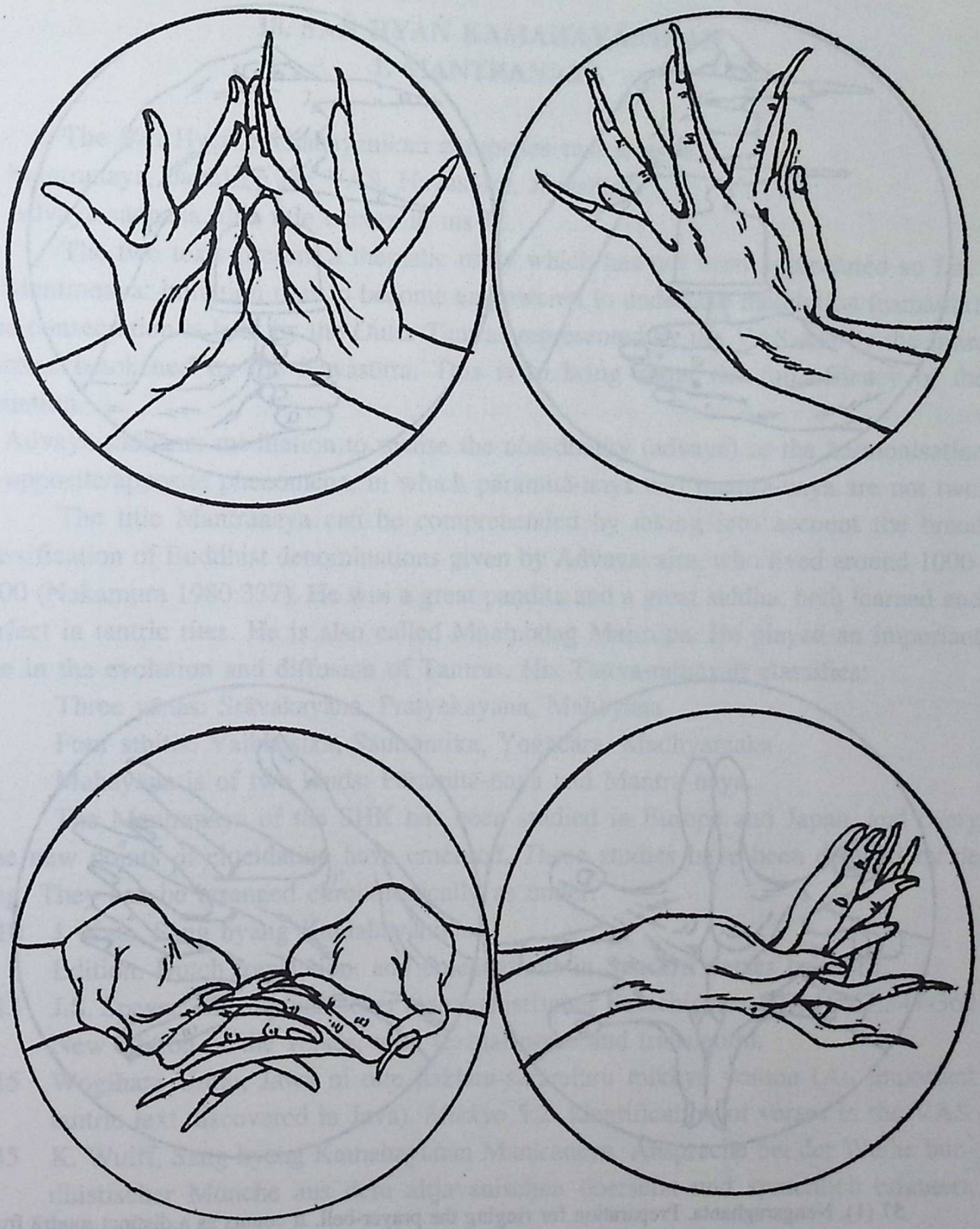


54 (1). Nāraca

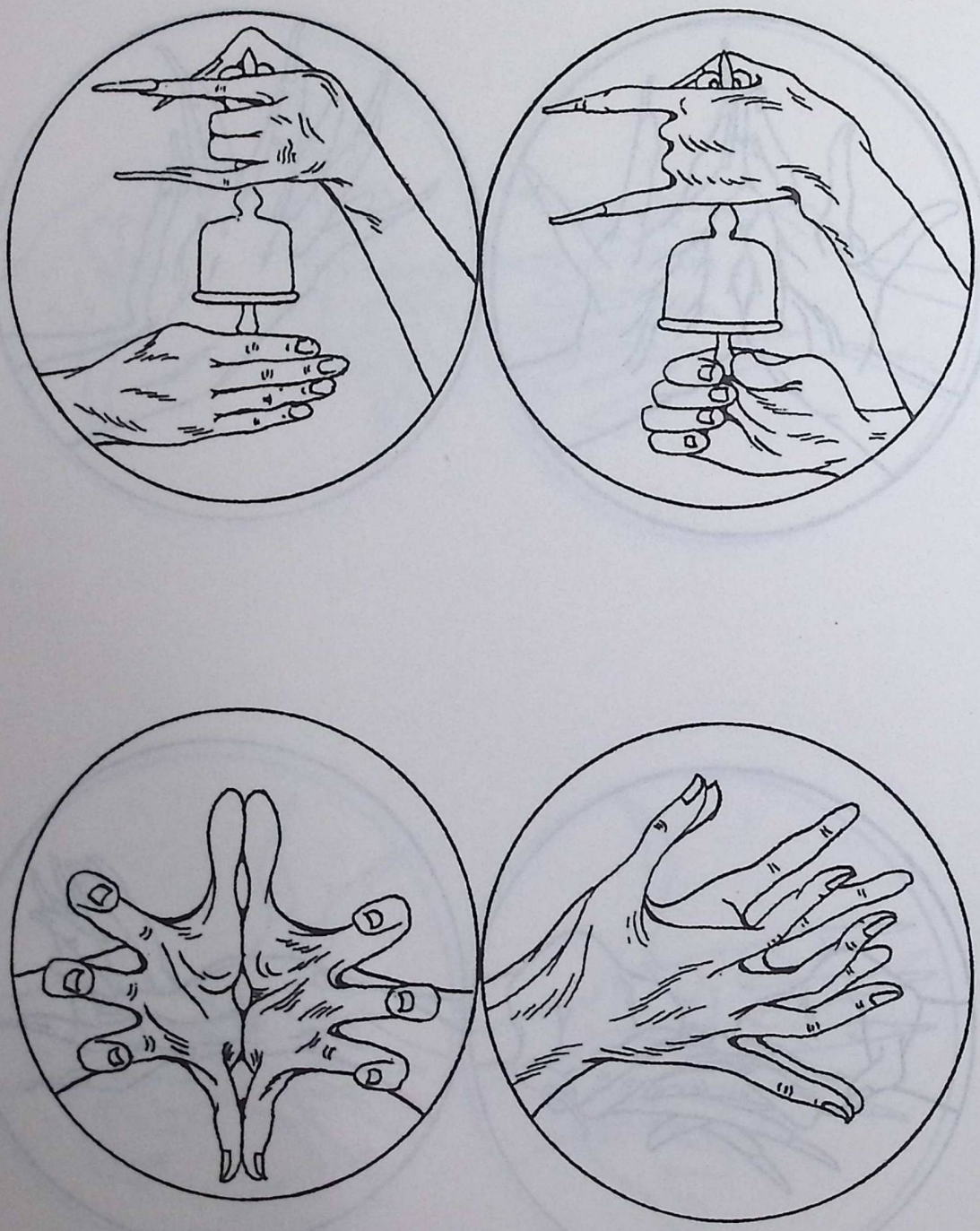
(2). Mabasma. The pedanda takes sacred sandal-wood powder in his left hand, murmuring a mantra, then dips one finger of his right hand in it and touches himself on the top of his head, between his eye-brows, on the front of his neck, on his two shoulders, two elbows and on other joints, thus preparing his body for union (yoga) with Śiva.



55 (1, 2). *Tatkaraśodhana.* The pedanda strikes along the inner side of his hand and along each finger separately, in order to drive out the impurity through each finger-tip. This is done for the congregation, as the pedanda himself is already pure.



56 (1). Śivīkaraṇa. The union of man with the god Śiva.
(2). Antesana.



57 (1). Nengaraghanta. Preparation for ringing the prayer-bell. It counts as a distinct mudrā from the actual ringing of the bell (ghaṇṭā). After having sprinkled the ghaṇṭā with holy-water, the pedanda, generally with a bloom between the fingers of his right hand, strikes the clapper thrice against the bell, until he starts it ringing. As long as the bell is ringing he sings his prayers instead of murmuring them.

(2). Aghora. The mantra accompanying this mudrā is: *Auṁ aṁ aghorāya namaḥ.*

18. SAṄ HYAṄ KAMAHĀYĀNIKAN
1. MANTRANAYA

The Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan comprises two texts:

1. Mantranaya, based on the VAS, Nayasūtra, Jāpasūtra
2. Advaya-sādhana, this title occurs in ms B.

The two texts present a thematic unity which has not been appreciated so far:

1. Mantranaya: initiation rites to become empowered to undertake meditation (samādhi). The consecration is both by the Outer Tantras represented by the VAS and by the Inner Tantras betokened by the Nayasūtra. This is to bring about the full efficacy of the initiation.
2. Advaya-sādhana: meditation to realise the non-duality (advaya) or the harmonisation of opposite/apposite phenomena, in which pāramitā-naya and mantra-naya are not two.

The title Mantranaya can be comprehended by taking into account the broad classification of Buddhist denominations given by Advayavajra, who lived around 1000-1100 (Nakamura 1980:337). He was a great paṇḍita and a great siddha, both learned and perfect in tantric rites. He is also called Mnaḥ.bdag Maitri.pa. He played an important role in the evolution and diffusion of Tantras. His Tattva-ratnāvalī classifies:

Three yānas: Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekayāna, Mahāyāna
Four sthitis: Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Yogācāra, Madhyamaka
Mahāyāna is of two kinds: Pāramitā-naya and Mantra-naya.

The Mantranaya of the SHK has been studied in Europe and Japan, and every time new points of elucidation have emerged. These studies have been detailed by de Jong. They can be arranged chronologically as under:

1910 J. Kats, Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan.
Edition, Dutch translation, and emendations in Sanskrit verses by Kern.

1913 J.S. Speyer, Ein altjavanischer mahayanistischer Katechismus, ZDMC 67.347-362
New edition of the verses, with textual notes and translation.

1915 Wogihara Unrai, Jawa ni oite hakken-sararetaru mikkyō yomon (An important tantric text discovered in Java). *Mikkyo* 5.2. Identification of verses in the VAS.

1935 K. Wulff, Sang hyang Kamahayanan Mantranaya. Ansprache bei der Weihe buddhistischer Monche aus dem altjavanischen übersetzt und sprachlich erlautert, Kobenhavn.
Corrections in the Sanskrit verses and a revised translation.

1936 H. von Glasenapp, Ein Initiations-Ritus im buddhistischen Java, OLZ 39.483-489.

1938 Noch einmal: "Ein Initiations-Ritus im buddhistischen Java, OLZ 41.201-204.

Meaning of the initiation rite and comparison with Hevajraseka-prakriyā.

1950 Sakai Shirō, Jaba hakken mikkyō yomon no issetsu ni tsuite (On a section of an important tantric text discovered in Java), *Mikkyō bunka* 8.38-46.
Traced verses 26-42 to the Naya-sūtra.

1974 J.W. de Jong, Notes on the sources and the text of the Sang hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya, BKI.130.465-482.
Edition of Sanskrit verses, their Tibetan translation and textual notes.

1992 Ishii Kazuko, The Correlation of verses of the Sang hyang Kamahayanan Mantranaya with Vajrabodhi's Jāpa-Sutra, *Area and Culture Studies* 44.225f.

Correlation of the ritual of Mantranaya with the Jāpa-sūtra and other texts. The Mantranaya has culled verses from three root texts representing three points of view:
Vairocana-ābhisambodhi-sūtra represents the caryā-tantras
(15 verses of Mantranaya 1-9, 16-18, 20-22)
Naya-sūtra represents the yoga-tantras from the prajñā stand-point
(17 verses of Mantranaya 26-42)
Jāpa-sūtra represents the yoga-tantras from the upāya stand-point
(14 verses of Mantranaya 1-5, 12, 13, 16-18, 20-22, 28)

The verses of Mantranaya have been identified in other texts by Kazuko Ishii 1992:233-234 as follows:

Mantranaya	VAS	STTS	JS	SV	Kriyā-saṅgraha	Kriyāsaṅ-graha-pañjikā	SDP	NS
1	O		O					
2	O		O					
3	O		O					
4	O		O					
5ab	O		O					
6	O				O			
7	O				O			
8	O				O			
9	O				O			
10							O	
11							O	
12		O	O				O	
13		O	O	O			O	
14						O		
15						O		
16	O		O	O	O			
17	O		O	O	O			
18	O		O	O				
19				O				
20	O		O	O	O	O		
21	O		O	O	O	O		
22	O		O	O	O	O		
23								
24								
25								
26					O	O		O
27					O	O		O
28			O					O
29					O	O		O
30					O	O		O
31					O	O		O
32					O	O		O
33-42								O
	15	2	14	8	15	11	4	17

The Mantranaya can be understood in the light of Nenjūkyō/Jāpa-sūtra (JS) a text of the same genre and a living tradition in Japanese Mantrayāna. It was translated into Chinese by Vajrabodhi in 723: Nj. 534, T 866 (vol. 18), K 429. The analysis of its abhiṣeka ritual follows:

1. Obeisance, introductory remarks
2. Qualification of a disciple
3. Encouragement of a disciple
4. Selection of the maṇḍala site
5. Actions for meditation
6. Method of samādhi
7. Fivefold meditation
8. Consecration
9. Method of drawing the maṇḍala
10. Thirty-seven Bodhisattvas
11. Pledge for complete attainment
12. Stanzas of praise
13. Japa
14. Offering and sustaining
15. Master consecration. It has two main parts: 15.1 and 15.2 with further divisions:

15.1. Preliminary rites to enter the maṇḍala

- 15.1.1 Beseeching by disciple
- 15.1.2 Encouragement by the master
- 15.1.3 Confession of sins by disciple
- 15.1.4 Homage to the Three Jewels
- 15.1.5 Awakening the bodhi-mind
- 15.1.6 Disciple takes his seat
- 15.1.7 Inspiration in a dream
- 15.1.8 Drinking the vajra-water
- 15.1.9 Taking the samaya oath
- 15.1.10 Entering the maṇḍala
- 15.1.11 Penetration of Vajrasattva
- 15.1.12 Elimination of sins
- 15.1.13 Adoration of Vajrasattva
- 15.1.14 Throwing a flower
- 15.1.15 Release of face-binding
- 15.1.16 Showing the maṇḍala

15.2. Procedure of conferring the consecration
- 15.2.1 Maṇḍala altar for the consecration ceremony
- 15.2.2 The disciple enters the maṇḍala
- 15.2.3 Stanzas in praise of the disciple
- 15.2.4 Consecration of the four Buddhas
- 15.2.5 Conferring a vajra on the disciple
- 15.2.6 Conferring a vajra name
- 15.2.7 Rite with spatula
- 15.2.8 Rite with mirror
- 15.2.9 Blowing the conch-shell
- 15.2.10 Warning and consolation

(Kanbayashi 1981:311-326 as cited in Ishii 1992:225-226)

The abhiṣeka ritual of the Mantranaya is shorter than that of the Nayasūtra:

verses	rites
1-9	Encouragement of the disciple
10	Taking the samaya oath
11	Warning
12	Penetration of Vajrasattva
13	Release of face-binding
14-15	Showing the maṇḍala
16	Abhiṣeka with a golden spatula
17-19	Abhiṣeka with a mirror
20-22	Blowing the conch
26-42	Irretrogression and consolation

The verses 1-9 encourage the disciple to be consecrated. After encouragement, the disciple's face is bound with a cloth, and he is guided to enter the maṇḍala. With the recitation of verse 10, the master makes his disciple drink the vajra water and take the samaya oath. After that, the master takes the seal of Vajrasattva and recites verse 12. The face-binding of the disciple is removed with verse 13. The master shows the maṇḍala to the disciple by reciting verses 14 and 15. Verses 16-22 are recited when the consecration is conferred. Verses 26-42 are a warning and assurance to the newly consecrated (Isshii 1992:227).

The OJ text and translation of the Mantranaya is followed by parallels from:
JS= Chinese text of the Jāpa-sūtra and its English translation by Ishii.
VAS= Chinese text of the Vairocan-ābhisambodhi-sūtra translated by Śubhākarasiṁha in 725 (T 848/18.1-55, Nj 530, K 427), Tibetan text (Peking ed. 126, Toh 494)

Parallels are cited from some other texts:

AP= Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā, transl. by Fa-hsien in 999 (T244/8.786-824, Nj 1037, K 1256)

Tib. Śrī-paramādya-mantrakalpa-khaṇḍa (Peking 120, Toh 488)

SDP=Sarva-durgati-pariśodhana

ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE DISCIPLE (verses 1-9)

NAMO BUDDHĀYA

Nihan kaliṅan iṅ oṁ ah huṁ, yan pinakapaṅadhiṣṭhāna umajarakan an bhaṭāra tryakṣara sira paramārtha kāya vāk citta bajra ṅaran ira.

1. ***ehi vatsa mahāyānaṃ mantravāryanayaṃ[1] vidhiṁ /***
deśayiṣyāmi te samyak bhājanas tvaṁ mahānaye //

ka: saṅ hyaṅ Mahāyāna iki varahakna mami iri kita, *mantravāryyanayaṁ vidhiṁ*: saṅ hyaṅ Mantranaya sira Mahāyāna mahāmārgga ṅaran ira, *deśayiṣyāmi te samyak*: sira teki deśanākna mami varahakna mami ri kita, *bhājanas tvaṁ mahānaye*: ri kadadinyan kita pātrabhūta yogya varahĕn ri saṅ hyaṅ dharmma mantranaya.

NAMO BUDDHĀYA

This is the explanation of *oṁ aḥ hūṁ* which are the essential adhiṣṭhāna of the teaching of the Lord about the three sacred syllables. They are the highest reality of body, word and mind vajra (cittavajra).

Ehi vatsa ... ...

I will teach you Saṅ Hyaṅ Mahāyāna. *mantravāryyanayaṁ vidhiṁ*: mantranaya means the great path of Mahāyāna. *Deśayiṣyāmi te samyak*: I will instruct you in this. *Bhājanas tvaṁ mahānaye*: because of your having become a worthy recipient. You are qualified to be taught the mantranaya dharma.

[1]Kern *mantracārya°*. Wulff *mantracaryā°* which is confirmed by Tibetan versions of the MV and Finot's MS (p.20.20). [The notes of Prof. J.W. de Jong 1974 have been cited in 10 point types.]

JS 224ab 善男子於大乘秘密行之儀式。當爲汝說。於大乘教中汝此善器。

Son of a good family, I will explain the rites of the esoteric path of Mahāyāna. You are a worthy vessel for Mahāyāna.

VAS 18.4b 佛子此大乘　眞言行道法　我今正開演　爲彼大乘器

The equivalent verses 1-5ab in the JS are in prose. The translation of the JS is nearly the same as VAS. MN uses the term *mahānaya* whereas translation of both JS and VAS is mahāyāna.

The JS passages equivalent to verses 1-5ab are encouragements for those on whom the vidyā initiation is to be conferred, after which they are qualified to become disciples of a master. The consecration in roll 4 of the JS (T 18:248) is the master-consecration. After this consecration the disciple is permitted to teach esoterism to others.

khyod ni tshul-chen snod-yin-gyis
bu tshur theg-pa-chen-po-yis
gsaṅ-sṅags spyod-tshul cho-ga ni
khyod-la yaṅ-dag bstan-par-bya //

2. ***atītā ye hi sambuddhāḥ tathā caivāpy anāgatāḥ/***
pratyutpannāś ca ye nāthāḥ tiṣṭhanti ca jagaddhitāḥ//

ka: Bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha saṅ atīta, sa(ṅ)[1] maṅabhisambuddha ṅūni riṅ āsitkāla, kadyaṅgān: bhaṭāra Vipaśyī, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa, atīta-buddha, ṅaran ira kabeh. ***Tathā caivāpy anāgatāḥ*****: kunaṅ bhaṭāra buddha saṅ anāgata, saṅ abhimukha maṅabhisaṁbuddha, kadyaṅgān: bhaṭāra āryya Maitreyādi[1], Samantabhadra paryyanta, anāgatabuddha ṅaranira kabeh** ***Pratyutpannāś ca ye nāthāḥ*****: tumamvah bhaṭāra śrī Śākyamuni, vartamānabuddha ṅaranira, sira ta pinakahyaṅ buddhanta maṅke, śāsana nira ikeṅ tinūt atinta.** ***Tiṣṭhanti ca jagaddhitāḥ*****: tamolah ta sira kumiṅkiṅ hitasukha niṅ sarbba satva, umaṅĕn-aṅĕna kalĕpasan ikaṅ rāt kabeh saka riṅ saṅsāra, duvĕg kumrakira paḍaman iṅ mahāpralaya rike bhuvana.**

Buddhas who gained Enlightened in the past are, for instance: Vipaśyī, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa. These are the names of Buddhas of the past. *Tathā caivāpy anāgatāḥ:* and Buddhas of the future who are on the way to Enlightenment, such as: beginning with Maitreya and ending with Samantabhadra. All of them are Buddhas of the Future. *Pratyupannāś ca ye nāthāḥ:* while the present Buddha is Śākyamuni. Now, he is your divinity the Buddha. You should follow his doctrine. *Tiṣṭhanti ca jagaddhitāḥ:* they unceasingly desire the well-being and happiness of all living creatures. They constantly think of the liberation of the whole world from the cycles of rebirth. At the right moment, they plan to eliminate the great apocalypse of the world.

JS 若有過去應正等覚. 及以未来現在依護者. 所住世間爲利益者.

The samyak-sambuddhas in the past, and the protectors of the future and present are engaged in profiting the world.

VAS 過去等正覚 及與未来世 過去諸世尊 住饒益衆生

rdzogs-paḥi saṅs-rgyas gaṅ ḥdas daṅ
de-bzhin yaṅ-dag ma-byon daṅ
da-ltar byuṅ-baḥi mgon-po-rnams
ḥgro-la phan-phyir zhugs-pa dag //

[1] Samantabhadra as the successor of Maitreya is discussed in Krom & van Erp, *Barabudur*, 1.608f., 2.208f.

3. ***taiś ca sarvair imaṁ vajraṁ[1] jñātvā mantravidhiṁ param/***
prāptā sarvajñatā vīraiḥ bodhimūle hy alakṣaṇā[2]//

ka: sira katiga bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha ṅaran ira, saṅ atītānāgatavartamāna, tan hana mārgga nira vaneh ar tinĕmvakan ikaṅ kahyaṅbuddhan. ***Jñātvā mantravidhiṁ param*****: ikiṅ Mahāyāna mahāmārgga ya tinūtakĕn ira, pinakamārgga nira ar ḍataṅ rikana nirbāṇanagara.** ***Prāptā sarvvajñatā vīraiḥ bodhimūle hy alakṣaṇā*****: inak ni deni[ra] gumĕgö ikaṅ Mantranaya, ya ta mataṅ yar tĕmvakan kasarbbajñān, ya ta hetu nirār paṅguhakan ikaṅ kahyaṅbuddhān riṅ bodhimūla.**

These three Buddhas of the past, present and future had no other way to attain Buddhahood except to follow. *jñātvā mantra-vidhiṁ param:* this great way of Mahāyāna

should be followed by you. This was their way to reach the world of nirvāṇa. *Prāptā sarvvajñatā vīraiḥ bodhimūle hy alakṣaṇā:* because they took pleasure in observing mantranaya, they attained omniscience. That is why they attained Buddhahood under the Bodhi tree.

[1]According to Wogihara Ch. has *dharmaṃ* instead of *vajraṃ* but Ch. *fa* renders *vidhim.* Ch. and T. do not translate *vajraṃ.*

[2] Speyer and Wulff *alakṣaṇā* which is confirmed by Ch. and T.

JS 彼皆爲了此秘法故。於菩提樹下獲得最勝無相一切智勇猛釋獅子。

[They are doing so] because they have already accomplished the secret teachings. Under the bodhi-tree, mighty Śākyasiṁha has acquired sarvajñatā, the supreme and the formless.

VAS 如是諸賢者　解眞言妙法　勤勇獲種智　坐無相菩提

de-dag kun-gyis gsaṅ-sṅags-kyi
cho-ga mchog-bzaṅ ḥdi mkhyen daṅ
dpaḥ-bos byaṅ-chub śiṅ druṅ-du
thams-cad mkhyen-pa mtshan-med brñes //

4. ***mantraprayogam atulaṁ yena bhagnaṁ mahābalam /***
mārasainyaṁ mahāghoraṁ Śākyasiṃhena tāyinā //

ka: Bhaṭāra śrī Śākyamuni mataṅ yar tĕmvakan[n] ikaṅ kamāravijayan, sakveh nikanaṅ māravighna alah de nira: kleśamāra, skandhamāra, mṛtyumāra, devaputramāra, alah aṅuyuk ikā kabeh de bhaṭāra hetu nirār vĕnaṅ umalahakĕn ikaṅ māra, ābhānubhāva prabhāva saṅ hyaṅ samādhi śakti saṅ hyaṅ Mantranaya inabhyāsa.

The reason that Lord Śākyamuni could vanquish Māra is as follows. All the Vighna-Māras were crushed by him: Kleśa-māra, Skandha-māra, Mṛtyu-māra and Devaputra-māra. They were overpowered and worsted by the Lord. The cause of the vanquishment of Māras was the effulgence, dominance and dynamis of samādhi's power resulting from the practice of mantranaya.

JS 由獲得秘密瑜伽故。推破大魔軍驚怖嬈人者。

He had attained it by means of the secret yoga. He shattered the army of Māra and frightened the tempters.

VAS 眞言勢無比　能摧彼大力　極忿怒魔軍　釋獅子救世

gsaṅ-sṅags sbyor-ba mñam-med de
śā-kya seṅ-ge skyob-pa-yis
bdud-sde śin-tu mi bzad (P.zad)-pa
dpuṅ-chen dag kyaṅ de-yis bcom //

5. ***tasmān matim imāṁ varya[1] kuru sarvvajñatāptaye /***
gṛhṇa bhadrāśayan nityaṁ samyak saṁhṛtya kalpanāḥ //

ka: mataṅyan deyanta *kuru sarvvajñatāptaye*: hayva tālaṅ-alaṅ aṅĕn-aṅĕnta rike saṅ hyaṅ Mantranaya, pahapagĕh denta gumĕgö saṅ hyaṅ Mantranaya, mataṅ yan kapaṅguha ikaṅ kasarbbatān denta; *gṛhṇa bhadrāśayan nityaṁ*: pahavās denta ruměňö iki varavarah mami ri kita, hayva vān, yatna vuvus mami. *Samyak saṁhṛtya kalpanāḥ*: karyyakan taṅ buddhi savikalpaka, hilaṅakan taṅ āmbĕk abhiniveśa, pahenak tāňĕn-aňĕnta, hayva saṅśaya.

Because of that, *kuru sarvvajñatāptaye:* do not waver in mantranaya. You should practise it diligently, so that you attain omniscience. *Gṛhṇa bhadrāśayan nityam:* you should be attentive in listening to my excellent teachings. Do not be careless. Pay attention to my words. *Samyak saṁhṛtya kalpanāḥ:* refrain from a wavering mind. Take away your mind from attachments[2]. Rejoice in your contemplations. Have no doubts.

[1] Speyer *vatsa.* This is confirmed by T. *bu* which renders *vatsa* in la. Finot's MS. 21.15 also has *vatsa.*

[2] *anabhiniveśa* 'emotional concomitants of non-apprehension' (Conze 1962:216 for details).

JS 是故善男子。爲得一切智故。於彼應作正念。

Son of a good family, do make right recollection so that you can attain omniscience.

VAS 是故汝佛子 應以如是意 方便作成就 當獲婆若

de-bas kun-mkhyen thob-byaḥi phyir
bu-yis blo-gros ḥdi gyis-śig

5cd cannot be found either in the JS or VAS.

6. eṣa mārgavaraḥ śrīmān mahāyānamahodayaḥ /
yena yūyaṁ gamiṣyanto bhaviṣyatha tathāgatāḥ //

ka: saṅ hyaṅ Mahāyāna mahāmārgga iki pintonakna mami ri kita, pahavās denta maṅrĕňö, *mahāyānamahodayaḥ*: yeki (h)avan aběnĕr tĕka ri svarggāpavargga, vĕnaṅ umehakĕn [n]ikaṅ kamahodayān. Mahodaya ṅa ikaṅ vāhyādhyātmikasukha, ikaṅ kaśreṣṭhyan, kasugihan, kapaměgĕtan, karatun, kacakravartin. Ādhyātmikasukha ṅa ikeṅ lokottarasukha inak tanpavor duhkha, ajarāmaraṇa, tan katĕkan tuha lara pati, nāṅ anuttara vara samyaksaṁbodhi-sukha, ikaṅ mokṣasukha, ikā taṅ vāhyasukha mvaṅ ādhyātmikasukha, ya ikā kamahodayan ṅa, anuṅ dinadyakĕn [n]ikeṅ Mahāyāna mahāmārgga, yan inabhyāsa. *Yena yūyaṁ gamiṣyanto*: apan ri sĕḍaṅnyan apagĕha denta gumĕgö ikeṅ kamahāyānan; *bhaviṣyatha tathāgatāḥ*: niyata kita tumamvakna ṅ kahyaṅbuddhān. Sumākṣātkṛta ikaṅ kalĕpasĕn, ịkā naṅ dvaya-sambhāra[1], nāṅ jñānasambhāra, puṇyasambhāra kapaṅguha ikā denta lāvan [n]ikaṅ kasarbbalokanamaskṛta kopalambha ikā denta.

Mahāyāna is the great way which I am showing you. You should listen attentively. *Mahāyana-mahodayaḥ:* this is the way to reach heaven and final release. It can bring mahodaya. Mahodaya means external and internal happiness (vāhyādhyātmika-sukha); [external happiness is:] high rank, wealth, status, royal dignity, universal impirium. Ādhyātmika-sukha means transcendental bliss, happiness without misery. A-jarā-maraṇa is not to be afflicted by old age, disease, and death. This is the transcendent excellent samyak-sambodhi-sukha. This is mokṣa-sukha. These are the vāhya-sukha and

ādhyātmika-sukha. This is called kamahodayan. It becomes the great way of Mahāyāna if practised. *Yena yūyaṁ gamiṣyanto:* because while you are constantly firm in practising Mahāyāna. *Bhaviṣyatha tathāgatāḥ:* surely you will attain Buddhahood. Liberation will be realised (*sākṣātkṛta).* Both the equipments for enlightenment — namely jñāna-sambhāra and puṇya-sambhāra — will be obtained by you. You will be revered by all people.

VAS theg-pa chen-po cher ḥbyuṅ-baḥi
lam-mchog ḥdi ni dpal-daṅ-ldan
khyed-rnams der ni doṅ-bas-na
raṅ-byuṅ skal-ba chen-po-pa //

[1] In MN the reading is *sambhāra* 'equipment', *bodhi-sambhāra* 'equipment for (those destined for) enlightenment'. It is twofold (puṇya-s. and jñāna-s.) according to Sūtrālaṅkāra, Dharma-saṅgraha 117, and Abhidharmakośa (La Vallée-Poussin) 7.80-81. Lalitavistara 35.12f names four, each being a dharma-mukha, namely, the two plus śamatha and vidarśanā (Edgerton). The MN has *dvaya-sambhāra, nāṅ jñāna-sambhāra puṇya-sambhāra* (11b): jñāna-sambhāra is the first, the second being puṇya-sambhāra. The two recur on 16a as puṇya-jñāna-sambhāra. The jñāna-svarūpa is not conditioned by singularity or plurality, or by the object-subject aspects (35a). Always to doubt is the tendency of jñāna (35b). Advaya-jñāna and advaya-yoga are the essence of advaya-śāstra/ aji advaya. Prajñāpāramita is the ultimate of jñāna (43a). Jñāna is the body of Buddha (43a). Jñāna that is immaculate becomes the sacred divārūpa, the highest stage in yoga (46b). aṁ aḥ are jñāna-sūrya and śānta-candra (47b). The letter *a* is jñāna (48a). Akṣobhya is citta and the citta is sarvajñāna (57a). The five kinds of wisdom (pañca-jñāna) of the Five Tathāgatas are detailed on folios 59b and 60a.

In the VAS the two modes of omniscient wisdom (sarvajña-jñāna) are bodhicitta 'mind of enlightenment' as the cause and mahākaruṇā 'great compassion' as the root (Wayman 17). Five elements of omniscience (sarvajña-jñāna) are mentioned in VAS 2.167-168ab (ibid.15). Tsoṅkhapa says that noble wisdom (ārya-jñāna) arises in a "samādhi with four characteristics: (1) non-reflection (=non-discursive thought) (*nirvikalpa)*; (2) it is bright (*vyakta*); (3) clear (*accha*); (4) subtle, as thought fragmenting a tip of hair" (ibid.192). Treasure of omniscience (sarva-jñāna) exists eternally in our heart (Tajima/Wayman 1992:223). The first chapter of the VAS has a section on omniscient knowledge which is free from all particularisation (*nirvikalpa)*, without particularisation(*avikalpa*). The SHK states that citta is sarvajñāna, which is expressed as follows in the VAS: bodhi and the omniscient knowledge must be sought (by each being) in his own heart. Why so? Because (our) original nature (*svabhāva*) is pure (*pariśuddha*) (ibid. 255-58).

The emphasis on both yoga and jñāna is central to the MN. Knowledge and yoga was essential for teaching and practising dharma, otherwise it led to sin, as put forth in a smṛti cited in the commentary to the Ārṣeya-brāhmaṇa (Tirupati ed. 1984:290):
aviditvā ṛṣi-cchando-daivataṁ yogam eva va /
yo adhyāpayej japed vāpi pāpīyān sa tu jāyate //

7. ***svayambhuvo mahābhāgāḥ*[1]** ***sarvalokasya yetiyāḥ*[2]** **/**
astināstivyatikrāntam ākāśam iva nirmalam //

ka: kadyaṅgāniṅ ākāśa an nirmmala-svabhāva, alakṣaṇa, avastuka, tan kavĕnaṅ tinuduh, tan agöṅ, tan aḍĕmit, tan hirĕṅ, tan putih, byāpaka lumrā riṅ daśadeśa, maṅkana lvir nira.

Its nature in spotless clear like the sky, without characteristics (*alakṣaṇa),* immaterial (*avastuka*). It cannot be designated, it is neither big nor small, neither black nor white, it pervades the ten directions. Such is its character.

VAS ḥjig-rten thams-cad mkhyen-pa-yi
de-bzhin-gśegs-pa-rnams-su ḥgyur
yod daṅ med las rnam-par-ḥdas
nam-mkhaḥ bzhin-du dri-ma-med //

[1] Wogihara remarks that Ch. has *mahānāgāḥ* instead of *mahābhāgāḥ.* T. translates *mahābhāgāḥ,* but it is possible that *mahānāgāḥ* was the original reading. However, *mahānāga* is an epithet of śrāvakas and not of tathāgatas (cf. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary;* Lamotte, 1944:212.)

[2] Kern *yajñiyāḥ;* Speyer *ye priyāḥ.* Wogihara has found the correct solution by emending it to *cetiyāḥ.* One finds *sarvalokasya cetiyo* in the Mahāvastu (cf. Edgerton, *op.cit. s.v.cetiya).* Ch. renders *cetiya* by "honoured as a caitya". T. has "known", deriving *cetiya* from the verb *cit-.*

8. ***gambhīraṁ sarvatarkebhir apy atarkyam*[1]** ***anāvilam*[2]****/**
sarvaprapañcarahitaṁ prapañcebhiḥ prapañcitam //

ka: nora[3] **mahāgambhīra lena saṅka rike saṅ hyaṅ Mahāyāna mahāmārgga sireki gambhīrātigambhīra: adalĕm sakeṅ adalĕm; *apy atarkyaṁ*: tan kavĕnaṅ tinarkka, salah yan inuha; *anāvilaṁ*: tarpadoṣa; *sarvaprapañcarahitaṁ*: tan katĕkan deniṅ sarbbaprapañca, mvaṅ kleśopakleśa, nāṅ: mada, dambha, lobha, moha, rajah, tamah, tan tama ikā kabeh ri sira, tuhu karikā tanpakavakaṅ maṅkana tahāvih, *prapañcebhiḥ prapañcitaṁ*: āpan ikaṅ rāga, dveṣa, moha prapañca pinakāvak nira.**

There is nothing deeper than the great way of Mahāyāna. It is *gambhīrāti-gambhīra:* deeper than the deepest. *Apy atarkyam:* it cannot be reasoned. It is wrong to draw a conclusion. *Anāvilam:* without fault. *Sarvva-prapañca-rahitam:* it is beyond sarva-prapañca and kleśopakleśa, such as mada, dambha, lobha, moha, rajaḥ, tamaḥ. They do not penetrate it. It (karikā=mahāmārga) is indeed not informed by them (maṅkana=kleśopakleśa) no (*tahā),* never (*vih* 'emphatic particle'). *Prapañcebhiḥ prapañcitam:* because the body of rāga, dveṣa and moha is prapañca (confusion).

VAS zab-mo rtog-ge thams-cad-kyis
rab-tu mi-rtogs gnas med-pa
spros-pa kun daṅ bral-ba ste
spros-pa-rnams-kyis rnam-par-spros //

[1] Wogihara's emendation of *apy atarkyam* to *apratarkyam* is confirmed by T.

[2] Wogihara *anālayam*. This, too, is confirmed by T.

[3] *Vora* emended to *nora* (Wulff 1935:46).

9. *karmakriyāvirahitaṃ*[1] *satyadvayam anāśrayam*[2]*/*
idaṁ yānavaraṁ śreṣṭhaṁ labhiṣyatha naye sthitāḥ //

ka: tan gave tan si ma gavai pinakāvak nira. *Satyadvayaṁ*: tamolah makarūpa ikaṅ satyadvaya, ṅa saṁvṛtisatya, paramārthasatya, anuṅ pinakarūpa nira. *Anāśrayaṁ*: tanpāndělan tan saṁvṛtisatya tan paramārthasatya kahanan ira. *idaṁ yānavaraṁ śreṣṭhaṁ*: yekā sinaṅguh Mahāyāna mahāmārgga ṅa maněkakěn irika ṅ svarggāpavargga. *Labhiṣyatha naye sthitāḥ*: yatikābhyasanta sāri-sāri měne ṅ hělěm saṅ hyaṅ Mantranaya Mahāyāna.

Neither action nor that acts is its embodiment. *Satyadvayam:* it is permanently of the form of satya-dvaya. Saṁvṛti-satya and paramārtha-satya are its form. *Anāśrayam:* without substrate: its existence is dependent neither on saṁvṛti-satya nor on paramārtha-satya. *Idaṁ yāna-varaṁ śreṣṭham:* this great way of Mahāyāna lifts to heaven and liberation *(svargāpavarga). Abhyasyata naye sthitāḥ:* you should practise Mantranaya Mahāyāna to the best of your abilities, day by day, now and in the future.

VAS las daṅ bya-ba la-sogs bral
bden-pa gñis-la phan gnas-paḥi
theg-pa rab-kyi mchog ḥdi ni
tshul-la gnas-na thob-par ḥgyur //

[1] T. has *karmakriyādirahitaṁ*. The literal translation of Ch. is "action and act are excellent and incomparable."

[2] Wogihara *satyadvayasamāśrayam*. T.(P.) is not clear but, in any case, it does not render the negation in *anāśrayaṁ*. Instead of *phan gnas-paḥi* the Lhasa edition has *gnas-pa-yis* which corresponds to *samāśrayam*.

TAKING THE SAMAYA OATH

Oṁ! bajrodaka oṁ aḥ huṁ! iki śapatha hṛdaya.
idan te nārakaṁ vāri samayātikramād dahet /
samayarakṣaṇāt siddhyet siddhaṁ vajrāmṛtodakaṁ //

ka: vehana kita manahapa bajrodaka: ikaṅ bajrodaka tan vvay sāmānya, vvai sakeṅ naraka ikā. *samayātikramād dahet*: mārgga niṅ duḥkha kapaṅguha, bhraṣṭa sakulagotravāndhava, ya tat pituhva samaya. Kālanyat bāryya-bāryya rikeṅ saṅ hyaṅ bajrajñāna. *samayarakṣaṇāt siddhyet*: kunaṅ ri sĕḍaṅnyat prayatna, tan paṅrapa-rapā riṅ samaya, mārgga niṅ hayu kasiddhyan kapaṅguha denta *siddhaṁ vajrāmṛtodakaṁ*: saṅkṣepanya: viṣāmṛta ikeṅ bajrodaka, vvah sahiṅga tinika, pilih sukha pilih duḥkha kapaṅguha. Yat pramāda kita pamaṅguh duḥkha, kunaṅ yat prayatna, avās ikaṅ

sukha, hayu kasiddhyan kapaṅguha usĕn, ṅūniveh dlāha.

Drink this vajrodaka being offered by you. This vajrodaka is not ordinary water. This will become hell-water, if the vow is not fulfilled. *Samayātikramād dahet:* it brings misfortune, and one is ruined along kith and kin. If you are fully accomplished (*varyya-varyya)* in sacred vajrajñāna, *samayarakṣaṇāt siddhyet:* while you strive to realise, without being negligent in vows, it becomes the path to attain excellent siddhi. *Siddham vajrāmṛtodakaṁ:* in short, this vajrodaka is poison as well as nectar. Its fruit is changing; it brings either happiness or sorrow. If you are negligent you will come to grief. But if you are diligent happiness will surely ensue. You will attain excellent siddhi now and in the future.

The equivalents of verses 10 and 11 are found in the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra 296.17-18, where they are recited in the water consecration performed after the recitation of equivalent MN verses 12 and 13.

idaṁ te nārakaṃ vāri samayātikramād dahet /
samayābhirakṣāt siddhiḥ siddhaṃ vajrāmṛtodakam //
vajraghaṇṭāṃ ca mudrāṃ ca yady amaṇḍalino vadet /
hased vāśraddhadānena janasaṅgaṇikāsthitaḥ //

The heart oath (hṛdaya-śapatha) is administered to the disciple with the mantra *Oṁ bajrodaka oṁ aḥ hūṁ,* with an unambiguous injunction. If you violate the vows it will turn into the water of hell and burn you. If you observe them this sanctified vajra-water will bring you siddhi. The Sanskrit stanza can be arranged:

samayātikramāt	*idaṁ te nārakaṁ vāri*	*dahet*
samayarakṣaṇāt	*siddhaṁ vajrāmṛtodakaṁ*	*siddhyet*

11. ***vajraṁ ghaṇṭāñ ca mudrāṁ ca adya maṇḍalino[1] vadet /***
hased vāśraddhāvān eva janaḥ saṅgaṇikā-sthitaḥ //

ka: hayva kita umara-marahakĕn ika saṅ hyaṅ bajra ghaṇṭā mudrā riṅ vvaṅ adṛṣṭa-maṇḍala, tapvan sāmayika rahasyan kubdan[2] atah sira, tan avaraviryyakna irikaṅ vvaṅ tapvan kṛtopadeśa, *hased vāśraddhāvān eva*: athavi guyuguyunta kunaṅ si tan pituhun artha nira, tan āmbĕkta tĕmĕn tumarima brata bhaṭāra, hayva ta maṅkana, yāvat (t)aṅ vvaṅ apahāsa ri saṅ hyaṅ mārgga, *janaḥ saṅgaṇikā-sthitaḥ*[3]: avās ikaṅ vvaṅ maṅkana, kasaṅsāra sadākāla, mataṅnyan hayva tan tulus adhimukti rike saṅ hyaṅ bajrajñāna, kayatnaknātah saṅ hyaṅ samaya.

You should not instruct about the sacred vajra, bell and mudrā any person who has not visualised the maṇḍala, one who has not kept the esoteric vows which are really hidden, one who has not fully exerted himself, and one who has not received instructions in the doctrine. *Hased vāśraddhāvān eva:* one who has not realised its meaning will jeer at it, one whose mind is not really dedicated to the vow of the Lord. Not only that, if a person the mocks at the sacred path, *janaḥ saṅgaṇikā-sthitaḥ:* it is evident that such a person will perpetually suffer in saṁsāra. Therefore one should never be failing in zeal-

ous application to vajrajñāna. One should strive to achieve the sacred vows (samaya).

[1] Speyer *nādyāmaṇḍalino*, Wogihara *na hy amaṇḍalino*.

[2] *kubda* 'hidden, concealed' (Zoetmulder 1.906)

[3] *saṅgaṇikā* (also in Pali) 'society, crowd, association', *(vyāpādaṁ.... vitarka-yeyaṁ, nirviśeṣo bhaveyaṁ) saṁsarga-saṅgaṇikābhir etaiḥ sattvaiḥ* '(if I had evil thoughts,) I should be nowise different from those creatures with associational groupings' Śikṣāsamuccaya 201.18 (Edgerton 1953).

PENETRATION OF VAJRASATTVA

12. ***ayan te samayo vajraṁ Vajrasatvam iti smṛtam /***
āveśayatu te 'dyaiva vajrajñānam anuttaram //

ka: saṅ hyaṅ samaya ta sira sinaṅguh bhaṭāra Bajrasatva; *āveśayatu te 'dyaiva vajrajñānam anuttaraṁ*: sira teki pinakahṛdayanta maṅke, bajrajñāna ikuṅ pinakahṛdayanta, pahenak tāmbĕkta.

The divine samaya is called Lord Vajrasattva. *Āveśayatu tenaiva vajra-jñānam anuttaram:* He is your heart now. Vajra-jñāna is as if your heart. Be happy.

After drinking the vajra-water and taking the samaya oath, the disciple enters the maṇḍala. The master takes the seal of Vajrasattva and recites this verse. This verse is found in the Sanskrit text of the STTS, phonetic transliteration in the Chinese translation by Amoghavajra (T 18.218b), in the JS by Vajrabodhi (T 18.250a), and the SDP 292.

STTS *ayaṁ tat samayo vajraṁ vajrasattvam iti smṛtam /*
āveśayatu te 'dyaiva vajrajñānam anuttaram //

SDP *ayan tat samaya vajraṁ vajrasattva iti smṛtam /*
aveśayatu te 'dyaiva vajrajñānam anuttaram //

JS 18.250a **此是三昧耶金剛. 名爲金剛薩埵. 願入汝身. 以爲無上金剛智.**

This is your samaya-vajra, named Vajrasattva. May it cause to descend upon you supreme vajra-jñāna.

STTS Chinese version by Amoghavajra (18.218b, Horiuchi § 224) has only the phonetic transliteration, reconstructed as follows:

ayan ta[t] samayo vajraṁ vajrasattva iti smṛtaṃ/
āviśayatu teyeva[3] vajrajñānam anuttaraṁ//

Only the two verses 12 and 13 of MN are found in the STTS.

RELEASE OF FACE-BINDING

Reciting this verse, the master removes the face binding of his disciple.

13. ***Oṁ Vajrasatvaḥ svayaṁ te 'dya cakṣūdghāṭanatatparaḥ /***
udghāṭayati sarvvākṣo vajracakṣur anuttaram //

ka: Bhaṭāra śrī Bajrasatva muvah hana ri matanta maṅgke, *cakṣūdghāṭanatatparaḥ*: denira dumliṅakna panonta, mataṅnya pahabuṅah tāmbĕkta, *udghāṭayati sarvākṣo vajracakṣur anuttaraṁ*:

dĕliṅakanta matanta, pahavās ta panonta ri saṅ hyaṅ maṇḍala.

Lord Vajrasattva is in your eyes now. *Cakṣūdghāṭanatatparaḥ:* your vision is illumined by Him. Therefore your mind in enlightened. *Udghāṭayati sarvākṣo vajra-cakṣur anuttaram:* your eyes are brightened and you will have clear insight into the sacred maṇḍala.

The Sanskrit verse is found in the STTS, phonetic transliteration in its Chinese version (T 18.218b), JS (T 18.250c-251a), SDP (Skorupski 1983:150(20a), 294(105a), and Sarvavajrodaya 249.13-15.

STTS Oṃ vajrasattvaḥ svayaṃ te 'dya cakṣūdghāṭanatatparaḥ /
udghāṭayati sarvākṣo vajracakṣur anuttaram //

The SDP and SV and have the same reading.

JS 金剛薩埵親自尊爲汝. 開五眼及無上金剛眼

For your sake, Vajrasattva himself opens every eye, the supreme vajra eye. Besides the translation, JS has a phonetic transliteration, whereas STTS (Chinese version by Amoghavajra) has only the transliteration:

oṃ vajrasattva svayaṃ tedya cakṣūdghāṭanatatparaḥ /
udghāṭayati sarvakṣu vajracakṣu anuttaraṃ //

SHOWING THE MAṆḌALA (verses 14,15)

14. ***idaṅ ca maṇḍalaṁ paśya śraddhāṁ janaya cādhunā /***
kule jāto 'si buddhānāṁ sarvamantrair adhiṣṭhitaḥ //

ka: vulat i saṅ hyaṅ maṇḍala, *śraddhāṁ janaya cādhunā*: gavayakĕn taṅ śrĕddha, hayva tan sagorava ri saṅ hyaṅ maṇḍala, *kule jāto'si buddhānāṁ*: apan kita buddhakula maṅke, apan bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha ṅaranta mĕne, *sarvamantrair adhiṣṭhitaḥ*: tuvi sampun kṛtādhiṣṭhāna iki de saṅ sarbba tathāgata, inajyan sinaṅaskāra rikaṅ sarbba mantra.

Envision the maṇḍala. *śraddhāñ janaya cādhunā:* generate faith. Do not be disrespectful to the holy maṇḍala. *Kule jato'si buddhānām:* since you are now in the Buddha-kula. Because now (*mĕne*) you are designated in Lord Buddha. *Sarvamantrair adhiṣṭhitaḥ:* even already you are endowed with the grace of all Tathāgatas. You are instructed and initiated in all the mantras.

The verses 14 and 15 are found in the Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā 17.16-19, a Sanskrit ritual manual compiled by Kuladatta. Meanwhile, based on the manuscript of the KS reproduced by Sharada Rani in the Śatapiṭaka series, A. Wayman 1984 pointed out that verses 6-9, 16-17, 20-22, 26-27, 29-32 are found in it.

The manuscript used by Sakurai differs from the above mentioned:

idaṃ hi maṇḍalam paśyan śraddhām janayaṃś cādhunā /
kule jāto 'si buddhānāṃ vidyāmantrair adhiṣṭhitaḥ /

15. sampado 'bhimukhāḥ sarvāḥ siddhayo gatayaś ca te /
pālayan samayān siddho mantreṣūdyogavān bhava //

In the KS [Sakurai], these two verses are recited after obeisance to the maṇḍala at the four gates.

15. ***sampado 'bhimukhāḥ sarvāḥ siddhayo gatayaś ca te /***
pālaya samayaṁ siddhyai mantreṣūdyogavān bhava //

ka: aparĕk tekaṅ hayu ri kita, *siddhayo gatayaś ca te*: samaṅkana ikaṅ kasiddhyan abhimuka ikā kabeh, agya kapaṅguha denta; *pālaya samayaṁ siddhyai*: lĕkas ta umabhyāsa saṅ hyaṅ samaya, marapvan katĕmu ikaṅ kasiddhyan usĕn denta; *mantreṣūdyogavān bhava*: gavayakan taṅ utsāha ri mantra japa pūjā usĕn, hayva hĕlĕm-hĕlĕm, yathānyan kopalambha ikaṅ kasugatin irikeṅ ihajanma ṅūniveh dlāha. *Iṁ!*

Close to you is felicity. *Siddhayo gatayaś ca te:* all the siddhis are close at hand. Quickly you will find them. *Pālaya samayaṁ siddhyai:* begin to practise the divine samaya, so that you attain the siddhis quickly. *Mantreṣūdyogavān bhava:* exert in mantra, japa, pūjā with more intensity. Do not delay, so that you obtain bliss in the present life as well as in the future.

For the Sanskrit verse in the KS see the previous verse 14.

ABHIṢEKA WITH A GOLDEN SPATULA

Oṁ bajranetrāya, hara-hara paṭalaṁ hrīḥ/
ajñānapaṭalaṁ vatsa apanītaṁ Jinais[1] tava/
śalākair vaidyarājendraiḥ yathā lokasya[2] taimiraṁ//

kaliṅanya: pahenak tāmbĕkta, huvus hilaṅ ikaṅ ajñānapaṭala ri hatinta, binabadan de bhaṭāra śrī Bajradhara. *Śalākair vaidyarājendraiḥ yathā lokasya taimiraṁ*: kadyaṅgān [n]ikanaṅ vvaṅ lara matan putikĕn, ramun matanya tinamvan ta ya de saṅ vedya cinĕlĕkan matanya, varas tekā matanya hĕniṅ, menak panonya vĕkasan ri hilaṅ nikaṅ kavakamalādyupadravanya, maṅkana tekiṅ ajñānapaṭalanta an hilaṅ[3] tutas, tanpaśeṣa sampun binabadan de bhaṭāra, mataṅyar pahenak ta aṅĕn-aṅĕnta, hayva saṅśaya.

Be pleased at heart. The veil of ignorance has vanished from your heart, as it has been cleared by Lord Vajradhara. *Śalākair vaidya-rājendraiḥ yathā lokasya taimiram:* like a patient suffering from cataract, when the physician has applied ointment on them, his eyes recover (*varas)* and become clear. Finally he is happy to see diseases caused by dirt and fungi (*kavaka*) disappear. So also when the veil of ignorance is destroyed with nothing left (*tutas*), completely cleared up by the Lord, now rejoice and reflect, and have no doubts.

[1] So Speyer. T. "removed by Jinas", de Jong *punitaṁ jinanes*

[2] So T.

[3] A tilaṅ.

The verses 16-22 are recited when the consecration is conferred. In the JS 16, 20-22 are in prose.

JS 18.252a: 善男子世間醫王. 能治眼翳. 諸佛如来. 今日爲汝開無明翳

Son of a good family, as a medical doctor in this world heals eye sickness, today Buddhas and Tathāgatas remove the sickness of your avidyā [ignorance].

In the JS, the word *śalāka*/spatula is not used.

VAS 18.12a: 佛子佛爲汝 缺除無智膜 猶如世醫王 善用以金篦

sṅon-gyi mig-mkhan rgyal-po-yis
ḥjig-rten liṅ-tog bsal-ba bzhin
bu khyod-kyis ni mi śes-paḥi
liṅ-tog rgyal-ba-rnams-kyis bsal //

ABHIṢEKA WITH A MIRROR (verses 17-19, verse 19: Sarva-vajrodaya 233.4-5)

17. pratibimbasamā dharmā acchāḥ śuddhā anāvilāḥ /
agrāhyā abhilāpyāś[1] ca hetukarmasamudbhavāḥ //

ka: pahavās denta umulati ikaṅ sarbbadharmma, tan hana pahinya lāvan māyā riṅ darpaṇa ryy avakta vās ākārarūpa nikanaṅ māyā riṅ darpaṇa, nda tan kavĕnaṅ ginaměl, apan tan hana tatvanya; maṅkana tekiṅ sarbbabhāva, ṅūniveh janmamanuṣa hetuka karmma dumadyakĕn ike, mataṅnya kadi katon mātra-mātra, kintu tan hana tĕmĕn-tĕmĕn.

When you see all phenomena precisely, they are not different from the reflection in a mirror. The reflected form of your body in a mirror is clear, but it is not tangible (*ginaměl*), for it has no real existence. Likewise are all forms of existence, specially human life. It arises from karma. Therefore they are just (*mātra-mātra*) visible, but they do not exist in reality.

[1] Speyer *agrāhyānabhilāpyāś* which is confirmed by Ch. and T.

JS 18.252a:一切諸法性 垢浄不可得 非實亦非虛 皆從因緣現

The nature of all existence is clear and can not be obtained, neither real nor unreal. All turns up out of cause and effect.

pratibimbasamā dharmā is not translated in the *JS* 18.252a.

An equivalent verse is found in another place in the same text [18.224b].

諸法如影像 清浄無濁穢 無取無可説 因業之所生

All existence is like a reflected image, clean and pure. It cannot be obtained nor explained, and it comes into being out of cause and effect.

VAS 18.224b: 諸法無形像 清澄無垢濁 無執離言説 但從因業起

chos-rnams gzugs-brñan lta-bu ste
daṅ-zhiṅ dag-la rñog-pa med
gzuṅ-du med-ciṅ brjod-du med
rgyu-daṅ-las las byuṅ-ba ste //

It reflects the Buddhist credo *ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā* that all forms of existence arise from a cause or karma, and really have no existence.

18. ***evaṁ jñātvā imān dharmān nissvabhāvān anāvilān*[1] /**
kuru satvārtham atulaṁ jāto 'sy urasi tāyināṁ //

ka: pahavās ta denta gumĕgö māyopama ni sarbba-dharmma; *nissvabhāvān anāvilān*: hayva ta puṅguṅ an nissvabhāva ikiṅ sarbbabhāva; *kuru satvārtham atulaṁ*: gavayakan taṅ kaparārthan usĕn, *jāto 'sy urasi tāyināṁ*: apan kita maṅke jinorasa ṅaranta: anak bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha, mataṅnyan hayva ta tan sarambhakāta riṅ kuśalakarmma, mvaṅ aṅiṅkiṅ parārtha.

Clearly affirm (*gumĕgö*) that all phenomena are like reflections. You should know that they have no existence of their own. You should strive hard to do good to others, because now you are a son of the Jina (*jinorasa*), a child of the divine Lord Buddha. You should not neglect to assiduously perform meritorious actions. Be constantly concerned for the well-being of others.

[1] T. has *anālayān* but Ch. confirms *anāvilān.*

JS 18.252a: **應當知諸法。自性無所依。汝今眞佛子。應廣利衆生。**

You must know the nature of all existence is independent. Now that you are a real son of Buddha, you must do good for sentient beings.

VAS: **如是知此法　自性無染濁　爲世無比利　汝從佛心生**

nissvabhāvān is translated without *nis* in both JS and VAS. Another JS verse 18.224f corresponds to the Sanskrit verse: **:如是了此法 離自性無依　利無量衆生　是如来意生**

Now you understood the dharma is non-substantial and independent, then you have to do benefits for sentient beings incomparably, because you are born of Tathāgata's mind.

ṅo-bo ñid-med gnas med-pa
de-ltar chos ḥdi śes-nas-su
sems-can don ni mñam-med byos
ḥon-kyaṅ saṅs-rgyas-sras-su skyes //

19. ***Vajrasatvaḥ prakṛtyaiva accha śuddha anāvilaḥ/***
hṛdi tiṣṭhati te vatsa sarvabuddhādhipaḥ svayaṁ//

ka: pahenak tāṅen-aṅĕnta, bhaṭāra Bajrasatva miṅasthūla sira ri hatinta, bhaṭāra Bajrasatva ṅaran[n]ira; *accha śuddha anāvilaḥ*: śuddha svabhāva sira, tan hana rāga, dveṣa, moha ri sira, tuvi ta pinaka pradhāna saṅ sarbba tathāgata sira, pinakahatinta sira maṅke, mārgga niṅ puṇya-jñāna-sambhāra kapaṅguha denta don ira hana, hayva ta sandeha.

Rejoice and reflect. Lord Vajrasattva has manifested himself materially in your heart. He by nature is pure, he has no passion, hatred or delusion. Though He is Supreme among all Tathāgatas, now he is your heart, the way to the accoutrements for merit and knowledge (puṇya-jñāna-sambhāra), which you have to attain, the purpose of His being within you. Doubt not.

SV 233 darpaṇavad vajrasattvas te 'cchaḥ śuddho hy anāvilaḥ /
hṛdaye tiṣṭhate vatsa sarvabuddhādhipaḥ svayam //

After the above verse is recited, a conch-shell is committed to the disciple, and then verses 20-22 are recited, followed by consolation with the recitation of verses 26-42.

miṅasthūla 'to descend (manifest oneself) in material form' (Zoetmulder cites only this passage).

BLOWING THE CONCH (verses 20-22)

20. ***adya prabhṛti lokasya cakraṁ vartaya tāyināṁ /***
sarvatra pūrya vimalaṁ dharmaśaṅkham anuttaram //

ka: měne tamvayanta *cakraṁ vartaya tāyināṁ*: uminděrakan dharmmacakra bhaṭāra śrī Bajradhara rikaṅ sarbbasatva; *sarvatra pūrya vimalaṁ dharmmaśaṅkham anuttaram*: kunaṅ deyanta hiběki lyābi pěnuhi teki daśadig anantaparyyanta sakala lokadhātu, kapva hiběkan an ta dharmmaśaṅkha ikā kabeh.

Now begin to rotate the dharmacakra of Lord Vajrasattva for all beings, to fill, to permeate and pervade the ten directions, the endless horizons, and all the universes, so that the dharma-conch permeates them all.

JS 18.252ab: **自今已後。諸佛法論。汝應轉之。當吹無上法螺。令大法聲遍一切處。**

Henceforth you will rotate the dharmacakra of Buddhas. You blow the supreme dharma-śaṅkha so that the great dharma pervades everywhere.

VAS 18.12a: **汝自於今日 轉於救世論 其聲普周遍 吹無上法螺**

chos-kyi duṅ ni bla-med-pa
kun-tu rgyas-par bus-nas-su
de-riṅ phan-chad ḥjig-rten-la
skyob-pa-rnams-kyi ḥkhor-lo bskor //

21. ***na te 'tra vimatiḥ kāryā nirviśaṅkena cetasā /***
prakāśaya mahātulaṃ[1] mantracaryānayaṁ[2] param //

ka: hayva kita vicikitsa, *nirvisaṅkena cetasā*: ikaṅ nissandeha atah amběkanta, *prakāśaya mahātulaṁ mantracaryānayaṁ paraṁ*: at pintonakna ike saṅ hyaṅ Mantranaya Mahāyāna.

Do not waiver. With your mind without doubts, preach the divine Mantranaya Mahāyāna.

[1] Both Ch. and T. have "proclaim in this world". Wogihara *prakāśayasva loke 'smin.*
[2] Ch. and T. have *mantracaryānayaṁ*, cf. 1b.

JS: **不應於此法中而生疑怖。於諸密語究竟清淨修行理趣。汝應廣爲衆生方便開示。**

Don't be suspicious about this dharma, the ultimate pure mantra practice path. You should manifest widely the expedient means to sentient beings.

VAS: **勿生於異意 當離疑悔心 開示於世間 勝行真言道**

som-ñi yid-gñis mi bya-zhiṅ
dogs-pa med-paḥi sems-kyis khyod

gsaṅ-sṅags spyod(P. spyad)-paḥi tshul-gyi mchog
ḥjig-rten ḥdi-la rab-tu śod //

atula refers to *vitula* of Vaitulya-vāda, a term that is still prevalent in Srilanka, is the earlier designation of Mantrayāna.

22. ***evaṃ kṛtajño buddhānām upakārīti[1] gīyate[2] /***
te ca vajradharāḥ sarve rakṣanti tava sarvaśaḥ //

ka: apan ikaṅ vvaṅ kadi kita huvus kṛtasaṅskāra ri bhaṭāra, gumave pūjā viśeṣa ri bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha, *upakārīti gīyate*: ya ikā sinaṅgah sampun maveh upakāri, bhaṭāra ṅaran ikaṅ vvaṅ maṅkana, *te ca vajradharāḥ sarve rakṣanti tava sarvaśaḥ*: kopakāran pva sira denta, rĕṇa tāmbĕk nira, yata mataṅnya yatna rumakṣa kita ri rahina vĕṅi, sakvanta saparanta sagaventa, at kita kinayatnakĕn de nira ri vrūh nira an sampun kopakāran denta, ya mataṅnya hayva vicikitsa, apan hana bhaṭāra śrī Bajrasatva pinaka atmarakṣanta sira.

A person like you who has been initiated in the Lord, offers a special worship to Lord Buddha. He is considered as one who has completed his obligations, such a person is termed a *bhaṭāra* (an epithet used for the Buddha himself). Because of his gratitude towards you, His mind is fulfilled obligation *(ṛṇa)*. He is careful to protect you day and night, wherever you are, wherever you go and whatever you do. He earnestly takes care of you since He knows that you have fulfilled all obligations. Have no doubts, because Lord Vajrasattva is your protector (bodyguard).

JS: **若能如是作者。一切如来皆知此人能報佛恩。是故於一切時處。一切持金剛者之所衛護。**

In doing so, he will be known to all the Buddhas as repaying their benevolence. And he will be protected by all the vajradharas at all times and in all places.

VAS: **常作如是願　宣唱佛恩德　一切持金剛　皆當護念汝**

de-ltar byas-na saṅs-rgyas-la
phan-dogs byas-pa bzo zhes-bya
rdo-rje-ḥdzin-pa de kun yaṅ
khyod-la rnam-pa kun-tu bsruṅ //

[1] *upakāri* 'an act of service' occurs only once in OJ, in the SHK (Zoetmulder). It refers to philanthropic benevolence. It can also refer to *upakārya* and *upakriyā* both meaning 'ritual worship', as in Bhāratayuddha 15.1 *adan marah upakārya devapūjā.*

[2] Wogihara quotes *gīyase* from I-hsiṅ's commentary. This is not found in Ch. and T., but is required by the context.

23. ***nāsti kiñcid akartavyaṁ prajñopāyena cetasā /***
nirviśaṅkaḥ sadā bhūtvā prabhuṅkṣva kāmapañcakam //

ka: nora gavai anuṅ tan ta kavĕnaṅa gavayanta yadyapin tribhuvana duṣkara lviran iṅ karmma, tan kavĕnaṅa ginave de saṅ hana riṅ svargga, manuṣya, pātāla, ikān maṅkana atiduṣkara [n]ikaṅ karmma kavĕnaṅ ika ya ginave denta; *prajñopāyena cetasā*: ndan ikaṅ prajñā atah āmbĕka[kĕna]nta, *nirviśaṅkaḥ sadā bhūtvā*: lavan tan kahilaṅana atah kita irika nissandehacitta

sadākāla; *prabhuṅkṣva kāmapañcakam*: paribhogan taṅ pañca kāmaguṇa denta, salvir niṅ kaviṣaya(n) hayva pinilihan paribhogan kabeh denta, āpan don (n)i kadi kita sādhaka, ndan hayva tah tan pakāmbĕk ika nissaṅśaya.

There is no work you cannot do, even if it be hard to be achieved by the three worlds. The work that cannot be done by beings whether of heaven, of earth (mortal region), or of the nether world, can be done by you, because you mind is pervaded by wisdom (*prajñā*). So you should never cease to perform it, ever without doubts. You can enjoy the five sensual objects. You need not abjure any of the enjoyments, you can enjoy them all. Because the aim of a meditator like you is to have a mind without doubts.

24. *yathā hi vinayaṁ pānti bodhisatvās svabhāvataḥ*[1] /
tathā hi sarvasatvārthaṁ kuryād rāgādibhiś śuciḥ//[2]

ka: kadyaṅgān bhaṭāra sikasa[3] bodhisatva mahāsatvā an[n]āmbĕk tĕmĕn sira gumĕgö i saṅ hyaṅ Mantranaya. Amběk tĕmĕn ṅaranya: kumiṅkiṅa kaparārthān, tan kalepanāna de niṅ kleśa, tan kapalitāna de niṅ rāga dveṣa moha.

As the Bodhisattvas observe discipline because of their instrinsic nature, so should the initiate do good to all beings purified by passions etc. (*rāgādi*).

The divine Bodhisattvas Māhasattvas, because of their earnest hearts, observe the divine Mantranaya. Earnest hearts means constant striving to do good to others, without being contaminated by afflictions, and without being soiled by passion, hatred and infatuation.

[1] Kats: *bodhisatvāś ca bhāvataḥ*

[2] The contrasts are:

yathā hi	*tathā hi*
vinayaṁ pānti	*sarva-satvārthaṁ kuryāt*
bodhisattvāḥ	(to be resumed from the previous verse)
svabhāvataḥ	*rāgādibhiḥ śuciḥ*

[3] *sikasa* may be emended to *sikara* 'impose one's will, insist on having one's own way' (Zoetmulder), but the Bodhisattvas observe Mantranaya because of their very nature, which needs no imposition or coercion.

The Śikṣāsamuccaya 190.4 *kim ākāraṁ śrutaṁ bodhisattva-vinaye praśastaṁ*, in which Edgerton translates *bodhisattva-vinaye* 'in the training of Bodhisattvas'.

25. *ye cānye samayadviṣṭāḥ samayabhraṣṭāḥ ye janāḥ* /
māraṇīyāḥ prayatnena buddhaśāsanapālane //

ka: hana vvaṅ dveṣa ri saṅ hya(ṅ) samaya, melik ri saṅ hyaṅ Mantranaya; *samayabhraṣṭāḥ ye janāḥ*: hana vvaṅ samayabhraṣṭāḥ vih sampun kṛtasamaya, manaḍah upadeśa. Apa kunaṅ vivartika[1] ta ya věkasan. Kinasampayan(n)ya ta saṅ guru, inumpĕtnya sira. *Māraṇīyāḥ prayatnena*: ikaṅ vvaṅ maṅkana nāṅ samayadviṣṭa mvaṅ samayabhraṣṭa kinonakĕn ikā pějahana, tanpatögvakna[2] de bhaṭāra, *buddhaśāsanapālane*: yatanyan karakṣā śāsana bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha, lāvan katvaṅana saṅ hyaṅ samaya, maṅkana phalanyan patyana ikaṅ samayavidveṣādi.

Persons hostile to the divine vow (*samaya*), hate the divine Mantranaya. There are others who are *samaya-bhraṣṭa,* who have taken the vows, have received the teachings (*upadeśa*) but have turned away from them, they scorn the guru, and defame him. Such persons who are either hostile to the vows or have forsaken them, the master (*bhaṭāra*) should order them to be killed, so that they do not move around [reviling the path]. Thus the Dharma of Lord Buddha will be promoted, and the divine vows (*samaya*) will be revered. As a result those who revile or betray the vows should be killed.

[1] *vivartika* 'to turn away from, leave, fall from'. The reading of A *vaivartika* means 'apostate', *one* who has abandoned religious vows.

[2] *tan patögvakna* is not clear. We have rendered it from *tĕgö* 'to move (go, etc.) with difficulty' (Zoetmulder).

IRRETROGRESSION AND CONSOLATION (verses 26-42), NS. 8.814b, c.

26. dṛṣṭaṃ praviṣṭaṁ paramaṁ rahasyātmakaṁ maṇḍalam[1] /
sarvapāpair vinirmuktaḥ[2] bhavanto 'dyaiva[3] śuddhitāḥ[4] //

ka: pakenak tāmbĕkta harah, sampun praviṣṭa maṇḍala ṅaranta maṅke, tumama ri saṅ hyaṅ paramarahasya. Kunaṅ deyanta pahavās vulatta[5] rike saṅ hyaṅ maṇḍala, *sarvapāpair vinirmuktaḥ*: kita pva sampun tumama ri maṇḍala, vinarah ri lava-lava[6] nikaṅ rahasya, mataṅnya hilaṅa sakveh ni pāpanta, alilaṅa[7] kadi vinasĕhan, hilaṅ samūlonmūlita[8], *bhavanto 'dyaiva śuddhitāḥ*: pahenak tāmbĕkta, hayva saṅśaya.

Be happy that you have been initiated into the maṇḍala and have entered the deepest divine esoterism. It is your duty to have a clear vision of (or close insight into) the divine maṇḍala. When you have been initiated into the maṇḍala, and have been instructed in every detail of its secrets, all your sins will absolve, cleansed as if washed with water, eradicated as if pulled out down to the roots. Rejoice and have no doubts.

gsaṅ-baḥi dkyil-ḥkhor dam-pa ni
mthoṅ-ba daṅ ni zhugs-pas kyaṅ
sdig-pa kun-las ṅes-grol-zhiṅ
khyed-rnams der-ñid legs-par gnas //

[1] Speyer *rahasyottamamaṇḍalam* which is confirmed by T.

[2] Speyer *vinirmuktā.*

[3] T. has *atraiva* but, by making a slight change, one can read *deṅ-ñid (adyaiva)* for *der-ñid* (*atraiva*).

[4] T. *susthitāḥ* which is preferable.

[5] A *thulatta.*

[6] *lavā-lavā* 'every part, every detail' (Zoetmulder).

[7] *alilaṅ* 'clear, pure, free from disturbance or passion' (Zoetmulder).

[8] *samūlonmūlita,* the reading of A, is correct: *samūla* 'alongwith the roots' + *unmūlita* 'uprooted'.

27. na bhūyo ramanaṁ bhosti[1] yānād asmān mahāsukhāt /
avṛṣyās[2] cāpy avandyās[3] ca ramadhvam akutobhayāḥ //

ka: kita vaivartika[4], *yānād asmān mahāsukhāt*: saṅka rikeṅ Mantranaya, hila-hila vvaṅ kadi kita vaivartika ri saṅ hyaṅ mārgga, *avṛṣyāś cāpy avandyāś ca*: kunaṅ ri sĕḍaṅnyat prayatna umabhyāsa saṅ hyaṅ mantra avās[5] ikaṅ hayu kasiddhyan kapaṅguha denta, tan kavĕnaṅ inulah-ulah deniṅ māra tirvikādi;[6] *ramadhvam akutobhayāḥ*: mataṅnya pahenak tāmbĕkta, hayva siga-sigun, tulusakĕn(a) pratipattinte ri saṅ hyaṅ mantra.

A backslider from this Mantranaya, if a person like you turns disloyal to the divine way, is an apostate. If you are earnest in the practice of divine mantras, you will gain clear insight into good (*hayu*) and attain siddhi. Māra, heretics and the like will not be able to disturb you. Be at ease, do not be hesitant and complete your perfection in the divine mantras.

bde-chen theg(P. thob)-pa ḥdi-las ni
slar ḥchi-ba ni yod min-te
mi tshugs-pa daṅ mi sod-pas
śis-kyaṅ mi-ḥjigs rol-par-gyis //

[1] Speyer *bhramaṇam bhoti*, Wulff *ramaṇam bho 'sti*. T. has read *maraṇaṃ bhoti*.

[2] Speyer's emendation *adhṛṣyāś* is confirmed by T. and Ch. The lattter has confused *adhṛṣya* and *adṛśya*.

[3] Speyer and Wulff *cānavadyāś* but T. *cāpy avadhyāś* which must be the correct reading.

[4] *vivartiya, vivartya* 'liable to turning back, to backsliding' (Edgerton).

[5] *avās* '(of persons): clear, having clear insight' (Zoetmulder).

[6] *tirvikādi*, emended to *tīrthikādi* (so also by Zoetmulder).

28. *ayaṁ vaḥ satataṁ rakṣyaḥ siddhasamayasaṁvaraḥ /*
sarvabuddhasamaṁ proktaḥ[1] ājñā paramaśāśvatī[2] //

ka: prayatna tah kita rumakṣa saṅ hyaṅ samaya, hayva tannaṅti(?) kuṇḍaṅ rahasyanatah sira denta, vruha ta kita rikaṅ yogya varahĕn ri saṅ hyaṅ samaya, hayva ta dinadhi kavvaṅanya, āmbĕknya, ulahnya, maryyādanya, kunaṅ pva yan tuhu-tuhu śrĕddhānya, acchedyābhedya ri saṅ hyaṅ mantra, irikā ta kita dvara-haya[3] ri saṅ hyaṅ rahasya; hayva saṅśaya, hayva kundul-kundul umarahakĕn ri saṅ hyaṅ samaya rikāṅ adhimuktika satva[4], *sarvabuddhasamaṁ proktaḥ*: āpan sampun kita kṛtānujñāta de saṅ sarbba-tathāgata, inanumoda de bhaṭāra umintonakna saṅ hyaṅ samaya, *ājñā pāramaśāśvatī*: kita iko ta tibānyanujñāta bhaṭāra[5], sumiddhākna sapakon saṅ sarbba-tathāgata.

Exert yourself to safeguard the holy samaya. Do not reveal it to a companion (*kuṇḍan*) because it is very esoteric. You should know one who is capable of receiving the holy samaya. Do not be conditioned (?) by his origin, mind, deeds or proprieties (*maryādā*), but because his faith in the holy mantras is genuine, invulnerable and unswerving. Only then he should gain entrance into divine secrets. Do not doubt, do not waver in imparting the holy vows to a zealous person (*adhimuktika sattva*). You have already been granted permission [to do that] by all the Tathāgatas. You have been granted approval by the master (*bhaṭāra*) to impart the holy vows (*samaya*). These (*iko*) were the directions (*tibā*) when the master (*bhaṭāra*) gave you the initiatory permission (*anujñā*), to accomplish the commandments of all the Tathāgatas.

dam-tshig sdom-pa grub-pa ḥdi
khyod-kyis rtag-tu bsruṅ-bar-bya
saṅs-rgyas kun-gyis mthun-par gsuṅs
dam-pa rtag-paḥi bkaḥ yin-no//

JS: 此等三摩耶 諸佛爲汝説 守持善愛護 當如保身命

This samaya vow was preached by all the Buddhas for you to protect and observe [just as you take care of your body and life]).

In the *JS* and *VAS*, there is no translation for *ājñā parama śāśvatī*. Instead they have 'just as you take care of your body and life'. The master consecration of the *JS* ends with warnings of retrogression and consolation, including the recitation of this verse, which is also found in the *AP* and *VAS*.

AP. 而此最勝調伏法。常當護持安千三昧。是即諸佛平等言説。

VAS: 佛説三昧耶 汝善住戒者 如護自身命 護戒亦如是.

[1] Wuff ingeniously proposes *sarvabuddhasamāḥ proktāh*. However, T. and Ch. seem to have read *sarvabuddhaiḥ samaṃ proktaḥ*. The second half of the verse can be:
sarva-buddhaiḥ samaṁ proktā ājñā paramaśāśvatī//

[2] Speyer's emendation *ājñā paramaśāśvatī* is confirmed by T.

[3] *kita dvara-haya:* Wulff reads *kita d varaha ya*. Zoetmulder: dvārahaya? (dvārāhvaya?) called the gate? or to be read: dvarahanya, arealis from dvāra?

[4] *adhimuktika sattva*, a zealous person, who has a strong inclination. Adhimukti is zealous cultivation (study or propagation) of sacred texts or religious instruction (Edgerton).

[5] *kita iko ta tibānyānujñāta bhaṭāra: iko* 'that (of yours)', *katiban* 'direct at someone' (Zoetmulder). *Anujñā* is a technical term of Tantric initiation rites, and there are several manuals in Tibetan on anujñā ritual e.g. Dharmabhadra's anujñā-vidhi of Śrī-Cakrasaṁvara (TWB.6287).

29. *bodhicittaṁ tavātyājyaṁ[1] yad vajram iti mudrayā /*
yasyotpādaikamātreṇa[2] buddha eva na saṁśayaḥ //

ka: saṅ hyaṅ bodhicitta tan tiṅgalakna denta; bodhicitta ṅa *yad vajram iti mudrayā*: saṅ hyaṅ bajra sira bodhicitta ṅaran ira lāvan saṅ hyaṅ mudrā, *yasyotpādaikamātreṇa*: den ikā kāraṇan saṅ hyaṅ bajra lāvan mudrā, *buddha eva na saṁśayaḥ*: hyaṅ buddha kita dlāha, kasākṣātkṛta ikaṅ kalĕpasĕn denta, ri sĕḍaṅnyat prayatna ri saṅ hyaṅ bajra ghaṇṭā mvaṅ mudrā.

You should not abandon the holy bodhicitta. Bodhicitta is the holy vajra alongwith the mudrā. Because of the vajra and mudrā you will become a Buddha in the future. You will visualise liberation, if you are assiduous in the practice of the holy vajra, ghaṇṭā and mudrā.

gaṅ-zhig skyed-pa tsam-gyis ni
saṅs-rgyas ñid-du dogs med-paḥi
byaṅ-chub-sems ni gtaṅ mi-bya
phyag-rgya rdo-rje gaṅ yin-pa //

[1] Wulff changed *tavā* to *tvayā* without indicating the MS reading. His emendation is unnecessary.
[2] T. does not translate *eka.* Perhaps one must read *yasyotpādanamātreṇa.*

The Vajrasattva holds a vajra in his right hand and a ghaṇṭā rests on the lap in his left hand. While both Vajrasattva and Vajradhara hold vajra and ghaṇṭā, the mudrā distinguishes them clearly. So the mudrā is crucial in their ritual.

30. *saddharmo na pratikṣepyaḥ na tyājyaś ca kadācana /*
ajñānād atha mohād vā na vai vivṛṇuyāt sa tu //

ka: tan tulaka saṅ hyaṅ saddharmma, *na tyājyaś ca kadācana*: lāvan tan tiṅgalakna sira, *ajñānād atha mohād vā na vai vivṛṇuyāt sa tu*: tan dadi vvaṅ kadi kita umivāraṇe saṅ hyaṅ saddharmma, saṅka riṅ ajñāna lāvan kamohan, mataṅnyan hayva maṅkana, laraṅan ikaṅ vvaṅ mantranaya mahāyānānuyi, umivaraṇa[1] saṅ hyaṅ sūtrānta.

Do not reject the holy dharma, nor abandon it. A person like you should not disclose the holy dharma, by ignorance or by stupefaction. One should not do it. A follower of Mantranaya Mahāyāna is forbidden to disclose the sacred scriptures *(sutrānta).*

dam-paḥi chos ni mi smod-ciṅ
nam-yaṅ btaṅ-bar mi-byaḥo
mi śes-pa ḥam rmoṅs-pa-yis
des ni smad-par mi-byaḥo //

[1] *umivaraṇa* from *vivaraṇa*, as in the Sanskrit verse: *vivṛṇuyāt.*

31. *svam ātmānaṁ parityajya tapobhir nātha*[1] *pīḍayet /*
yathāsukhaṁ sukhaṁ dhāryaṁ sambuddho 'yam anāgataḥ//

ka: pativārikāvakta[2], svakāyanirapekṣataḥ kita, hayva tṛṣṇa riṅ avak, *tapobhir nātha pīḍayet*: hayva pin[r]isakitan[3] riṅ tapa, hayva vineh gumavayakan kavĕnaṅnya, *yathāsukhaṁ sukhaṁ dhāryyaṁ*: yathāsukhātah lviranta t gavayakna ṅ bodhimārgga, *sambuddho 'yam anāgataḥ*: hayva gyā hyaṅ buddha kita dlāha.

Be unconcerned about *(tivar)* your body. Not paying attention to your body, you will have no desire to cling to it. Do not mortify it through penance. Do not exert beyond its capacity. You should work your way to bodhi *(bodhimārga)* conveniently. Do not be impatient, you will become a Buddha in the future.

raṅ-gi bdag-ñid yoṅs-spaṅs-nas
dkaḥ-thub-rnams-kyi gduṅ mi-bya
ci bde-bar ni bde-bar gzuṅ
ḥdi ni ma-byon rdzogs-saṅs-rgyas //

[1] Three different emendations have been proposed: Kern *nāti-*, Speyer *na tu,* Wulff *nātha.* T. is of no help. Kern's emendation is very attractive. Speyer's translation is not correct. The meaning is: "One must not give up one's self and harm it by mortifications." Finot's MS is different: *[ā]tmanam na vai tyājyaṁ tapobhir na ca pīḍayet* (p. 27.3).

[2] *pativar ikāvakta* (Zoetmulder).
[3] *pinrisakitan* from *sakit* 'hurt, wound, torment',

32. ***vajraṁ ghaṇṭāñ ca mudrāñ ca na saṁtyajya kadācana /***
ācāryo nāvamantavyaḥ sarvabuddhasamo hy asau //

ka: saṅ hyaṅ bajra, ghaṇṭā mvaṅ mudrā hayva kari sira denta, sakvanta, saparanta, kuṇḍaṅanta sira, *ācāryyo nāvamantavyaḥ*: lāvan ta veh tan gavayakna ṅ gurudrohaka, tan vĕnaṅ ikā vvaṅ avamāna ri ḍaṅ ācāryya, mataṅnyan tan kāvamānana sira denta, *sarvabuddhasamo hy asau*: sarbbabuddhasama sira, paḍa lāvan bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha kabeh.

You should never abandon the holy vajra, ghaṇṭā and mudrā. Wherever you are and wherever you go they should accompany you. You should not misbehave with the guru. Do not disregard the ācārya. The reason that you should not disregard him is that he is like all the divine Buddhas.

rdo-rje dril-bu phyag-rgyas rnams
nam-yaṅ yoṅs-su-spaṅ mi-bya
slob-dpon smad-par mi bya-ste
ḥdi ni saṅs-rgyas kun daṅ-ḥdra //

33. ***yaś cāvamanyed ācāryaṁ sarvabuddhasamaṁ gurum /***
sarvabuddhāvamānena nityaṁ duḥkham avāpnuyāt //

ka: apan ikaṅ vvaṅ avajñā, avamāna, masampe guru, *sa nityaṁ duḥkham avāpnuyāt*: ya ikā mulih riṅ naraka, tibā riṅ kavah saṅ Yama, pinakahitip niṅ tāmragomukha; maṅkana pāpa niṅ vvaṅ avamāna maguru.

One who disrespects, derogates or despises the guru, he goes to hell, falls into the infernal cauldron of Yama, becomes encrustation (*hitip*) at the bottom of the cauldron of *tāmragomukha* hell. Such is the misery of a person who derogates the guru.

saṅs-rgyas kun mtshuṅs bla-ma-yis
slob-dpon la ni gaṅ smad-pa
de (P.des) ni saṅs-rgyas kun smad-pas
rtag-tu sdug-bsṅal thob ḥgyur-pa //

34. ***tasmāt sarvaprayatnena vajrācāryam mahāguruṁ /***
pracchannavarakalyāṇaṁ nāvamanyet kadācana //

ka: hayva tan prayatna maguru, yadyapi pracchannavarakalyāṇa, ika gurunta tan katona hayu nira guṇa nira denta, ikan samaṅkana, *nāvamanyet kadācana*: tan avamāna ta kita ri sira, āpan mahāpāpa mahāduhkha ikaṅ tan atvaṅ maguru, mataṅnya vvara prayatna tah ri kabyāpāra saṅ guru.

Therefore do not be negligent in serving the guru, even if he is *pracchanna-vara-kalyāṇa,* even if you cannot see his goodness or his virtues. Even if it be so, never insult him. It is a great sin, a great misery, not to be respectful to the guru. Hence exert to the utmost in service to the guru.

de-bas ḥbad-pa thams-cad-kyis
rdo-rje slob-dpon blo-gros-che[1]
dge-ba rab-tu mi spyoms-pa
nam-yaṅ smad-par mi-byaḥo //

[1] T. has read *mahāmatim* but *mahāgurum* is confirmed by Ch.

35. ***nityaṁ svasamayaḥ sādhyo nityaṁ pūjyas tathāgataḥ[1] /***
nityañ ca gurave deyaṃ[2] sarvabuddhasamo hy asau //

ka: hayva kaluban kita gumavayakna saṅ hyaṅ samaya, *nityaṁ pūjyas tathāgataḥ*: lāvan śāśvata kita gumavayakna ṅ tathāgatapūjā, *nityañ ca gurave deyaṁ*: nityasa kita gumavayakĕn guruśuśrūṣā, umyāpāra saṅ guru, *sarvabuddhasamo hy asau*: apa yāpan sarbba-tathāgata sama saṅ guru ṅaran ira, mataṅ yan sira pagavayaknanta kaśuśrūṣā.

Never be amiss in performing your vows, and always offer worship to the Tathāgatas. You should ever serve the guru and do his bidding. As the guru is equal to all Tathāgatas, so you should render him all service.

rtag-tu raṅ-gi dam-tshig bsruṅ
rtag-tu de-bzhin-gśegs-pa mchod //
rtag-tu bla-ma la yaṅ dbul (P. ḥbul)
ḥdi ni saṅs-rgyas kun daṅ-ḥdra.

[1] Speyer *pūjyās tathāgatāh.* T. has no plural particle but this is often omitted.
[2] Speyer *guruvaidheyyam.* T. has *gurave deyam* which is undoubtedly the correct reading.

36. ***datte 'smin sarvabuddhebhyo dattaṁ bhavati cākṣayam /***
taddānāt puṇyasambhāraḥ sambhārāt siddhir uttamā //

ka: apan ikaṅ vvaṅ kadi kita, gumavayakĕn ikaṅ guruśuśrūṣā, maveh upahārādi ri ḍaṅ guru, yeka paṅipuk dāna-sambhāra ri bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha ṅaranya, *taddānāt puṇyasambhāraḥ*: ya sambandhanyan[1] katĕmu ikaṅ puṇyasambhāra, *sambhārāt siddhir uttamā*: ri kapaṅguhan ikaṅ puṇyasambhāra, ya dumeh rikaṅ kasiddhyan sulabha ri kita, ri prayatnanta rika guruśuśrūṣā.

If a person like you serves the guru and offers him gifts, if fosters (*ipuk*) dāna-sambhāra to the divine Buddha himself. By virtue of this one earns the merits of good deeds (puṇya-sambhāra). By the attainment of puṇya-sambhāra, it becomes easy to obtain perfection (*kasiddhyan*), because of your efforts to serve the guru.

de-byin saṅs-rgyas thams-cad la
rtag-tu sbyin-pa ñid-du ḥgyur
de-byin bsod-nams tshogs yin-te
tshogs-las dṅos-grub mchog-tu ḥgyur //

[1] *sambandhanya* 'the connection is this ..., the occasion (cause, reason) was the following, in inscriptions sambandha introduces the part which describes the immediate cause...' (Zoetmulder).

37. ***nityaṁ svasamayācāryaṁ prāṇair api nijair bhajet /***
adeyaiḥ putradārair vā, kiṃ punar vibhavaiś calaiḥ //

ka: hurip tuvi tinarimakan ri ḍaṅ guru, gumavaya kabyāpāran ira donya, ***adeyaiḥ putradārair vā*****: āstām ikaṅ anak rabi inarpaṇākĕn ikā kabeh i bharāla guru, dāsabhūtā, hulunan ira umyāpāra ri sira pakĕnanya,** ***kiṁ punar vibhavaiś calaiḥ*****: hayva ta vinuvus ikaṅ drĕvya ṅaranya, kadyāṅganiṅ māṣ maṇik dodot pirak pinūjākĕn [n]ikā kabeh i ḍaṅ guru.**

One should sacrifice even one's life for his revered guru, and carry out all his worldly duties. Even more so, offer his children and wife to the guru, so they slave to carry out the tasks required by him. Not to speak of possessions, such as gold, jewels, garments (worn around the lower part of the body), and silver; all these should be offered to the revered guru.

raṅ-gi dam-tshig slob-dpon ni
sbyin-min bu daṅ chuṅ-ma daṅ
raṅ-srog-gis rtag bsten byas-na
loṅs-spyod g.yo-ba smos ci-dgos //

38. ***yasmāt sudurlabhaṁ nityaṁ kalpāsaṁkhyeyakoṭibhiḥ /***
buddhatvam udyogavate dadatīhaiva janmani //

ka: apan [n]ikaṅ kahyaṅbuddhan atyanta parama durlabha kĕtekā[1], yadyapin kalpāsaṅkhyeyakoṭijanma, lāvasa niṅ vvaṅ gumavayakna ṅ kuśalamūla dānapāramitādi sumādhya ṅ kahyaṅbuddhan, ikān maṅkana tan niyata (A nyata) **kapaṅguha, saṅka ri durlabha nikaṅ kalĕpasan ṅaranya,** ***buddhatvam udyogavate dadātīhaiva janmani*****: ikaṅ kahyaṅbuddhan yateka vinehakan de bharāla guru irikeṅ janmanta maṅke, ṅhiṅ hiṅanan i gön ny anugraha nira kita, mataṅnya tan halaṅ tan luṇḍu tan vĕlaṅ vĕlutĕn aṅönaṅanta an pūjākĕn huripta mvaṅ anak rabinta ri ḍaṅ guru.**

Buddhahood is really very hard to attain. Even if a person strives for innumerable millions of aeons to do virtuous deeds like dānapāramitā etc. to obtain Buddhahood, it is not certain that he will get it, because it is difficult to obtain liberation. The divine guru bestows Buddhahood in this very life, because of his great favour to you. Hence do not impede, hinder or prevaricate *(vĕlaṅ vĕlutĕn)* in offering your life, your children and your wife to the guru.

gaṅ-gis bskal-pa bye-bar ni
graṅs-med-par ni rñed dkaḥ-baḥi
saṅs-rgyas-ñid kyaṅ brtson-ldan la
tshe ḥdi-ñid la ster-bar byed //

[1] *kĕta* 'emphatic particle (perhaps somewhat stronger than *ta*)' Zoetmulder.

39. ***adya vaḥ saphalaṁ janma yad asmin supratiṣṭhitaḥ[1] /***
samaḥ samāya devānām[2] adya jātāḥ svayambhavaḥ[3] //

adya vaḥ saphalañ janma yad asmin supratiṣṭhitaḥ**: an pakaśaraṇa saṅ hyaṅ samaya,** ***samaḥ samāya devānām adya jātāḥ svayaṃbhavaḥ*****: āpan avak hyaṅ buddha kita maṅke usĕn, karatalabyavasthita,**

ikaṅ kahyaṅbuddhatvan ri kita, kāgĕm kamuṣṭi ikaṅ kalĕpasĕn denta.

As you are under the protection of the holy vows (*samaya)* you have attained the corpus of the Buddha in no time (*usĕn),* this Buddhahood is in the palm of your hand. Liberation is firmly in your fisted hands, secure in a tight first (*muṣṭi).*

de-phyir ḥdi ni legs gnas-pas
deṅ khyod skye-ba ḥbras-bur bcas
raṅ-byuṅ dam-tshig lha daṅ-mṅam
deṅ khyod gyur-bar the-tshom med//

[1] Speyer *supratiṣṭhitāḥ.*

[2] Speyer *samasamā ye devānām.* T. has read *samāḥ samayadevānām,* which is metrically preferable to Speyer's reading. However, I have not been able to trace the expression *samayadeva.* Perhaps one must keep the MS readings *supratiṣṭhitaḥ* and *samaḥ* in spite of the grammatical incorrectness of the singular.

[3] Speyer *svayambhuvaḥ.*

The second half of the Sanskrit verse can be rendered in the light of the Tibetan translation: *raṅ-byuṅ (svayambhavaḥ) dam.tshig (samayaḥ) lha daṅ mñam (samo devānām) deṅ (adya) khyod (vaḥ) gyur.bar (jātaḥ) the.tshom.med (nissaṁśayaṁ).* According to Tibetan the latter half of the verse will be: *samayaḥ samo devānām adya jātaḥ svayambhavaḥ//*

By the grace of the guru Buddhahood has been gained in this very existence though it takes innumerable aeons (*kalp-āsaṁkhyeya-koṭibhiḥ* in verse 38). The word *svayambhavaḥ* 'self-created' emphasises both the suddenness as well as the ease with which the officiant has attained his final goal.

40. ***adyābhiṣiktāyuṣmantaḥ sarvabuddhaiḥ savajribhiḥ /***
traidhātukamahārājye rājādhipatayaḥ sthitāḥ //[1]

ka: pahenak tāmbĕkta, sampun kṛtābhiṣeka kita de [saṅ] sarba-tathāgata lāvan saṅ sarba-tathāgatī; ṅaran ikaṅ abhiṣeka tinarimanta[2]: cakravartyabhiṣeka[3] ṅaranya.

Be happy at heart that you have been consecrated by all the Tathāgatas and all their Consorts (Tathāgatī). The name of the consecration received by you is cakravarty-abhiṣeka.

[1]saṅs-rgyas rdo-rje-ḥdzin bcas-par
kun-gyi deṅ khyod dbaṅ-bskur-bas
khams-gsum-gyi ni rgyal-po che
rgyal-poḥi bdag-por bstan-pa yin //

[2] *tarima* 'accept, receive gratefully' (Zoetmulder).

[3] Ishii (1992:226) raised doubts about the context of cakravarty-abhiṣeka in this verse. According to her these verses are "assumed to be recited in the master consecration". This was the general ritual, but it was employed in specific rites as well, and hence the OJ commentary particularises the context.

The reference to cakravarty-abhiṣeka is interesting. It may refer to a Tantric consecration of King Siṇḍok who ruled from 929 to 948. His name occurs in manuscript C of the SHK, which was taught by Śrī Sambhara Sūryāvaraṇa, the revered guru in the Vanjaṅ freehold. The freehold was granted by Śrī Īśānabhadr-ottuṅgadeva mpu Siṇḍok as an offering to the Guru (guruyāga, for OJ text see Kats p.118 n.2). In the inscriptions the name of the King is Īśāna-vikrama uttuṅgadeva (with variations, for which see Damais 1952:57-58). In the Gĕvĕg (Tĕharan) Inscription dated 14 August 933 his name is Śrī Īśānottuṅgadeva-vijaya (ib.). The word *vijaya* is reflected in the name of the Jayāmṛta monastery founded by him two years later in the Śaka year 857=AD 935, as recorded in an inscribed stone found near Candi Lor in the locality of Añjuk, which is Ṅ-añjuk (with the definite article *ṅ-*, Fontein 1990:231). This Siṇḍok was associated with Buddhism and the word *jaya* in the name of the monastery suggests its foundation as a thanksgiving for a victory *(jaya).* The Ṅañjuk statuettes pertain to the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The *tantra bajradhātu Subhūti* is mentioned in connection with the gift of the fief to Guru Suryāvaraṇa by Siṇḍok (Kats 1910:118). It cannot be ruled out that Ṅañjuk bronzes of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala are associated with Suryāvaraṇa's rites for Siṇḍok.

The verse mentions that the consecration was conferred by all the Buddhas and their consorts (Vajrī). The OJ commentary refers to them as sarva-Tathāgata and sarva-Tathāgatī. Were both the King and his Queen given the Tantric initiation as King Siṇḍok is mentioned alongwith his Parameśvarī (Damais 1952:59) in the Cuṅgraṅ II (Gunuṅ Kavi) Inscription of AD 929 and in the Gĕvĕg (Tĕṅaran) Inscription of AD 933.

The Ichiji Kinrin (Ekākṣara Cakravartī) maṇḍala was used for the rite of well-being in Japanese Mantrayāna. Its principal deity is Vairocana, seated on a solar disk on seven lions. He is surrounded by seven emblems of the state: queen, horse, elephant, cintāmaṇi jewel, wheel, prime minister and general. It is based on Amoghavajra's translation of a manual for this deity (Ishida 1987:52). Instead of the bodhyagrī mudrā, his hands are in the mudrā of meditation in which he holds a wheel (cakra) (ib. 160 pl.113). Cakra is the symbol of a cakravartin. Hence the conferment of cakravarty-abhiṣeka in this verse can refer to Siṇḍok. To this day, Cakravarti brahmins are found in Bengal and Tamilnadu, both important seats of Vajrayāna in ancient times.

The Mantranaya is based on the AP, whose main deity is Vajrasattva. The Surocolo bronzes pertain to the naya-maṇḍala of Vajrasattva (see p. 121 of this volume), and we cannot preclude the possibility that they belong to another monastery founded by Siṇḍok called Surocolo, which means the Mountain of Gods or Sumeru. The Surocolo bronzes have the 17-deity maṇḍala of Hevajra, whose rites for victory are attested during the reign of Kublai Khan.

The name of the Guru, Sambhara Suryāvaraṇa, reminds of the use of Sambara for

rich Buddhist merchants in Tamil. Here, of course Sambara refers to a master perfect in vows (*saṁvara)*. *Sūry*-āvaraṇa points to Vairocana which literally means the 'Sun'. The Japanese name of Vairocana is Dainichi 'The Great (*dai)* Sun (*nichi)*'. The second element *āvaraṇa/ābaraṇa* can be *ābharaṇa* 'ornament'. Thus the full name Suryābharaṇa will mean 'one who is the ornament of the rites of Sūrya, that is, Vairocana'.

41. ***adya Māraṁ vinirjitya praviṣṭāḥ paramaṁ puram /***
prāptam adyaiva buddhatvaṁ bhavadbhir nātra saṁśayaḥ //

ka: avās alah nikaṅ mārakarmma denta, *praviṣṭāḥ paramaṁ puram*: niyata ikā nirbāṇapura katĕkan denta maṅke, *prāptam adyaiva buddhatvaṁ*: kapaṅguha niyata nikaṅ kamokṣan denta ri janmanta maṅke, *bhavadbhir nātra saṁśayaḥ*: pahenak tāṅĕn-aṅĕnta, hayva saṅśaya.

It is clear that you have thwarted the deeds of Māra. Surely you have entered the abode of nirvāṇa here and now. You have certainly found liberation in this very life. Be at ease, reflect and do not doubt.

deṅ (P.D. de) ni bdud-las rnam-rgyal te
groṅ-khyer mchog-tu rab-tu zhugs
khyed-rnams-kyi ni saṅs-rgyas-ñid
deṅ ḥdir thob-par the-tshom med //

42. ***iti kuruta manaḥ prasādavajraṁ***
svasamayam akṣayasaukhyadaṁ bhajadhvam/
jagati laghusukhe 'dya sarvabuddha-[1]
pratisamaśāśvatitāṁ gatā bhavantaḥ//

ka: mataṅnya tulusakĕnta śrĕddhānta, pahapagĕh ta manahta, makamārgga saṅ hyaṅ Mantranaya Mahāyāna, *svasamayam akṣayasaukhyadaṁ bhajadhvaṁ*: atikaṣta rumakṣa saṅ hyaṅ samaya, āpan sira vĕnaṅ umehakan ikaṅ anuttarasukha, *jagati laghusukhe 'dya sarvabuddha-pratisamaśāśvatitāṁ gatā bhavantaḥ*: āpan ikeṅ janma manuṣya ṅaranya akĕḍik sukhanya; yathānyat paṅguhakna kahyaṅbuddhan, paḍā lāvan saṅ sarbba-tathāgata, mataṅnyan lĕkasa umabhyāsa saṅ hyaṅ samaya, gumavayakna saṅ hyaṅ Mantranaya Mahāyāna, hayva ta pramāda kita, kayatnakan tĕmĕn-tĕmĕn, yathānyan sulabha ikaṅ kasiddhyan kapaṅguha denta.

ITI SAṄ HYAṄ KAMAHĀYĀNAN MANTRANAYA SAMĀPTA

Have perfect faith (*śrĕddhā)*, make your mind firm, and follow the path of sacred Mantranaya Mahāyāna. It is very hard to observe the sacred vows, though they bestow supreme bliss. In this human life of limited happiness, to attain Buddhahood, like all Tathāgatas, begin to observe the sacred vows (*samaya*), follow the sacred Mantranaya Mahāyāna. Do not be negligent. You should set about exerting in real earnest, so that it is easy for you to achieve siddhi.

SAṄ HYAṄ KAMAHĀYĀNAN MANTRANAYA ENDS

[1] T. and Ch. have read *vajrasattva.*

[2] de-ltar yid ni rab-daṅ rdo-rje-ñid-du gyis
raṅ-gi dam-tṣhig mi-zad bde-ster (P.gter) bsten-par gyis/
deṅ (P.D.de) ni ḥgro-la myur-bde rdo-rje sems-dpaḥ daṅ
rab-tu mñam-zhiṅ rtag-tu ñid-du rtogs-par gyis //

2. ADVAYA-SĀDHANA

Important Old Javanese manuscripts were taken away after the storming of the puri of Cakranegara in 1885 (Kats 1910:5 n.1). They were preserved by Dr. Brandes in the Warner Collection at Leiden and it is from this rare treasure trove that we have the three lontars of Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan (SHK) of the Lombok collection in the Library of the University of Leiden. It was edited by J. Kats in 1910 on the basis of these three mss which have an identical title but whose texts differ. He took ms A as the base. No variants are recorded from the two mss B,C for the first work Mantranaya (p.17-30). In the second work (p.31-70), variants from ms B start appearing from page 47 onwards. Perhaps ms B begins with yogādhāra (C yogācāra). Variant readings of ms C are spread all over Kats and extensive quotations from this ms are recorded in the notes. Goris (1926:154-155) tried to work out the contents of ms C from the readings recorded by Kats in his notes. From this conspectus of its contents, ms C seems to be a later reworking of AS. We have edited it as a separate text in the next volume, with indication of the passages that agree with AS.

(A) Cod. 5068, Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan is a cakĕpan of 65 leaves. All the leaves are numbered. It consists of:

1. Saṅ Hyaṅ Pamutus (1-8b).
2. Saṅ Hyaṅ Mahāyānan Mantranaya (8b-25a).
3. Advaya-sādhana/Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan (25a-62a).
4. Śava-vidhāna, according to the Buddhists (62a-65).

(Juynboll 1911:2.278).

Goris (1926:151-156) has analysed the text of ms A and rightly concluded that it is the oldest redaction. His analysis of A is as follows:

	folio	page	
I	8b-25a	17-30	Saṅ hyaṅ Mantranaya
II	25a-27a	31-34.13	Introduction (without Skt. verses)
III	27a-36a	34.14-42.10	Ṣaṭ-pāramitā
IV	36a-39a	42.11-44end	Catur-pāramitā
V	39b-40a	45.5-45.20	Pañca-devī
VI	40a-41b	45.24-46.23	Mahāguhya, begins with catur-yoga according to Diṅnāga.
VII	41b-45b	46.3-51.17	Parama-guhya, advaya, prāṇāyāma.
VIII	45b-46b	51.18-52.19	Saṅ hyaṅ Divārūpa, bajra-jñāna
IX	46b-47a	52.20-53.21	Sapta-samādhi

X 47b-48b	53.22-55.26	Letters of the alphabet, localised in the body which is a stūpa-prāsāda. End of a chapter.
XI 48b-52a	55.27-59.17	Shining body. Need of Buddhahood (kahyaṅbuddhan) New treatment of sapta-samādhi Bāyu-maṇḍala theories. End of a chapter or perhaps of an earlier redaction: *iti ḍaṅ hyaṅ kamahāyānikan parama-samaya mahopadeśa.*
XII 52a-54a	59.18-61.18	A syncretic attempt at reconciliation of different insights (nirākāra, sākāra, vāhyaka). Smārta or Śaiva trinity and the Buddhist Triratna Īśvara, Brahmā and Viṣṇu come from the omniscience of Vairocana
XIII 54b-62a	61.19-70 end	Tattva viśeṣa: a coherent section of Mahāyāna terms

(B) Cod. 5083, Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan, palm-leaf, 27 folios. Corresponds to ms A 41a-63a.

B 1	A 45b-46a
B 2a-3b	A 41a-42a
B 4a-19a	A 48a-63b
B 19a-25b	A missing
B 25b-26a	A 47b-48a
B 26a-27b	A missing

(Juynboll 1911:2.279)

The ms B begins with *avighnam astu* (note 22), as soon as the ms C ends on p.51 line 17 (note 21) of the edition of Kats. It seems that mss B and C have been copied from the same original. It has to be verified from the original lontar.

(C) Cod. 5129 leg. Warn. (Lombok collection), Tutur Kama(hā)yānikan, in 45 palm-leaves.

C 1	A missing
C 1-2b	A 25a-26b
C 2b-5a	A 41b-45b
C 5a-5b	A 48b-49b
C 5b-6a	A 54a-55a
C 6a-6b	A missing

C 32b-33b A fragment of Saṅ hyaṅ Pamutus
C 33b-43b A missing
C 43b-44a A 34b-36a
C 44a-45a A 27b-28a

From the above it can be seen that A has four different texts, namely, S.h. Pamutus, Mantranaya, Advaya-sādhana, and Śava-vidhāna. The ms B has only Advaya-sādhana. It is unique in preserving the title Advaya-sādhana in its colophon. It focuses on the separate identity of the Advaya-sādhana. The third ms C begins as Advaya-sādhana, but diverges from A later on. In fact, ms C has to be treated as a separate version as it shows marked divergences in the text, and variant readings. Pigeaud 1968:2.271 calls it a fragment and cites therefrom sira Sambara Surya Warana and Tantra Bajradhātu. Sambara is a high ranking Buddhist named Suryābharaṇa. Tantra Bajradhātu is the OJ sequence of Vajradhātu-tantra which is the Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha, whose Vajradhātu-maṇḍala is well known.

The Saṅ hyaṅ Kamahāyanikan is a collective title for an anthology of Mahāyāna texts, just as Kṛtabhāṣā is a generic title comprising several minor texts in Sanskrit with their Old Javanese interlinear translations.

(D) There is a lontar of the SHK in the Prof. RaghuVira Collection at the International Academy of Indian Culture with 3+73 folios.

0 I. Three folios not numbered, Begins: Nihan saṅ hyaṅ kamahāyānikan/paměkas saṅ siddhānugati hyaṅ sarvvasiddhi/

1-40 II.1. (1b-9b, Kats p.47: variant version)
Ends: iti saṅ hyaṅ kāmayanikan
2. (10a-13a) Begins: sira saṅ hyaṅ Divarūpa ṅaran ira
3. (14a-19b) Begins: janma rahasya..., Ends on 19b: kalpasan bodhi iti paramarahasya
4. (20a-28b) Ends on 28a: paramakaivalyajñāna...// iti caturviphala...// iti ḍaṅ hyaṅ kamaṇikan
5. (29b-40b) iti ḍaṅ ḍaṅ buṅhalan

41-55 III. Folios 1-15 (= folios 41-55 of continuous numbering)
1. (1b-3a) kalpa boddhi iti paramarahasya
2. (3b-7a) Ends: iti saṅ hyaṅ kahuvusan jāti viśeṣa
3. (8b-15b) title on 8a: veddhā kabhudan=Buddha-veda

56-65 IV. Folios 1-10 (= folios 56-65 of continuous numbering)
1. (1b-4a) Begins: śabda sakiṅ pupusuh
2. (4b-5b) iti pati riněgĕp de nira saṅ kavīśvara
3. (6b-9b) Begins: iti mūla niṅ saṅka niṅ hana janma

Ends on 9b: iti nirāśraya/.../ iti kalpasan//0// tutur kalpasan...

4. (10a-b) Ends on 10b: iti kalpasan //0//

66-73 V. 1. (66b-70b) duk amet puṣpa

2. (71b-73a) begins: nyan panĕbusan atma kasavavedana=śava-vidhāna

Ends on 73a: Oṁ hrīṁ hrīṁ ṣaḥ paramaśivacandrāmṛthāya namaḥ// sĕmbah riṅ candra//0//

Goris dates the early version A to the time of Siṇḍok (930): "It is therefore not impossible that the older parts already existed during the Śailendra period as a commentary to a Sanskrit work, and that our A version with its younger parts might be dated before the time of Siṇḍok, whilst the C version, being a revision, might be considered Eastern Javanese and recorded during or after the time of Siṇḍok" (Goris 1926:151, quoted in Stutterheim 1929:34 n.48). Krom (1926:13) feels that the SHK can go back to a still older original (translated by Sarkar, JGIS.13.13). He (212-13) says that the SHK comprises two tracts, the first is an OJ clarification of Sanskrit ślokas, and the second is an OJ catechism interspersed with Sanskrit citations. The two together are a survey of the tenets and practices of Tantric Buddhism.

In 1929, Stutterheim used the SHK to elucidate the form and meaning of the Borobudur. He (1929:11) expressed the opinion "That the system of the Borobudur is the same as that of the older parts of the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan, a Javanese treatise on the Mahāyāna, greatly different from the Indian view." According to him "this treatise gives the outlines of several systems according to which the various figures of the pantheon can be arranged in their mutual connection" (ib.51). He has missed the precise genre of the SHK and hence it seems to be greatly different from the Indian view. The SHK has a single coherent system, which has escaped previous scholars and hence the present effort to put it in proper perspective.

Sarkar (1934:25) feels that the SHK is "not even free from Śaiva tinge. It appears thus that there was going on a strenuous effort to merge the two godheads—Śiva and Buddha—into one". The comparisons of Śaiva, Buddhist and other denominational contexts are analogies and not syncretic tendencies in the SHK which is a pure Vajrayāna work. Analogical comparisons have been used to clarify concepts. Sarkar (1929:45) is right in maintaining the SHK "is a manual of the Mantrayānist school". Further on p.48 he defines the SHK "as a manual of the vajrācāryas."

Moens (1951:353) terms the SHK an OJ Tantric catechism of the yogācārins, whose oldest portions go back to the time of the Śailendras as concluded by Goris (1926:151f).

CONTENTS OF SHK (MN+AS)

The first text of Mantranaya (MN) has been defined by de Jong (1974:465-82) as verses from the Mahāvairocana-sūtra and the Adhyardha-śatikā prajñāpāramitā, both belonging to the caryā-tantras. The specific title of the second text is Advaya-sādhana (AS) in the colophon of ms B. An analysis of its contents is given below according to the folio numbers of ms A. It is a text for an ādikarmika who is devoted to the yoga-tantras, just as the Pañcakrama pertains to the Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya. The two texts of the SHK, Mantranaya and Advaya-sādhana, are integrally related to each other as constituent elements in four stages of realisation. The four stages are: I mahāmārga, II paramamārga, III mahāguhya, IV paramaguhya. This classification is from the SHK itṣelf. The first two are the way (mārga) while the latter two are esoteric (guhya) realisations. The parama level is higher than the mahā level in both mārga and guhya. This terminology is an indication that both the texts were conceived of as a systematic structure.

The text Mantranaya represents the Mahāmārga.

MANTRANAYA

I. MAHĀMĀRGA (i.e. initiation)

8b-24b Mantranaya is the *Mahāyāna mahāmārga* (8b, 9b, 11a, 12b), also prefixed with the honorific *saṅ hyaṅ Mahāyāna mahāmārga* (10b, 11b)

ADVAYA-SĀDHANA

The Advaya-sādhana begins with the duties of an ādikarmika (25a). The officiant commences by choosing a place for meditation, takes wholesome food for a healthy body, dons the prescribed robes, does not indulge in apocryphal readings, and thus duly qualifies himself to start the practice of the Six Pāramitās and then engages in the Four Pāramitās (or contradistinctively the Four Brahmavihāras). These constitute the Ten Pāramitās and they are the essence of the Five Goddesses. These Ten Pāramitās are the paramamārga (II) to comprehend the mahāguhya and paramaguhya:

25a PREPARATION

Appropriate place of homa

25b Wholesome food and sound body for meditation, Donning the robes

26a No indulgence in apocrypha

Philosophy (*darśana),* discrimination (*pariccheda)* and respectful reception (*pratipatti*)

II. PARAMAMĀRGA (also called mahāmārga by oversight): Ten Pāramitās (40a)

27a-35v Ṣaṭ-pāramitā (dāna, śīla, kṣānti, vīrya, dhyāna, prajñā)

dāna: dāna, atidāna, mahātidāna

śīla: kāya, vāk, citta

kāyika: śubha-karma aśubha-karma

kāyika aśubha-karma: prāṇātipāta-virati, adattādāna-v., kāma-mithyācāra-v.

36a-39a Catur-pāramitā (maitrī, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā)

three kinds of duḥkha to be removed by karuṇā: duḥkha-duḥkhatā, saṁskāra-d., pariṇāma-d.

karuṇā is of three kinds: satvālambana-k., dharmālambana-k., anālambana-k.

39a Daśa-pāramitā=Ṣaṭ-pāramitā and Catur-pāramitā

39a The tattva of Daśa-pāramitā are the Pañca-devī. Ten Pārāmitās are the Five Devīs:

Bajradhātv-īśvarī	=	ṣaṭ-pāramitā
Locanā	=	maitrī
Māmakī	=	karuṇā
Pāṇḍaravāsinī	=	muditā
Tārā	=	upekṣā.

Knowledge of the Daśa-pāramitā is mahāmārga (=paramamārga) to realise mahāguhya and paramaguhya.

III. MAHĀGUHYA (40a, 41b)

III.1 yoga

40b Four kinds of the yoga of Diṅnāga: mūla-y., madhya-y., avasāna-y., anta-y.

Anta-yoga is concentrating on the śūnyatā-maṇḍala or *deśa niṅ bhināvanā.*

III.2 bhāvanā

Four kinds of bhāvanā: śānti-b., ūṣmī-b., vṛddha-b., agra-b.

III.3 Four Āryasatya (41a)

III.4 Ten Pāramitās

IV. PARAMAGUHYA: visualisation of the Supreme Buddha/Mahāviśeṣa (40a, 41b, 62a). For this advaya-yoga, advaya-jñāna, and their harmonisation (advaya) is essential (41b). The yogic states of sūryarūpa, candrarūpa and Divārūpa lead to the Supreme Being (42b). To attain advaya-jñāna a grounding in aji advaya/advaya-śāstra (grammar and logic) is recommended. Prāṇāyāma gives serenity, eliminates all afflictions, and one can be steady in meditation on the Buddha (Buddhānusmaraṇa). Buddhānusmaraṇa involves the three planes of nirākāra, sākāra and vāhyaka (44b). Yoga-nidrā leads to consubstantiation with

Him and one can forego rituals on becoming a siddha-munīndra.

41b Yogādhāra (C yogācāra):

Three letters of a-dva-ya and three denotations *(artha):* advaya[-yoga], advaya-jñāna, advaya-śāstra/aji advaya.

aṁ-aḥ (aṁ is pūraka and aḥ is recaka)=advaya [-yoga]

advaya[-yoga]+advaya-jñāna lead to Divārūpa.

aṁ-aḥ (=advaya-yoga)+advaya-jñāna are the essence of aji advaya/advaya-śāstra

43a aji advaya is the quintessence of grammar and logic, which lead to advaya-jñāna

From grammar and logic comes tantra, embodiment of the Supreme Buddha.

44ab The sādhana of advaya[-yoga] leads to mokṣa *(lĕkas)*: its stages are prāṇāyāma→ Buddhānusmaraṇa→ Deva Viśeṣa.

Deva Viśeṣa among Buddhists in the three jñānas is as follows:

Ācārya nirākāra : phala ni pratyakṣa

Ācārya sākāra : Ratna-traya and Pañca-Tathāgata

Ācārya vāhyaka : images, scrolls, etc.

After grounding in logic and grammar one studies the tantras. Hereafter one takes up the philosophy of non-duality (advaya-śāstra/aji advaya). It is followed by the practice of advaya-yoga (aṁ-aḥ). Having perfected yoga, one practises meditation on the Buddha, to attain Buddhahood.

45a yoga-nidrā.

yogādi-parama-nairātmya (different terms of Bhairavas, Siddhāntas and Vaiṣṇavas)

45a The disciple implores the guru to teach lakṣaṇa and sādhana to attain Divārūpa.

46a The body *(śarīra)*=eight petals of the lotus *(aṣṭa-dala)*, which are identified with bajra-jñāna=advaya-jñāna. By nirmalākāra citta one becomes Divārūpa.

46b Sapta-janma: Jambhala-samādhi, Vāgīśvara-s., Lokeśvara-s., Vajrasatva-s., Munivara-cintāmaṇi-s., Śvetaketu-s., Kumāra-nirvāṇa-cintāmaṇi-s.

47a Akṣara-nyāsa or disposition of letters in the body to make it a sanctum (stūpa-prāsāda). As the body is consecrated into a sanctum (stūpa-prāsāda) by the disposition of letters (47b), one performs a more subtle form of yoga (48b), and repeats the seven samādhis (50a). Five kinds of breaths (pañca-rasa) are equated with the Five Tathāgatas and homa rites (50b).

48b The 37 letters are advayātmaka, when in the body of the meditator, which has become a stūpa-prāsāda (commonly termed kūṭāgāra). The culmination of the 37 letters representing the 37 deities of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala takes place when Vairocana sitting in samādhi in the kūṭāgāra, comes to reside in the body when the stage of advaya has been reached.

Parts of the body become illumined like the effulgent Āditya. When the body shines forth like Āditya, Buddhahood is attained.

50a Sapta-samādhi: Jambhala-s., Vāgīśvara-s., Lokeśvara-s., Vajrasattva-s., Mahāmunivara-cintāmaṇi-s., Śvetaketu-s., Kumāra-nirvāṇa-s.

50b Five breaths (pañca-rasa) = Pañca-Tathāgata

Each of the Tathāgatas has a specific bāyu in yoga:

bāyu i tĕṅĕn (breath on the right)	Amitābha
bāyu i kiva (breath on the left)	Amoghasiddhi
bāyu parĕṅ mĕtu (breath going out)	Ratnasambhava
tan vĕtu niṅ bāyu kiva tĕṅĕn (breath not going out)	Akṣobhya
vĕkas niṅ bāyu (paramount breath)	Vairocana

Bāyu correlated to ritual (karma-prasara):

bāyu	kuṇḍa	homa
breath on the left	agni-maṇḍala (triangle)	*sādhananta ri sarva-karma*
breath on the right	mahendra-maṇḍala	*vṛddhya niṅ hurip*
	caturasra-maṇḍala (rectangle)	vaśīkaraṇa, ākarṣaṇa
breath on the left	bāyu-maṇḍala [nirākāra]	ākarṣaṇa, stambhana, uccāṭana
breath on the left	baruṇa-maṇḍala	śāntika
parama-viśeṣa bāyu	—	Vairocana-samādhi

52ab Three kinds of jñāna: vāhyaka, sākāra, nirākāra

Jñāna nirākāra: Divārūpa

Jñāna sākāra: emanation of Ratna-traya, their iconography and correlations (Śākyamuni in centre, Lokésvara to right, Vajrapāṇi to left)

Emanation of Pañca-tathāgata from Ratna-traya

Vairocana from the mouth of	Śākyamuni
Akṣobhya and Ratnasambhava by the multiplication of	Lokeśvara
Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi by the multiplication of	Vajrapāṇi

Ratna-traya is from the dharmadhātu-maṇḍala and the Pañca-Tathāgata are from the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala.

53b From the omniscience of Vairocana the Hindu Trinity emanates for creation. Īśvara, Brahmā, Viṣṇu emanate from Vairocana.

Vairocana is sarvajña, but Īśvara, Brahmā and Viṣṇu are sarva-kārya-kartā.

Jñāna vāhyaka: statues, scrolls and stūpas

Divārūpa→Ratnatraya→Pañca-tathāgata→Pañceśvara→brahmarṣi→all beings and devatā.

Pañca-Tathāgata

54b Pañca-skandha in the yogīśvara become the Pañca-Tathāgatas: rūpa→ Vairocana, vedanā→Ratnasambhava, saṁjñā→Amitābha, saṁskāra→ Amoghasidodhi, vijñāna→Akṣobhya.

55a Bījākṣaras become Pañca-Tathāgata

55b Trikhala (rāga, dveṣa, moha) and Tathāgatas: rāga/Amitābha, dveṣa/Akṣobhya, moha/Vairocana

Trimala (artha, kāma, śabda) and Ratna-traya (Śākyamuni, Lokésvara, Vajrapāṇi)

56b Triratna (Buddha, dharma, saṅgha) and Ratna-traya

Tri-kāya (kāya, vāk, citta) and Vairocana, Amitābha, Akṣobhya.

Tri-parārtha (karuṇā, puṇya, bhakti) and Vairocana, Amitābha, Akṣobhya.

57b Pañca-dhātu (pṛthivī, āpaḥ, teja, bāyu, ākāśa) and Pañca-Tathāgata

58b Pañcadhātu are pañcadeha

58b Pañca-rūpaskandha (kalala, arbuda, ghana, peśī, praśākha) and Pañca-Tathāgata

59a Pañca-Jñāna (śāśvata-j., ādarśa-j., samatā-j., kṛtya-j., pratyavekṣaṇā-j.) and Pañca-Tathāgata

Devī

60a Pañcatathāgata-devī, and Satvavajrī, Ratnavajrī, Dharmavajrī, Karmavajrī

61a Bījākṣara (e, vaṁ, ma, yā) and Caturdevī

61b Maitrī, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā and Caturdevī

Mudrā (=Caturdevī) is the culmination of bodhi, samādhi

Summum

62a A buddhācārya must be proficient in parama-guhya: mahābodhi, samādhi, sarva-mudrā, mantra, yoga, bhāvanā, and kavicakṣaṇan or wisdom which is the embodiment of Caturdevī. The culmination of the AS is accomplishment of the wisdom symbolised by the Caturdevī.

TRIGUHYA

With the development of Tantric Buddhism the entire tradition was roughly divided into exoteric and esoteric doctrines. Both overlapped as indeterminate stages of

evolution could not be classified as either. At times, followers of the esoteric wanted to disassociate themselves from certain practices and hence they restricted themselves to specific texts. Kobo Daishi, the founder of esoterism or Mantrayāna in Japan, was convinced that esoteric is superior to exoteric. He wrote a treatise on the difference between Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism entitled *Benkenmitsu nïkyōron.* He gives four major criteria distinguishing the two:

1) Subject of Preaching

Exoteric—preaching of nirmāṇakāya or manifestation body utilizing upāya suited to the audience.

Esoteric—preached by the Dharmakāya Buddha, Dainichi Nyōrai without the use of upāya. This doctrine is set forth for the Buddha's own enjoyment and represents his innermost spiritual experience. Some might question how the Dharmakāya the formless inconceivable Absolute Truth can be said to 'preach', and the answer is that this is termed 'preaching' from the standpoint of religious experience.

2) Quality of Preaching

Exoteric—the profound mystical experience of the Enlightenment of the Buddha is unpreachable since it transcends language.

Esoteric—preaching expressed by the 'True Words' (Shingon), these correspond exactly to the reality of the Dharmakāya Dainichi. By means of the Shingon mantra, mudrā, samaya (symbol) and maṇḍala, it is possible to experience this.

3) Time Required for Effect

Exoteric— offers a gradual approach to Enlightenment that for the common man would require infinite lifetimes. Although the Kegon and Tendai theoretically discuss Enlightenment with this mind or body, they fail to offer actual practice.

Esoteric—by practising the sanmitsu (samādhi, mantra and mudrā to occupy mind, speech and body), the individual can instantly unite with the Dharmakāya Buddha and attain Enlightenment. The Shingon view firmly sets forth the concept of Enlightenment now with this body.

4) Universality of Benefits

Exoteric—classifies sentient beings into various categories of spiritual capability, even denying the potentiality of Enlightenment to some individuals *(icchantika).* Also believes in the three periods of *Mappō* (*shō zō matsu)* during the last of which, no matter how great an individual endeavours, he will receive no benefit.

Esoteric—Dainichi perpetually works to aid all sentient beings and even those who follow the most rudiamentary practices will be assured of benefit (Matsunaga 1974:1.182-184).

Tantrism had been taught in Indonesia by Puṇyodaya before 655 (Lin 1935:8, Sarkar 1957:67).

The aforesaid practice of *san-mitsu,* that is samādhi, maṇtra and mudrā to occupy mind, speech and body, unites (*samaya)* the individual with the Dharmakāya Buddha and he attains Enlightenment. This is also the position of the AS where samādhi is the cause of mokṣa (25b), it is among yoga bratas (30b), yoga-nidrā is the fruit of all yoga, samādhi and brata (45a), the seven samādhis are detailed on folios 46b-47b (again on 49b-50b), Vairocana-samādhi (51b) is the highest, and the work ends with samādhi as leading to mahābodhi (62a). The AS enjoins recitation of mantras (33b), of all the mantras (45a).

In Shingon the body is symbolised by mudrā, speech by mantra, and mind by samādhi. So also in AS (56b, 57a) Vairocana is kāya and sarva-mudrā, Amitābha is vāk and mantra, Akṣobhya is citta and sarvajñāna. The AS concludes on folio 62a with: *ikaṅ samādhi, ikaṅ sarva-mudrā-mantra,* the three mysteries, the triguhya *(san* 'three', *mitsu* 'guhya').

YOGĀCĀRA was prevalent in Indonesia as attested by I-tsing who mentions that the Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra was studied here as an authoritative text (Chavannes 1894:77). The AS 40b details yoga and bhāvanā. The four states of bhāvanā correspond to the prayogamārga of yogācāra (cited in notes to the text). On folio 41b advaya is the yogādhāra, whose variant reading in C is yogācāra. Yogācāra discipline is incomplete without a detailed formulation of pāramitās (Chatterjee 1962:220f). The AS deals extensively with the six pāramitās plus four pāramitās (=daśa-pāramitā) throughout the text. Their analogical concordance with several facets is a recurring feature of the AS. In the initial stage of the spiritual discipline of yogācāra, namely, sambhāra-mārga there are two sambhāra: puṇya-s. and jñāna-s. Jñāna-sambhāra is the "basic remedy for the evil of empirical existence" (ib.216). Jñāna has been discussed in the AS 11a, 16a, 35ab, 43a, 46b, 48a, 52b, 57a, 59ab, pañca-jñāna on 60a, sūrya-jñāna on 47b.

ABHISAMBODHI-VAIROCANA

The AS reflects both the schools of Vairocana:

(i) Caryā-tantras, with Abhisambodhi-Vairocana

(ii) Yoga-tantras, with Vajradhātu-Vairocana.

1. Mahāvairocan-ābhisambodhi-sūtra, the root text of the caryā tantras, whose main deity is Abhisambodhi-Vairocana, named Garbhadhātu Vairocana in Japanese

Mantrayāna, is evidently known to the SHK. Its first text of Mantranaya cites 15 Sanskrit verses from it (Jong 1974:469).

2. Ratnatraya occur eight times in the AS: 32a, 44b, 52a, 53a, 54a, 56b, 57ab:

44b, 52a: *bhaṭāra Ratnatraya mvaṅ bhaṭāra Pañca-Tathāgata*

53a: *bhaṭāra śrī Śākyamuni...bhaṭāra śrī Lokeśvara...bhaṭāra śrī Bajrapāṇi.*

54a: *bhaṭāra Ratnatraya, matĕmahan bhaṭāra Pañca-Tathāgata*

56b: *ḍaṅ hyaṅ śrī Śākyamuni..śrī Lokeśvara... śrī Bajrapāṇi... sira ta sinaṅgah bhaṭāra Ratnatraya ṅaran ira*

Here Śākyamuni refers to Abhisambodhi-Vairocana, who is flanked by Lokeśvara (=Padmapāṇi) and Vajrapāṇi in the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala. Ratnatraya refers to three of them.

3. The body becomes a sanctum (stūpa-prāsāda) by consecration of its limbs with akṣaras or letters of the Sanskrit alphabet (47b-48b). It is known as akṣara-nyāsa. The body is the foundation for dharma *(śarīram ādyaṁ khalu dharma-sādhanaṁ)*, and ultimately the gods reside herein (*deho devabhṛt* in the OJ Bhuvanakośa). The image of a deity is enshrined in a mansion topped by stūpas, a stūpa-prāsāda. An unambiguous and magnificient example is the subsidiary temple at Candi Sevu (colour plate in Jan Fontein, The Resurrection of a 'Thousand Temples', *Orientations*, Dec. 1993:55 fig.2). The disposition of letters is derived from the VAS as detailed in the notes to the OJ text.

4. The AS 51a describes five homas and their kuṇḍas:

sarvakarma	triangular kuṇḍa
pauṣṭika	square kuṇḍa
vaśīkaraṇa, ākarśaṇa	square kuṇḍa
ākarśaṇa, stambhana, uccāṭana	no form
śāntika	round

The 'continuation tantra' in the Tibetan text of the VAS describes the rites of śāntika, pauṣṭika, vaśīkaraṇa and ābhicāruka (Tajima/Wayman 1992:243). For details see notes to the text.

VAJRADHĀTU-VAIROCANA

1. The second category of yoga tantras are centred around Vajradhātu-Vairocana, based on the root tantra STTS. The STTS is a system of four samayas, a text of samaya-yoga, of identifying (*sam-aya*) oneself with the Supreme Buddha Vairocana of the Vajradhātu. AS 52a refers to the great doctrine of supreme samaya (*parama-samaya mahopadeśa*).

2. The names of the Five Tathāgatas (Pañca-Tathāgata) are clearly from the STTS. This is evident from the fact that the Garbhadhātu has another set of names of the

Five Tathāgatas. They are referred to several times in the AS and named on 53ab, 55a, etc. They are compared to the five skandhas (54b), five bījākṣaras (55a). They are also analogued to the triads of trimala and trikhala (55b), Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha (56b), trikāya (56b), triparārtha (57a). They are again correlated to pañcadhātu/five elements (57b), pañcadeha (57b), pañca-rūpaskandha (58b), pañca-jñāna(59a). The five jñāna correspond to those of Vajradhātu which is the jñāna-dharmakāya (Tajima 1959:150).

3. The disciple is referred to as *tathāgata-kula jinaputra ādikarmika,* a Buddhist monk who performs the supreme (*ādi)* or esoteric rites (*karma*) and is of the Tathāgata-kula. The STTS has four samayas, of which the first pertains to the Tathāgata-kula. It means that the disciple has been empowered to undertake the realisation of Vajradhātu-Vairocana as propounded in the first samaya of the Tathāgata-kula. In the East Asian tradition too only the first samaya of the STTS pertaining to the Tathāgata-kula is in vogue. The first samaya alone was translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra.

4. The 37 akṣaras on folio 48b are the 37 deities of the Vajradhātu.

5. Vajradhātvīśvarī is the consort of Vairocana on 39b. She is unique to STTS and is not found in any other tradition. The Pañca-devī (38a) are also specific to the STTS.

6. The four vajrī goddesses surrounding Vairocana (60b) are also from the STTS: Satvavajrī, Ratnavajrī, Dharmavajrī, and Karmavajrī.

7. The AS culminates with the Caturdevī 'Four Goddesses' being united to bījākṣaras (61a) and to the four pāramitās (maitri, etc., 61a).

The apogée (62a) of the AS is the attainment of mahābodhi by the knowledge (*kavruhana*) of Caturdevī to visualise and to unite with Vajradhātu-Vairocana *(bhaṭāra hyaṅ Buddha).*

The final stage is the paramaguhya, which is defined by the AS itself: *paramaguhya ṅaranya: rūpa ni āvak bharāla, āpan sinaṅguh Mahāviśeṣa, kapratyakṣa de saṅ yogīśvara* (40a). The AS ends with the attainment of the embodied form of the Supreme Buddha and the Caturdevī: *apan tan kapaṅgih bhaṭāra hyaṅ Buddha yan ta kapaṅgih pāvak niṅ caturdevī de saṅ yogīśvara* (62a). Thus paramaguhya is *avak, pāvak* of the Supreme Buddha. *Avak* is 'body : it is the embodied manifestation of the Supreme, His mūrta-rupa. To cite Stella Kramrisch (1960:13): "Mūrti means 'concrete'. A mūrti is the concrete shape of an invisible inner realisation, of a transcendent vision. It is the body in which a god is made real. ... In the embrace of the creativeness of the sculptor, the invisibly Real now pervades the 'subtle body' of his inner experience, and becomes plastic form. On this level the plastic form, in its flux and tendency to become concrete, draws to itself what the artist sees of the outer world. The plastic form remolds and transforms the data of the outer world and incorporates them in the concrete image (mūrti)".

This accords with the position of the sākāra-vijñānavādins, whose founder was Diṅnāga. In fact the AS actually mentions Diṅnāga-pāda in the context of four kinds of yoga on folio 40a. The vijñānavādins call themselves *advaitavādinaḥ* in the Pramāṇa-vārtika-bhāṣya of Prajñākara-gupta (Nakamura 1083:119, 123 n.36). which is in line with the dominance of advaya in the AS. The concepts of sākāra-vāda and nirākāra-vāda were adopted by followers of Vajrayāna from vijñānavāda. Nakamura (1983:261-263) writes:

"The distinction between the sākāra-vijñānavādins and the nirākāra-vijñānavādins was made and adopted by later Buddhist philosophers of India, such as Kamalaśila (in his Tattvasaṁgraha-pañjikā), Mokṣākara-gupta (in his Tarkabhāṣā) and others. In this connection, Bodhibhadra's definition in his Jñāna-sārasamuccaya-nibandha may be helpful for clarifying the passage. He says:

"Here the Yogācāras are of two kinds, (those who maintain that knowledge is) always (endowed) with images (sākāra) and (those who maintain that knowledge in its absolute state is) without images (nirākāra). Of these, sākāra is propounded by Dignāga and his followers. They teach that the images of cognition are by nature dependent on something else (paratantra-svabhāva). ...Nirākāra is taught by Ārya Asaṅga and his followers. They maintain that the images of cognition are by nature representations (parikalpita-svabhāva) and are (as much false as) the hair seen by one suffering from partial blindness. Concerning this the following is said: if the object of cognition is accepted as being an external reality there would be no non-conceptual knowledge (nirvikalpaka jñāna), (but) without it Buddhahood cannot be attained."

IMPORTANT TERMS

Important terms and ideas of the AS have been discussed in notes to the following passages, indicated by folio numbers of manuscript A:

25a ādikarmika
five kramas of the Pañcakrama of Nāgārjuna.

27a suvarṇa-paṇḍita

31a saṁvara (spelt sambara)

32a Pañca-Tathāgata and Ratnatraya

38b saṅ satva viśeṣa
Mahāviśeṣa (40a), Bhaṭāra Viśeṣa (41b), and Deva Viśeṣa (44a: names in various denominations)

40a Mahāmārga, Paramaguhya and Mahāguhya

41b advaya is threefold: advaya-yoga, advaya-jñāna, advaya-śāstra or aji advaya
advaya-yoga (aṁ-aḥ)

45b advaya-jñāna (names in various denominations)
42ab candra-rūpa, śānta-candra, śānta-smṛti
sūrya-rūpa, smṛti-sūrya
Divārūpa
47b, 48b stūpa-prāsāda
47b-48b akṣara-nyāsa
50b five winds (vāyu-tattva in Pañcakrama) and maṇḍalas
52b three kinds of knowledge: vāhyaka, sākāra, nirākāra
emanation of Ratnatraya and Pañca-Tathāgata
Buddha or Śākyamuni: their multiple meanings
54a saṅ hyaṅ arcca pratimā pĕṭa śākali
57b pañca-dhātu

[25a] //Ĭ//[1] Namo Buddhāya //Ĭ//

Nihan saṅ hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan ya varahakna mami ri kita ṅ tathāgatakula jinaputra, ādikarmika[2] saṇ hyaṅ Mahāyāna, ya ta varahakna mami ri kita. Yan molaha riṅ vukir[3], gihā, sāgaratīra, kunaṅ kuṭi, vihāra, grāmāraṇya[4] patapān, kunaṅ kita riṅ kṣetra haraṇan[5], alas (s)alvi ranya, — pahayu ta saṅ hyaṅ pahoman, umah śūnya taya[6], pasajyan, paṅarccanān. Aṅhanakna palaṅka, kambe, paththaraṇa (=prastaraṇa), surāga[7], kunaṅ siṅ samanukhanana ri kita.

Maṅkana śarīranta hayva pinucca-pucca[8], tan pihĕrana riṅ sarbbabhoga[25b] **samāṅdadyakna sukha ri kita maṅgala riṅ vastu pinaṅan ikā ta an paṅanĕn muvah, ya ta sambhavā tah deniṅ amaṅana. Hayva lupa ri bhaktaparikrama[9]. Maṅkana yan (h)ana duḥkha niṅ śarīra, tan doṣa kita maṅhanakna tamba samarasana ri kita, hayva vava ṅ alicin, āpan evĕh saṅ tuhu licin. Saṅkṣepanya: pahayu ta juga śarīranta, āpan hayu ni śarīra nimitta niṅ katĕmvaniṅ sukha. sukha nimitta ni katĕmvan iṅ manah apagöh. manah apagöh nimitta ni dadi ni samādhi, samādhi nimitta niṅ katĕmvan iṅ kamokṣan.**

Mahayu pva śarīranta, maparagya[10] kita nivāsana, makaṭivandha, macīvara sopacāra, anaṇḍaṅa valuh, arĕgĕpa kekari. Yan [26a] **buddharṣi kita, madaluvaṅa, masāmpĕta, mabhasmacandana mavīja sopacāra. Upāsaka kunaṅ kita, saka-sopacāranta ulahaknanta.**

//Ĭ// Salutation to Buddha //Ĭ//

SELECTION OF PLACE FOR MEDITATION

I will teach you sacred Mahāyāna, O son of Jina, of the Tathagāta family. I will teach you the prime rites of sacred Mahāyāna. When you sojourn in the mountains, in caves, at the beach, or in a hut, a monastery, a village, a forest, a hermitage, or in the fields, in vegetable-farms, in the forest etc., decorate the sacred homa place, the lonely house, the sacrificial place and place of prayer. Put up there: divans, mats, cushions, seats or whatever is pleasing to you.

WHOLESOME FOOD AND SOUND BODY FOR MEDITATION

Likewise as regards your body: do not neglect it. Do not keep it away from foods that are pleasing to you. Auspicious food can be eaten again, that is what one should eat. Do not violate food regulations. When there is pain in your body, using medicines is no fault. You should be equanimous, do not hanker after total renunciation, because it is really difficult to truly renounce all. In short: take care of your body, for the well-being of the body is the cause of obtaining happiness. Happiness is the cause of achieving a firm mind. A firm mind is the cause of attaining success in samādhi. Samādhi is the cause that leads to liberation.

DONNING THE ROBES

Embellish your body. Get yourself a *nivasana* (sarong), a belt and the robes as required, carry a water-gourd, and take a mendicant's staff (*khakkharī*). If you are a Buddhist monk, dress in a bark, wear a sash (across the left shoulder and down under the right arm Z.), apply sandal and rice according to the appropriate rites. But if you are a lay person (upāsaka), perform everything as per requirements.

[1] Kats has transcribed the punctuation mark as *Iṁ* in four places: 25a(p.31), 41b(p.47), 52a(p.59) and 62a(p.70). In 41b and 52a it clearly ends a section. In both places it has the double virāma before and after: "Iṁ" or better "I̯". It indicates the closing of the preceding section: *I* is the short form of *Iti* which ends a section, chapter or the like, and the nasal mark of candrabindu is added at the top to show that it is an abbreviation, as in English I° (for Iti). In Buddhist dhāraṇīs, *jaṁ jaṁ* stands for *jaya jaya, raṁ raṁ* for *rakṣa rakṣa,* where the candrabindu denotes an abbreviated form and also adds transcendental assonance to the bījākṣara. The vowel *i* in Brahmī was written as ∴, which would make a really aesthetic ending. The function of I̯ was extended, and it became a ornate punctuation mark, flanking both sides of a salutation or a colophon. Thus: *//I̯// namo Buddhāya//* begins the work on folio 25a, and
//I̯// iti saṅ hyaṅ kamahāyānan //I̯// ends it on folio 62a.

[2] Kats reads *adhikarmika* and translates it 'supervisor'. Ādikarmika includes: selection and furnishing of the site, a healthy body and appropriate food as a preparation for samādhi, and putting on the robes. A monk dons his appurtenances, while a householder dresses as required. The Ādikarma-pradīpa is a well-known work which describes the ceremonies and religious acts which a Mahāyāna candidate for enlightenment has to perform (Winternitz 1927:2.389).

Ādikarma has been defined as follows by Advayavajra (1927:2):

ādikarma ca: pañca-pāramitāḥ proktā ādikarmeti saṁjñayā /
prajñāpāramitā cāsāṁ svabhāvo nābhir iṣyate //

Thus ādikarma has clearly been defined as the five pāramitās of dāna, śīla, kṣamā, vīrya, and dhyāna. The bodhisattva has to practise the pure ādikarma *(tasmād bodhisattvena suviśuddh-ādikarma-vihāriṇā bhavitavyam, viparyaye ca nāstika-vāda-prasaṅgaḥ).* The latter sentence enjoins the avoidance of heretical or contrary doctrines.

In AS 25a the novice (jinaputra) belongs to the Tathāgata-kula. The VAS is a tantra of the Tathāgata family. There are four steps in this path:

1. initiation (abhiṣeka)
2. saṁvara and samaya (purification of the vows and pledges)
3. preliminary service (pūrva-sevā)
   i. sanimitta yoga (yoga with images)
   ii. animitta yoga (yoga without images)
4. siddhi (Lessing/Wayman 1968:207f.)

By ādikarmika yoga one attains the eighth stage according to Pañcakrama p.31. So ādikarmika is not 'a beginner, one who is inexperienced', but connotes a special system of yoga. *Ādi* means 'prime, supreme'. The passage is cited in extenso:

ādikarmika-yogena cāṣṭamiṁ bhūmim āpnuyāt /
ālokatraya-darśī ca daśabhūmyāṁ pratiṣṭhitaḥ //79//
samprāpya hy abhisambodhiṁ śuddhavaśam upagataḥ /
Buddhakṣetreṣy avaivartī sarvajña iha janmani //80//
dharmodayābhisambodhiḥ krīḍā-rāgādi-vistaraiḥ /
dharmadhātv-abhisambodhir yathālābhaviceṣṭitaiḥ //81//
anuttarābhisambodhir abhisambodhiyogataḥ /
prapañcākārādicaryābhir abhyasyantīha yoginaḥ //82//

Ādikarma-yoga is an important stage in the Pañcakrama (p.31) to attain liberation:

teṣāṁ tattva-vihīnānāṁ vrata-caryādikaḥ kramaḥ /
tattvajñāna-vihīnatvāt tena muktir na labhyate //78//
ādikarmika-yogena cāṣṭamīṁ bhūmim āpnuyāt /
ālokatraya-darśī ca daśabhūmyāṁ pratiṣṭhitaḥ //79//
samprāpya hy abhisambodhiṁ śuddhāvāsam upāgataḥ /
Buddhakṣetreṣv avaivartī sarvajña iha janmani //80//
dharmoday-ābhisambodhiḥ krīḍā-rāgādi-vistaraiḥ /
dharmadhātv-abhisambodhir yathālābha-viceṣṭitaiḥ //81//
anuttar-ābhisambodhir abhisambodhi-yogataḥ /
prapañcākārādi-caryābhir abhyasyantīha yoginaḥ //82//

The Pañcakrama states that to attain the superior state (prabhāsara, caturtha tattva, sarvaśūnya) one has to cross the three states of śūnya, atiśūnya and mahāśūnya which constitute the utpatti-krama. The fourth state of sarvaśūnya is identical with paramārtha or prabhāsvara (PK.4.36-37, cf. 3.52-53, 61, 80, 82). The yogin gains possession of vajrakāya of vajrayoga:

susamāhita-yogena sarvaṁ buddhamayaṁ vahet /
sarvatra sarvataḥ sarvaṁ sarvathā sarvadā svayaṁ /
sarvabuddhamayaṁ siddhaṁ svam ātmānaṁ sa paśyati /

The four states can be tabulated as follows:

1. śūnya
2. atiśūnya
3. mahāśūnya

} utpatti-krama, ādikarmika

4. sarvaśūnya, prabhāsvara, caturtha tattva

When the yogin is in thought or meditation, he practises utpattikrama:

PK. 3.52 *yāvat syād bhāvanāyogas tāvat syād ādikarmikaḥ...*
PK. 3.79 *ādikarmika-yogena cāṣṭamīṁ bhūmiṁ āpnuyāt...*
comm: *ādikarmika-yogeneti devatāyogena*
PK. 3.81 *dharmoday-ābhisambodhiḥ krīḍā-rāgādi-vistaraiḥ*

The external abhisambodhi (bāhya-sambodhi) is the one tasted in the arms of the bien-aimée: *anena bāhyāṅganayā saha saprapañca-caryā darśitā* (PK.3, comm.1.77). It has not to be confused with *anuttarā abhisambodhi.* It is an error of the popular Tantrikas. It is said:

abhisambodhi-kāmo 'yaṁ śākyasiṁhas tathāgataḥ /
mahāśūnyena buddhatvaṁ prāpsyāmīty abhimānataḥ //
nairañjanānadītīre niṣpādyāsphānakaṁ gataḥ /
tilabimbīva sampūrṇaḥ khamadhyasthā jinās tadā //
ekasvareṇa taṁ prāhur acchaṭena jinaurasam /
aviśuddham idaṁ dhyānaṁ na ca tad iṣṭakāvaham //
prabhāsvaraṁ tu ālambyam ākāśatalavat param /
prabhāsvarapade prāpte svecchārūpas tu jāyase //
sarvaiśvaryaṁ tathā prāpya vajrakāye pramodase (PK.3.57f).

SHK has 11a bāhya-sukha, 35b bāhy-ādhyātma, 39b bāhy-ādhyātmika, 44b bāhyaka, 52b, 54b bāhyaka-jñāna.

Ādikarma are the rites and practices of one who has set upon the path to supreme and definitive yoga. The ādikarmika yogin practises the caryā of bodhisattvas and multiple śikṣās. He undergoes a form of yoga which employs maṇḍalas. The 30th chapter of Abhidhānottara-tantra treats of ādikarma-yoga-bhāvanā. This meditation employs different cakras (kāya-, vāk-, citta-, jñāna-, dharma- cakra), evocation of deities, the meditator is represented in the maṇḍalas by his esoteric name (*svanāmabīja),* four times a day the sādhaka practises samaya-yoga of consubstantiation (*sam-aya)* with deities, evoked by hṛdayas and dhāraṇīs. He accomplishes the vidhis, conscious that virtue has to be perfected by anterior abhyāsa but also aware that all dharmas are void. The abhisambodhi-yogin transcends the parā into the aparā vidyā, the karma-mīmāṁsā into brahma-mīmāṁsā:

kṛtrimaṁ maṇḍalaṁ tyaktvā kṛtrimaṁ homakarma ca
kṛtrimāṁ bhāvanāṁ vāpi kṛtrimaṁ japam eva ca
kṛtrimaṁ sarvam ityādi svabhāvayogarūpataḥ
kṛtrimā pratimā bāhyā svarūpapratipattaye
svarūpapratipattyai tu prakriyā naiva kāraṇam

The Ādikarma-pradīpa employs the terms bodhisattva, ādikarmika-bodhisattva, ādikarmika-sattva in the same sense. It illumines the rules of conduct and the way (*ādikarmika-satvānāṁ margas tāvad ayaṁ mataḥ, evaṁ kurvatāṁ .. acireṇaiva bodhir āsannā bhavatiti,* Poussin 1898:187, 203).

[3] The second chapter of the VAS specifies the spot to be selected for yoga: "you should well examine the spot of ground, site of the pure and pleasing water, which yields

flowers and fruit". "Desirous of benefitting the disciples, one may also assiduously draw the maṇḍala in a number of other places, such as pleasing and good monasteries, a house with a high roof, by lotus ponds and in parks, in caitya halls, junctions where cows gather, shrine of a god, by waterfalls, all temples, and in empty rooms as well as in any pleasing spot". (Wayman 1992:116, 312).

VAS 5.9-10 says: "Then at the time of the full moon, that man should enter upon the 'work'. He should energetically draw the maṇḍala on a mountain peak, place with tracks of cows, temple of the gods, where a waterfall merges with the plain, at a cross-road, secluded room, place of the ma-mo type of goddesses, or a quiet place. And should make all the maṇḍala into a diamond residence." In VAS 6 the 'secluded room' is replaced by 'solitary tree' (Wayman 1992:167).

[4] The reading *gramanaruka* is uncertain. Kats (p.132) is not sure whether to read it as grāma, śramaṇa or perhaps āśrama. Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa 99.8 has *grāmāraṇyaka*, which refers to the rural habitations and the un-inhabited forest areas.

[5] *haranan:* Kats would like to read *āraṇa* 'abyss, depth'. Zoetmulder translates *haraṇa(n)* as 'farm-land where vegetables etc are grown?' and cites Ghaṭotkacāśraya 5.15, Sumanasāntaka 154.4, and Bhomāntaka 6.2b.

[6] *umah śūnya taya: taya* explains *śūnya*.

[7] *surāga* 'carpet, rug, cloth? (Balinese comm. cushion)' Zoetmulder.

[8] The AS has a parallel in the Pañcakrama 1.4-6 p.1, which exhorts the disciple to give up indulgence in the five senses, not to afflict the body with austerities, but commence the realisation of bodhi in due comfort at a conducive spot:

pañca kāmān parityajya tapobhir na ca pīḍayet /
sukhena dhārayed bodhiṁ yogatantr-ānusaratah //4//
teneha saṁvarastho 'yam abhedas tu sadā vratī /
kāya-vāk-citta-vajrasya sādhanaṁ tu samārabhet //5//
mahāṭavī-pradeśeṣu phala-puṣpādy-alaṁkṛte /
parvate vijane sādhyaṁ sarva-siddhi-samuccayam //6//

The general meaning of this passage is: Do not practise self-mortification, it is not necessary to torture your body to achieve deliverance. Salvation comes from samādhi.

The Pañcakrama of Nāgārjuna is an exposition of the following five stages culminating in the definitive realisation of samādhis of anuttarayoga.

(i) The first is piṇḍīkrama (piṇḍa=body), which is the realisation of kāya-viveka to obtain vajrakāya. In the Ācārya-kriyā-saṅgraha, piṇḍīkrama is a mode of yoga. It comprises invocation of protective divinities, construction of the maṇḍalas of wind, fire, sun, and verity (paramārtha-m.), construction of kūṭāgāras in which figure 32 divinities to be invoked by mantras. By ritual practices, mudrās and sādhanas the yogin identifies

his body with the mystic body of the Tathāgatas.

(ii) The second state is vajrajāpa-krama, by which one realises vāg-viveka, or after a synonymous term, vāg-viśuddhi. The second chapter enjoins the recitation of the three syllables *aḥ oṁ aṁ*, corresponding to diverse moments of respiration, which purifies speech (vāk) and prepares the yogin for the practice of the third krama.

(iia) Anuttara-sandhi or citta-viśuddhi-krama is not by Nāgārjuna and is a later insertion. It is by Śākyamitra, as stated in the colophon. It seems to have been added for the purification of citta, so that the purification of all the three planes of kāya, vāk and citta is complete. In effect, citta-viśuddhi is covered by svādhiṣṭhāna-krama, but its title was not clear and hence Śākyamitra's chapter was inserted.

(iii) The third svādhiṣṭhāna-krama is the purification of citta, achieved by appropriate respect to the guru, initiations, and other sacramental practices that precede the teachings. The absolute identity and the non-existence of all things is proclaimed.

(iv) The fourth is [sukh]-ābhisambodhi-krama (bodhicitt-ābhiṣeka. Abhisambodhi-darśana is also called vajra-jñāna, but it is lower than the following yuganaddha-krama.

(v) The fifth yuganaddha-krama is the supreme state wherein is the irrevocable confirmation of the unity of nirvāṇa and saṁsāra, senses and sense-objects, prajñā and karuṇā, immortality and destruction, form and non-form. Herein apparent contradictions cease to be distinguished. The yogin is henceforth fixed in the dissolution of the two truths (*satya-dvaya-laye sthitaḥ)* and he is indifferent to all forms of knowledge and non-knowledge. This is the super-state of tathatā, the end of dualities.

Like the Pañcakrama, the AS begins with body-care and meditation in natural surroundings (kāya-viveka) and ends with the Caturdevī the counterpart of naddhayuga-krama. The emphasis on the dissolution of dualities is common to both texts.

[9] Kats *bhaktaparikrama* 'walk around the food'.

[10] *maparagya* is from *paragi* 'a set of clothing' Zoetmulder. The set consists of *nivasana* 'a cloth worn as a dhoti', *kaṭibandha* 'belt to keep the dhoti in position' and *cīvara sopacāra* 'robes of the Buddhist order' as per regulations (*upacāra)*. The Vinaya enjoins a monk to wear three cīvaras (tricīvara): *antaravāsaka* 'lower garment like a sarong which is fastened round by a belt' *(kāyabandhana)*, *uttarāsaṅga* 'upper robe', and *saṅghāṭi* 'robe to cover up the body from all sides'. A monk is not allowed to remain without any of the three cīvaras. If he does so, he commits an offence (Upasak 1975:41).

nirmāna[1], huměněṅāgranāsikā[2]. hayva ta manahta karakĕtan ri rasa niṅ aji tarkka, vyākaraṇa[3], tĕka riṅ āgama purāṇādi, saddharmma niṅ samayakośa, kriyā-tantrādi[4], ṅūniveh ri tan karakĕtananta riṅ prakṛta[5] carita, vaca-vacan, gīta, nṛti[6] ityevamādi. Doṣanyan karakĕtan: agöṅ kleśanya kavalahan kita humilaṅakĕn ikaṅ prakṛta: rāga, dveṣa, moha, mvaṅ avasāna kita, yan

kajěněkana irikā kabeh, kadyaṅganiṅ vvaṅ mamanek (k)ayu, huvus těka i ruhur, patěmahan tumurun [26b] **glānāṅel sadākāla juga adoh maṅgihakna kamokṣan. Ndātan saṅkeṅ abhiniveśa kami n pakojar ikā, i vruhanta makaphalāṅel sadākāla juga, mvaṅ makaphala śubha ni katamvan iṅ kamokṣan.**

Iti pājar mami ri kita, kita věkas nikā, amintuhva tan pamintuhva kita ri kami, tan valātkāra kami ri pamituhvanta ri kami saṅka ri těpětta[7] kunaṅ pamituhvanta ri kami. Hayva ta maṅkana, udikta[8] tapva pavarah mami ramuhun. Pametakna darśana pariccheda pratipattin, mūla-madhyāvasānanya, yatekāgěsěṅananta riṅ sadābhyāsa. Hayva sinavaṅ-savaṅ, hayva sinamar-samar denta gumĕgö ri varah mami, kadyaṅ[27a]**gāniṅ suvarṇa paṇḍita[9].**

Siṅgih varah-varah mahāmpuṅku. Ryy avasāna niṅ aji tarkka vyākaraṇa tantrādi, mapa pvekaṅ aji yogya ṅaran ikā, anuṅ gĕgönĕn iṅ pinakaṅhulun, turunan(n)i varānugraha śrī mahāmpuṅku, yatika hyaṅ niṅ hulun ri pāda-dvaya śrī mahāmpuṅku.

NO INDULGENCE IN APROCRYPHA

Free from pride (ego), concentrate on the tip of your nose. Don't let your mind be attached to the delights of logic and grammar, or even to the knowledge of the āgama, purāṇas and so on, good dharmas of the treasury of doctrines (samaya-kośa), the kriyā-tantras and so on. And, further, don't be attached to trivial activities, like trifle fiction and written texts, song and dance, and others. It is sinful being attached to them, their affliction (*kleṣa)* is great. (By them) you will not be able to get rid of the vulgar (*prakṛta*), that is, rāga, dveṣa and moha. And finally, should you find pleasure in them all, it is as if some one who climbs a tree has already reached the top, but exhausted has to come down and with difficulty. To obtain liberation will become remote for ever. It is not out of my strong predilection that I say so, but because you should know that there is always a reward for effort, and that too an auspicious reward of attaining liberation.

These are my teachings to you. You are finally to obey them. If you do not obey me, I do not force you to obey me. Obey me for your own sincerity. If not so, try out my teachings first. Take from them the philosophy (darśana), discrimination (between false and true, etc., pariccheda) and respectful reception: the beginning, the middle and the end. These will make your continuing practice radiant. Do not grasp vaguely. Do not hide your adhering to my teachings, which are like a golden paṇḍita.

I accept your teachings, my great Master. When the disciplines (*aji*) of logic, grammar, tantras etc. have come to an end, which discipline is proper for me. I seek condescension, the eminent favour of my glorious great Master, who is god to me and at whose pair of feet I am seated.

[1]*nirmāna* is 'free from pride' in Zoetmulder. Compare C nirahĕnkara.

[2] OJ. *agranāsikā*=Skt. nasikāgra. To meditate the gaze is fixed on the tip of the nose (for quotations from OJ Sutasoma and Koravāśrama see Zoetmulder). The Pañcakrama enjoins meditation on the tip of the nose:

nāsāgre sarṣapaṁ cintet sarṣape sacarācaram /
bhāvayej jñānapadaṁ ramyaṁ rahasyaṁ jñānakalpitam //1.199, 2.10 //
pañcavarṇaṁ mahāratnaṁ sarṣapa-sthūla-mātrakam /
nāsikāgre prayatnena bhāvayed yogataḥ sadā //1.200, 2.11//
nāsāgre sarṣapaṁ nāma prāṇāyāmasya kalpanā /
prāṇāyāmasthitāḥ pañca raśmayo buddhabhāvataḥ //2.16//

[3] *tarka vyākaraṇa* 'logic and grammar'. Here vyākaraṇa does not mean 'prophecy, prediction' (Kats p.132). Tarka vyākaraṇa recurs on folios 27a and 43a. Grammar, rhetoric and logic were the first three liberal arts in mediaeval European schools and they were termed trivium, from which is derived the word trival.

To the Mādhyamikas 'wisdom' is everything and they have very little to say about dhyāna, whereas the Yogācārins give more weight to the experiences of 'trance'. They first annihilate the world by a ruthless analysis which develops from the Abhidharma tradition. The second effect an equally ruthless withdrawal from everything by the traditional method of trance (Conze 1962:251).

Buddhist logic, studied only by one section of the Yogācārins, failed to win approval elsewhere, and aroused the misgivings of many who condemned it as an utterly profane science. At variance with the spirit of Buddhism, it can indeed be tolerated only as a manifestation of 'skill in means' (Conze 1962:265).

Logic was a powerful instrument of Buddhism to refute other philosophic traditions. "Medieval Jain story literature similarly attests to the high regard in which Jains held Buddhist teachers of logic, with many a Jain student secretly going to learn from a Buddhist master, and often succumbing to the persuasiveness of the Buddhist teaching" (Granoff 1992:1).

Naropa Abhayakīrti defeated all the non-Buddhist scholars: "with the iron hook of grammar, the lore of knowledge, logic ... with the lamp of certainty in logic and precepts I have burnt the darkness of my foes' ignorance", so he says in the verses composed by him (Guenther 1963:21).

[4] *kriyātantra* are also proscribed. They pertain to Amitābha as the central deity, while Vairocana is the main deity in the AS.

[5] *prakṛta* "composition, story, (prob. also:) rewriting (retelling) in another medium (from Sanskrit to Javanese, from poetry to prose)" Zoetmulder. Here *prakṛta* is used in the sense of 'ordinary, low, vulgar, unrefined, provincial, vernacular'(MW).

[6] Advayavajra (1927:4 lines 5-6) enjoins abstinence from dance and music (*nṛtya-gīta*) in the aṣṭāṅga-poṣadha or the first eight of the ten precepts (daśa-śīla). To avoid dance and music is the seventh of the eight śīlas: *nacca-gīta-vādita-visūka-. A nṛta.*

[7] *tĕpĕt* "right, true, sincere; direct, straight ahead, undeviating, steadfast, firm"

Zoetmulder.

[8] *udi: aṅudi, inudi* "to test, check, assay" Zoetmulder.

The Śikṣāsamuccaya 1902:192 specifies certain scriptures to be avoided: for example, those of lokāyatas, jurisprudence, magic for procuring death (*kākhorda),* music (*vādya-vidyā*)..., all those that contradict mokṣa and lead to delusion.

[9] There is constant admonition throughout the AS to the disciple to obey the Master for his own rectitude, to grasp the doctrines well, to practise them assiduously, and not to be negligent. In the VAS too, Bhagavat Vairocana tells Vajrapāṇi to "listen well, your mind in single attention" 2.223 (Wayman 1992:138), "listen with non-swerving mind" (ibid. 174), "you must always fully understand..." (ibid.175), "should know all the aspects (*ākāra*) (ibid.176), and so on. The VAS (ch.21) says: "The Saviour in the mantra (Vairocana) who always dwells in his mind is *golden,* dazzling and bright" (as translated by Chikyo Yamamoto 1990:157).

The observance of the Six Pāramitās is crucial for an ādikarmika: *anayoḥ puṇya-jñāna-sambhārayoḥ paripūraṇaṁ ṣaṭpāramitā-paripūraṇād eva bhavati* (Ādikarmapradīpa p.196). The science of the practical adaptation of the Six Pāramitās was to determine the thought (śūnyatā-jñāna), the spirit (cittotpāda), and their practice. By the obtainment of the pāramitās, the officiant gets a marvellous body (divya- or vajra-kāya), which is of golden hue (*kanakavarṇa),* like the moon (*candravat*), etc.

bhavati kanakavarṇaḥ sarvarogair vimuktaḥ
suramanujaviśiṣṭaś candravad dīptakāntiḥ /
dhanakanakasamṛddhe jāyate rājavaṁśe
sugatavaragṛhe'smin kāyakarmāṇi kṛtvā //

The word *suvarṇa-paṇḍita* with reference to the Guru of the officiant in AS 27a means that the Guru has attained these excellences and he is speaking from experience. He is exhorting the disciple to take up the Way so that he too can benefit.

Om! anak(k)u kita ṅ jinaputra, měne kami avaraha irikaṅ aji anuṅ yogya gĕgönta. Hana ṣaṭpāramitā ṅaranya. yatika paramabodhimārgga. yatikā varahakna mami ri kita rumuhun, marapvan kita tan aṅel maṅabhyāsa ri kapaṅguhan (r)i kahyaṅbuddhān. Nihan lvirnya ṣaḍ ikaṅ pāramitā:

dānaṁ śīlañ ca kṣāntiś ca vīryyaṁ- [27b] dhyānañ ca prajñā ca /
ṣaṭpāramitam ucyate, dānaṁ trividha-lakṣaṇam//

ka: dāna-pāramitā, śīla-pāramitā, kṣānti-pāramitā, vīryya-pāramitā, dhyāna-pāramitā, prajñā-pāramitā, iti nahan lvirnya něm ikaṅ pāramitā, yatikā havan aběnĕr marerikaṅ mahābodhi.

dānam trividha-lakṣaṇaṁ: **tiga prakāra niṅ lakṣaṇa niṅ dāna, lvirnya: dāna, atidāna, mahātidāna. dāna ṅaranya:**

annañ ca pānaṁ kanakādi-ratnaṁ dhanañ ca vastraṁ śayanāsanañ ca /
rājaśrīyaṁ svāṁ nagarañ ca datvā dvijāya teneha vadanti dānaṁ //

ka: sakveh nikaṅ amirasa vastu, kadyaṅgāni sĕkul inak, inum-inuman, asta[28a]**makĕn ikaṅ vvai matīs avaṅi kapvekā vinehakĕn i yavanakajanaka tĕkā taya ri mās, maṇik, dodot malit, rare hulun, vvaṅ-vvaṅ, ratha** (ms raṣā) **gajah vāji, kaḍatvan tuvi vehakna ikā yan hana maminta ri kita, hayva makasādhya ṅ pratyupakāra. Vet ni göṅ ni sihta irikaṅ satva juga kita n vĕnaṅ aveveh ikaṅ yavanakajana, duluranta śabda rahayu, ulah yukti, āmbĕk menak. Yatikā dāna ṅaranya.**

SIX PĀRAMITĀS

Om. My son, you disciple of Jina, now we shall teach the scripture you should follow. They are the Six Pāramitās. They are the path to the highest enlightenment. We will teach these to you first, lest you find it difficult to strive to reach Buddhahood. The Six Pāramitās are:

dānaṁ śīlañ ca kṣāntiś ca vīryyaṁ dhyānañ ca prajñā ca /
ṣaṭpāramitam ucyate, dānaṁ trividha-lakṣaṇam //

i.e. dāna-pāramitā (the perfect virtue of generosity), śīla-pāramitā (the perfect virtue of morality), kṣānti-pāramitā (the perfect virtue of endurance), vīryya-pāramitā (the perfect virtue of mental vigour), dhyāna-pāramitā (the perfect virtue of meditation), prajñā-pāramitā (the perfect virtue of wisdom). This is the list of the six pāramitā. This is the true path leading to Great Enlightenment *(mahābodhi)*.

Dānaṁ trividha-lakṣaṇaṁ. Generosity is threefold, namely, dāna (generosity), atidāna (great generosity), mahātidāna (extraordinary great generosity). Dāna is:

annañ ca pānaṁ kanakādi-ratnaṁ dhanañ ca vastraṁ śayanāsanañ ca /
rājaśriyaṁ svāṁ nagarañ ca datvā dvijāya teneha vadanti dānam //

i.e. all delicious objects like tasty rice, drinks, not to mention cold, tasty water, all that is given to a stranger..., even gold, jewellery, fine raiment (*dodot*), boy slaves, people, chariots (*ratha*), elephants, horses, even a kingdom, give them when some one requests you. Do it not for a favour in return. Out of great love for all creatures, if you can give (them) to a stranger, they should be accompanied by kind words, appropriate behaviour, and a pleasant disposition. This is called dāna.

Atidāna ṅaranya:

svāñ cāpi bhāryyān tanayam priyañ ca datvā parebhyo na punas tu tṛṣṇā /
na śokacittaṁ paramāṇumātraṁ dvijebhyas teneha vadanti dānaṁ //

ka: anakbi bhāryyā anakta kunaṅ strī kāsihta [28b] **tovin puṇyāknanta ikā yan hana maminta ri kita, kadyaṅgān saṅ mahāsatva, an puṇyākĕn strī nira: bhāryyā nira, anak nira i saṅ brāhmaṇa mamalaku i sira. Āpan ikaṅ tṛṣṇā pinakavāraṇa niṅ kahyaṅbuddhān an kapaṅguha, pisaniṅūn kapaṅguha ṅ kahyaṅbuddhān. Paṅliṅgana ri pĕgat nika tṛṣṇā ri kita, hayva ta *na śokacittaṁ paramāṇumātraṁ*, haměṅan. Ikaṅ puṇya maṅkana pinakopāya ri kagavayan iṅ bodhinagara-praveśa. Gavayan iṅ puṇya maṅkana kramanya, yatikātidāna ṅaranya.**

Mahātidāna ṅaranya:

datvā svamāṅsaṁ rudhiraṁ parebhyaḥ jitvā surendraṁ hṛdayaṁ śarīraṁ /
dayānubhāvāt navaduḥkhamayāt mahātidānaṁ prava**[29a]**danti santaḥ //

ka: kadyaṅgān saṅ mahāsatva, an puṇyākĕn dagiṅ nira, rāh nira, mata nira, ṅ avak[1] nira, tan hana katṛṣṇān ira irikā kabeh, makanimitta sih nira riṅ satva, makasaṅkan māthanya n[2] duḥkha ikā satva, (h)anan rākṣaṣa, (h)anan moṅ, (h)anan garuḍa, pinuṇyākĕn ira ikā dagiṅ nira, rāh nira, mata nira, pinuṇyākĕn ira ri brāhmaṇa tuha vuta, parikṣa ri kadānaśūran ira, hati nira pinuṇyākĕn ira ri baṇyakanṣut[3](?) kṛpa duḥkhita, astamakĕn ikaṅ avak sukāryyan ikaṅ yavanakajana, tan tinĕnĕt ira. Kagavayan iṅ puṇya maṅkana, yatikā mahātidāna ṅaranya.

Iti nahan lvir niṅ dāna inajarakĕn tiga bhedanya.

Śila-pāra[29b]**mitā ṅaranya:**

nivṛttir aśubhāt kṛtsnāt pravṛttih śubhe tathā /
iti śīlasya saṅkṣepaḥ kāya-vāṅ-manasa-kramāt //

ka: ikaṅ kāya, vāk, manah. Kāya ṅa śarīra, solah niṅ taṅan suku, ya kāya ṅaranya. Vāk ṅaranya śabda. Salvir niṅ vuvus ya śabda ṅaranya. Citta: ikaṅ hiḍĕp, ya citta ṅaranya. Saṅsiptanya: ikaṅ kāya vāk citta yatikā tanpagavaya pāpa; saprakāra ni inaranan pāpakarmma tan vineh mabyāpārerika. Ikaṅ trikāya[4] ṅaranya: kāya, vāk, citta.

Apa pvānuṅ utsahanĕn ikaṅ trikāya[4]? Ikaṅ gave hayu, salvir niṅ inaranan śubhakarmma, ya hayu gavayakna deniṅ trikāya.

Atidāna is:

svāñ cāpi bhāryyān tanayaṁ priyañ ca datvā parebhyo na punas tu tṛṣṇā/
na śokacittaṁ paramāṇumātraṁ dvijebhyas teneha vadanti dānam//

i.e. bhāryā is wife. Give your children and even your beloved wife, when some one asks you: like the mahāsatva who gave his wife and children to the brāhmaṇa requesting him so. For desire is an obstruction to Buddhahood. If one can be detached (from desire) then one will definitely achieve Buddhahood. As evidence of having cut off desire, don't be non-plussed: *na śokacittaṁ paramāṇumātram.* Such virtue serves to obtain entry into the realm of enlightenment. The practice of such a virtue is called atidāna.

Mahātidāna is:

dattvā svamāṁsaṁ rudhiraṁ parebhyaḥ jitvā surendraṁ hṛdayaṁ śarīram /
dayānubhavāt navaduḥkhamayāt mahātidānaṁ pravadanti santaḥ //

i.e. like the mahāsatva who sacrified his flesh, his blood, his eyes, his body, not having any craving for it all, which he did out of his love for creatures, to end the grief of creatures, be they rākṣasas, be they tigers, be they garuḍas: that is why he gave away his flesh, his blood, his eyes, gave them away to an old, blind brāhmaṇa as a test of his generosity. He donated his heart to the son of a merchant who was afflicted and aggrieved. Indeed, even his body was not refused for the welfare of a stranger. The practice of such a virtue is called mahātidāna.

These are the three kinds of dāna.

ŚĪLAPĀRAMITĀ

Śīla-pāramitā is:

nivṛttir aśubhāt kṛtsnāt pravṛttiḥ śubhe tathā /
iti śīlasya saṁkṣepaḥ kāya-vāṅ-manasa-kramāt //

i.e. kāya, vāk, manaḥ. Kāya means body. The movements of hands and feet are called kāya. Vāk means speech. All that is spoken is called śabda. Citta is mind. In brief: kāya, vāk and citta should not cause evil. They should not permit even a single evil deed. Kāya, vāk and citta are called trikāya. What, then, is to be brought about by trikāya? Good deeds, everything called śubha-karmma, that is good, should be accomplished by trikāya.

[1] Dāna-pāramitā is defined by Advayavajra (1927:3) as giving up even one's own body: *śarīra-dānaṁ dattvā ca paścāt caryāṁ samārabhet/iti vacanāt/dānaṁ dattaṁ ca śarīrāvadhi ...*

[2] A *mathaknyan*

[3] *baṇyakanṣut*(?) can be *baṇyaka-suta* 'son of a merchant' like śreṣṭhi-dāraka Sudhana in the Gaṇḍavyūha (p.58...)

[4] Trikāya comprising kāya, vāk, manas is found in Old Javanese literature, e.g. Agastya-purāṇa 377.5 *tikaṅ trikāya paramārtha ginavayakěnanya sakarěṅ, ikaṅ kāyika vācika mānasika.* For more citations see Zoetmulder 2.2038.

Apa lvir ni[30a]**kaṅ aśubhakarmma, anuṅ tan utsahaněn deniṅ kāya? Prāṇātipātavirati adattādānavirati kāmamithyācāravirati.**[1]

Prāṇātipātavirati ṅaranya: tan pamati-matya avak niṅ siněṅguh prāṇī, agöṅ aḍěmit, salviranya, sadoṣa nirdoṣa, yāvat prāṇī, tan dadi pinatyan ikā. Apa doṣa nikā pinatyan? Bvat kavava riṅ naraka, āpan ikaṅ mamati-mati ya hetu niṅ naraka, mamaṅgih duḥkhātyantabhāra, aṅjanma preta tiryyak kelṇika(?) pipilikādi.

Adattādānavirati ṅaranya: tan dadi maṅalap artha, yan tan vinehakěn; salviran iṅ artha, mūlya tan mūlya, tan věnaṅ vvaṅ maṅalap yan tapvanubhaya [30b] **ikaṅ madṛvya, hetu niṅ naraka ikā muvah mvaṅ magave tan śṛddha bhaṭāra ri kita, tan katon lakṣaṇa nira denta.**

Kāmamithyācāravirati ṅaranya: tan dadi tan virati riṅ strī; salvir niṅ strī sinaṅguh tan yogya parigrahan, lvirnya: jaṭī, śikhī, muṇḍī, sakaṇṭaka, dṛvya niṅ guru mvaṅ kuṭumbī santāna nira. Yadyapin i strīnta tovi, yan devagṛha kaparěk sakeṅ buddhaprativimba, saṅ hyaṅ arccā, pratimā, pěṭa[2]**, pustaka, ṅūniveh sthāna saṅ guru, tan dadi gumavayakna saṅgama. Apa doṣanyan ginavayakěn ikā? Hetu ni naraka ikā muvah, mvaṅ (h)ilaṅ phala niṅ yoga brata samādhinta de nikā.**

Ikaṅ virati saṅkerikā katiga ya hayu ginavayakěn iṅ kāya ṅaran [31a] **ikā, mvaṅ tan dadi pādacapala hastacapala, mvaṅ tan gamělěn uttamāṅganta deniṅ tapvan manarima sambhara.**[3] **Doṣanyan gamělěn: luṅhā bhaṭāra pañca-tathāgata saṅke śirahta. ya ta mataṅnyan inalapan saṅaskāra ginaměl śirahnya deniṅ tapvan manarima sambhara, apan luměbur padma bhaṭāra buddha ikaṅ ginaměl śirahnya deni grāma. mvaṅ tan dadi masukhe gṛha niṅ caṇḍāla, apan buddhālaya tatva ni śarīranta, ri huvus tan kiněnan buddhābhiṣeka. Bhaṭāra Buddha pva parameśvara niṅ parameśvara, *sarvvadevatāguru*, guru niṅ sarvva-devatā. Ya ta hetu nira tan věnaṅ**

kavave[31b]**ṅ adhaḥkriyā, mvaṅ tan viśeṣa niṅ upādāna[4]. Ya ta hetu ni tan panambah riṅ strī, mata gurupatnī. Tan dadi ṅ vvaṅ manambah ri sira, āpan svotpādakahetu tu tatva bhaṭāra sugata, dadi makakāraṇāvak nira, śāsana nira ya ta tinūtakĕn de saṅ sogata.[5] Ikā ta ṅ gati tan panambah riṅ strī, tan ginaměl mastakanya deniṅ tapvan kṛtābhiṣeka, ikaṅ tan para riṅ adhaḥkriyā, ya hayu ginavayakĕn deniṅ kāya ikā.**

KĀYIKA AŚUBHAKARMA

What are the evil deeds not to be effected by kāya? They are prāṇātipāta-virati, adattādāna-virati, kāma-mithyācāra-virati.

Prāṇātipāta-virati means not to kill the body of a living being, big or small, guilty or innocent. So long as it is living it shall not be killed. What is the guilt in killing it? It takes one down to hell, for killing is the cause of hell, of suffering extreme miseries and of being born as a ghost (preta), an animal, kelṇika(?), ant and so on.

Adattādāna-virati means not to take anything unless given. One shall not take away anything, precious or not, without the permission of its owner. It is a cause of hell and it makes the Lord not to put faith in you, whose signs you do not see.

Kāma-mithyācāra-virati means to abstain completely from (associating with) women, all women considered improper to take, namely, jaṭī, śikhī, muṇḍī, sakaṇṭaka, guru's property, his house-wife and children. Even if it be your own wife, when you approach a temple with the images of Buddha, sacred arcca, status (*pratimā*), painted scroll (*pĕṭa*) and scriptures (*pustaka*) or the abode of the guru, then you shall not have intercourse. What guilt does it bring? It is a cause of hell, and the results of your yoga-brata and samādhi will go waste on account of it.

Abstinence from these three brings about physical (kāya) virtue. (Because of it) feet and hands will not become frivolous, and your head will not be touched by one who has not received saṁvara. The sin of being 'touched' is: that the Five Tathāgatas leave your head. The reason that sanctification is removed when the head is touched by one who has not received the saṁvara is, that the lotus pedestal of Lord Buddha of one whose head has been touched by the crowd, is wiped out. It is not becoming to enjoy in the house of a cāṇḍāla, because in essence your body is the abode of the Buddha (*buddhālaya*), till initiation into Buddha (*buddhābhiṣeka*) ends. Lord Buddha is the Supreme Being of all Supreme Beings, *sarva-devatā-guru*/the teacher of all gods. Therefore he cannot be subjected to vile acts (*adhaḥkriyā*), and to the trivialities of clinging to existence. Hence one should not greet a woman, even the wife of the guru. Because *svotpadakahetu tu tatva bhaṭāra sugata,* one's body has become a means of the Doctrine (*śāsana*) to be followed by Buddhists[5]. The success of one who does not greet a woman is that his head will not be touched by an uninitiated person. He will not indulge in vile acts. These are the good deeds done on the [plane of] kāya.

[1] The three physical (kāya) abstinences (virati) are the first three moral precepts

of the Buddhist decalogue (daśaśīla) (1) to avoid taking life, (2) to avoid stealing, (3) to avoid indulgence in sensuality, (4) to avoid lying, (5) to avoid intoxication, (6) to avoid slandering and reviling others, (7) to avoid self-praise and frivolous talk, (8) to avoid avarice and covetousness, (9) to avoid enmity and malevolence, (10) to avoid heretical views, and deriding the Buddha, the Dhamma, the Saṅgha (Humphreys 1962:182):

The pañca-śīla are (Advayavajra 1927:4):

prāṇātipāta-virati, sarva-prāṇi-vadhāt v.
adattādāna-virati, para-sva-haraṇāt v.
kāma-mithyācāra-virati, abrahmacaryāt v.
mṛṣā-vāda-virati, vāg-bhedāt v.
madyapāna-virati, pānāt v.

With the following three they are the eight poṣadha:

vikālāśanāt v.
mālā-varṇaka-nṛtya-gīta-labhitāt v.
śayanāsanād ucchritād v.

[2] *Arca* may be a general term for cult objects.

It reminds of Advayavajra's (1927:7) *paṭa-pustaka-pūjā-vidhi: buddha-bodhi-sattva-paṭa-pustaka-pratimādiṁś ca pūjayet.* Later on the AS 44b has *saṅ arcca pratimā pěṭa*, 54a: *saṅ hyaṅ arcca pratimā pěṭa.* The compound *paṭa-pustaka-pratimādin* occurs in the Sādhanamālā 1.3.

[3] A *sambhara. Saṁvara* generally means 'restraint, control, obligation, vow' (Edgerton). The four saṁvara as prohibitions are an innovation of the esoteric school. "They relate respectively to blaming the Dharma, abandonment of the bodhicitta, miserliness (consisting in not teaching the Dharma), and evil done to living beings. These are, according to the Sutra, the four fundamental transgressions, against committing which one must guard oneself even at the cost of life" (Tajima/Wayman 1992:325).

[4] *Upadhāna* of Kats has to be corrected to *upādāna* "(with Buddh.) grasping at or clinging to existence (caused by *tṛṣṇā*/desire, and causing *bhava*/new births)" MW. Upādāna or clinging to existence is the ninth of the Twelve Nidānas which are links in the chain of karmic causation. The word nidāna means a link or fetter, and is used to describe the processes by which a being comes into existence, and which bind him to the Wheel of Life. Being a "Wheel", there is no actual starting-point but as Ignorance is the primary root of existence, and because its complete removal is essential for escape from rebirth, it is usually placed first.

The causal sequence runs as follows:

On Avijjā — Ignorance — depends Saṅkhāra.

On Saṅkhāra — the karmic results of such illusion — depends Viññāna.

On Viññāna — individual consciousness — depends Nāma-Rūpa.
On Nāma-Rūpa — Mind and its expression in Form — depends Saḷāyatana.
On Saḷāyatana — the six sense organs and their appropriate functions — depends Phassa.
On Phassa — touch, the sense, the object, and the sense impression — depends Vedanā.
On Vedanā — feeling, sensation — depends Tanhā.
On Tanhā — thirst, craving for personal experience — depends Upādāna.
On Upādāna — grasping, clinging to existence — depends Bhava.
On Bhava — becoming and re-becoming — depends Jāti.
On Jāti-birth — the final outcome of kamma — depends Jarāmaraṇa (with soka-parideva-dukkha-domanass'-upāyāsa) old age and death, with tribulation, grief, sorrow, distress, despair.

This chain has to be broken by the elimination of Tanhā (thirst for personal existence), this being the first step towards the complete elimination of ignorance and the attainment of Enlightenment, which brings freedom from rebirth into psycho-physical existence" (Humphreys 1956:159-160).

[5] *sogata* = saugata, that is one who has been initiated into Buddhism (buddhābhiṣeka).

Mapa ṅ hayu gavayakna deniṅ vāk? Nihan kramanya: hayva mṛṣāvāda[1], tan paiśunya, tan pāruṣya, tan sambilāpa-virati[2], tanpañalānana sarvva vastu makādi ṅ pinaṅan, tanpaṅdoṣanana gu[32a]**ṇa nirguṇa ni para (?), mvaṅ tanpaṅinaṅ asĕpah[3] niṅ strī, tan pamaṅana cyutasamīpa, tan pamaṅanani vedyānta ni vedya bhaṭāra buddha[4] — ikā ta gati maṅkana yekā hayu ginavayakĕn deniṅ vāk ṅaranya.**

Mapa ṅ hayu ginavayakĕn deniṅ citta? Tan göṅ rāga, tan göṅ dveṣa, tan moha, tan dambha, tan īrṣyā, tan mātsaryya, mvaṅ tan göṅ krodha, tan göṅ lābha, tan göṅ śoka, mvaṅ ṛṇa śuci, satya riṅ utaṅ, mvaṅ hayva mithyādṛṣṭi agöṅ ta sihnya ri sarbba satva, mvaṅ sambeganya[5], apagĕh ta bhaktinya ri bhaṭāra pañca-tathāgata[6], mvaṅ ri bhaṭāra ratnatraya; (h)ayun ta ya lumĕpasakna ṅ sarbba satva saṅke saṅsāra-duḥkha — yatikā hayu ginava[32b]**yakĕn deniṅ citta ṅaranya. Saṅsiptanya: inak ni pagĕh niṅ pariśuddha niṅ kāya vāk citta, ya sinaṅguh śila-pāramitā ṅaranya.**

Kṣānti-pāramitā ṅaranya:

Mitrāmitrasamaṁ cittaṁ apūjyapūjyayoḥ samaṁ/
kruddheṣu śāntisauratyaṁ kṣāntipāramitāṁ vadet//

ka: ikaṅ citta kĕlan riṅ parāvamāna aneka lvir nikaṅ pisakit (t)iněkākĕn ikaṅ melik ri kita, hanan kāya tan-yukti, śabda tan-yukti, citta tan-yukti, tatan malara, tan kagyat, pisaniṅūn ahyun malĕsa riṅ ahita, kevala tumarima ikaṅ pūrbbakarmmāparādha[7], tan pahuvusan maṅaṅĕn-aṅĕn hayva niṅ sarbba satva. Juga ṅ vinivekā, kinagoravan pva kita, tatan gĕmĕgĕmĕ[33a]**n, tan harṣa, tan giraṅ hyasĕn, mvaṅ samabuddhinta riṅ sarbbasatva. Saṅsiptanya: tan hana vikāra ni buddhinta ri sĕḍaṅ-nyan inavamānan mvaṅ kinagoravan. Ikā taṅ gati maṅkana ya sinaṅgah kṣānti-pāramitā ṅaranya.**

What are the good deeds to be accomplished by vāk? They are as follows: not to

speak falsehood, not to slander, not to be harsh, not to stop conversation, not to disparage anything above all eatables, not to find fault with the good or bad qualities of others, not to offer chewed food to a woman, not to eat in the presence of the fallen, not to underrate the supreme knowable of knowables Lord Buddha. Such actions are the good accomplished by vāk.

What are the good deeds to be accomplished by citta? No excessive rāga, no great dveṣa, no moha, no hypocrisy, no jealousy, no envy, no exceding wrath, no excessive profit, no excessive grief, and honesty in debts, faithfulness in return of debts, no false doctrine, great love for all beings and being kindly disposed to them, firm in devotion to the Five Tathāgatas and the Triple Gem, and happiness in liberating all beings from the sorrow of rebirths. This is the good brought about by citta. In short: the joy of being constantly pure in kāya, vāk and citta is called śīla-pāramitā.

Kṣānti-pāramitā is:

mitrāmitrasamaṁ cittam apūjyāpūjyayoḥ samam /
kruddheṣu śānti-sauratyaṁ kṣānti-pāramitāṁ vadet //

i.e. The mind that gets impatient with contempt by others: varied are the ills impatience inflicts on you. Be they improprieties of kāya, or of śabda or of citta: never be afflicted, never be frightened. Give up the desire to retaliate evil (done to you), and resign to the ills (*aparādha*) arising out of your previous karmas. Don't stop contemplating the welfare of all beings. You should bear in mind: when you are treated with respect, do not be overjoyed, do not be over happy. Do not be in high spirits when you are being 'buttered up'. Be of balanced disposition to all beings. In short: there should be no difference in your attitude whether you are being disrespected or honoured. Such a state is called kṣānti-pāramitā.

[1] *hayva mṛṣāvāda* is the fourth of the five sikṣāpadas or pañca-śīla:

Pāṇātipātā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi
Adinnādānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi
Kāmesu micchācārā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi
Musāvāda veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi
Surā-meraya-majja-pamādaṭṭhānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṁ samādiyāmi.

The five precepts are to abstain from killing, stealing, wicked love, lies and sloth-inducing liquors.

[2] *sambilāpa-virati* is to stop all communication with another person, out of anger.

[3] *sĕpah* '(pre)chewed food' Zoetmulder.

[4] A *vedyāynta ni vedya bhaṭāra Buddha.* It is not *vedānta* as read by Kats. Zoetmulder cites Agastyapurāṇa 389.23 *vedānta ṅaranya sāri saṅ hyaṅ caturveda* and ignores the AS.

[5] *sambega* 'moved, affected, softened, mollified, kindly disposed, deeply impressed' Zoetmulder.

[6] *Pañca-Tathāgata* are the Five Buddhas of the Vajradhātu, while the *Ratnatraya* are Vairocana flanked by Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi in the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala.

[7] Kats *pārada* 'effect, function (?)' is not correct. The remaining seven śīla (nos. 4-10) are included in the vāk and citta aspects of śīla-pāramitā (see note above).

Vīryya-pāramitā ṅaranya:

vīryyārambho divārātrau satvānāṁ hitakaraṇāt /
karoti nāśravaṁ kiñcit vīryyapāramitā smṛtā //

ka: ikaṅ kāya vāk citta yatikābyāmara tadā ṅ luh[1], tan alisuh gumavayakĕn ikaṅ kuśala-karmma ri rahina ri vĕṅi.

Lvir niṅ kuśala gavayakna ri rahina: saddharma lekhana, mamūjā, maveha ṅ ājya, manulis (s)aṅ hyaṅ ākāra pallava, manasi[2] saddharmmavacana, umaca saṅ hyaṅ dharmma ri pu[33b]staka, stūpopakaraṇa, maṅarĕmbha saṅ hyaṅ stūpa tathāgataprativimba, maṅārccanākna, sarbbopakriyā, mahoma, mvaṅ makabuddhyaṅgorava riṅ tamuy. Nahan lvir ni kuśala gavayakna deniṅ kāya vāk citta ri rahina ikā.

Mapa ṅ kuśala gavayakna niṅ kāya vāk citta ri rātri? Majāpa, mayoga, masodhyāya[3], maṅuccāraṇākna mantra stuti ri saṅ hyaṅ sarbba tathāgata, sarbba devī, maṅaṅĕn-aṅĕna sarbba satva, mvaṅ maṅaṅĕn-aṅĕna svasthā niṅ sarbba satva, luputanya saṅkeṅ rekhā[4], hĕntasanya saṅkeṅ bhavacakra, pamaṅgihanya kasugatin, ḍatĕṅanya riṅ lokottara sukha. Maṅkana kagavayan ikaṅ kuśala ri vĕṅi deniṅ kāya vāk citta, tanpāntara, [34a] tan kahanana luh tanpanaṅguh aṅel. Ikaṅ gati maṅkana ya vīryyapāramitā ṅaranya.

Dhyāna-pāramitā ṅaranya:

śreṣṭha-madhyama-kaniṣṭhe satve nityaṁ dayāmatiḥ /
yoginaḥ yoga-sāmarthyād dhyānapāramitā smṛtā //

ka: kaṅ āmbĕk maṅekāntākĕn takvatakvan, nitya masih riṅ sarbba satva, kaniṣṭhamadhyamottama, inaṅĕn-aṅĕn hitasukhāvasānanya, ṅūniveh ikaṅ rāt kabeh, inanusmaraṇa hitasukhāvasānanya riṅ ihatra paratra de nira. Umapa de nira umanusmaraṇa hitasukhāvasānanya ikā sarbba satva? Inak ni de nira tumuṅgalakĕn avak nira. Mapa lvir nikaṅ āmbĕk? *Ya eva satvaḥ saḥ evā[34b]ham, yaḥ ahaṁ saḥ sarbbasatvaḥ, ityādyākāram abhūt*, ikaṅ avak niṅ sarbbasatva avak(k)u ikā, avak(k)u avak ni sarbbasatva ikā; apayāpan avibhāgekasvabhāvā, ikaṅ sarbbavastu tan hana bheda[5] ri sarbba dharmma, maṅkana kāraṇa ikaṅ āmbĕk. Yatikā dhyāna-pāramitā ṅaranya.

Vīryya-pāramitā is:

vīryyārambho divārātrau satvānāṁ hitakaraṇāt/
karoti nāśravaṁ kiñcit vīryyapāramitā smṛtā//

i.e. kāya, vāk and citta ... tears (*aṅluh*). Never be tired in performing good deeds day and night.

The good actions performed during the **day** are: copying the scriptures (*saddharma*), worshipping (the deity), offering oblations, drawing sacred illustrations and ornamentation (*pallava*), concentrating on the saddharma-vacana in silence (in the mind,

manasi), and reading aloud the holy dharma in the scriptures, erecting stūpas, undertaking stūpas with images of Tathāgatas, conducting worship with all the sacred rites, performing homa, and being of a mind (buddhi) to honour guests. Such are the good deeds of kāya, vāk, and citta to be performed in the day.

What are the good deeds of kāya, vāk, and citta to be performed at **night**. Muttering prayers, doing yoga, reading the holy scriptures, uttering mantras and hymns to all the Tathāgatas and all the Devīs, thinking of all beings and contemplating the well-being of all creatures, their liberation from predestined existence, their redemption from the wheel of existence, their obtaining felicity (*sugati*), their attaining supermundane happiness (*lokottara sukha*). That is the performance of good actions of kāya, vāk and citta by night, incessantly, without tears, without finding it troublesome. Such a state is called vīrya-pāramitā.

Dhyāna-pāramitā is:

śreṣṭha-madhyama-kaniṣṭhe satve nityaṁ dayāmatiḥ /
yoginaḥ yoga-sāmarthyād dhyāna-pāramitā smṛtā //

i.e. a mind totally devoted to the constant asking (of what good may be done), always loving all beings whether low, mediocre or the highest, meditating on all that is finally beneficial and contributive to happiness of the entire world, contentrating on all that ends in benefice and happiness both in this world and in the hereafter. Why does he evoke by concentration the benefice and happiness of all beings? Because he is happy that he is one with them. What is this attitude? *Yaḥ eva satvaḥ saḥ evāhaṁ, yaḥ ahaṁ saḥ sarva-satvaḥ, ityādyakāram abhūt* "the body of all beings is my body, my body is the body of all beings." For *avibhāg-ekasvabhāvā,* all things are not different from all dharmas. This is the cause of this attitude. This is called dhyāna-pāramitā.

[1] byāmara tadā ṅ luh is not clear.

[2] *manasi* 'in the mind', that is: silently, in contrast to the following expression *umaca* 'reading aloud'.

[3] *ma-sodhyāya=ma-svādhyāya.*

[4] *rekhā* 'the outlined (predestined) form of existence?' Zoetmulder.

B20a defines: *vīrya-pāramitā ṅaranya amběk magělis magavay hayu. saṅsiptanya: amběk udāra, ya vīryya-pāramitā ṅa* "vīrya-pāramitā is a nature which takes great pains to do good. In brief, a lofty (noble) character is v.p.".

[5] Advayavajra 1927:18 says that according to the sākāra-vādins dhyāna is to realise non-duality.

Prajñā-pāramitā ṅaranya:

yāvanti sarbba-vastūni daśadik-saṅsthitāni ca/
tāni śūnyasvabhāvāni prajñāpāramitā smṛtā//

ka: sakveh nikaṅ sinaṅguh(h)ana riṅ loka, *daśadiksaṅsthitaḥ*, ikaṅ umuṅgu ri deśa sapuluh:pūrvva, dakṣiṇa, paścima, uttara, āgneya, nairṛti, vāyavya, aiśānya, ūrdhva, adhaḥ, yatikā kavruhana tĕka riṅ śarīra vāhya adhyātmika[1], mvaṅ sarbba sa[35a]tva, sarbba vidyā, sarbba kriyā, sarbba kabvatan, sarbba pakṣa, yatikā kavruhana, sākāranya nirākāranya an makatatva ṅ śūnyatā. Sambandha[2]: tan katamvan yan iniṅĕtiṅĕt an pakāvak aṅ ekāneka svabhāva, āpan tuṅgal-tuṅgal mapupul matĕmu ikaṅ sinaṅguh akveh ṅaranya.[3] Anuṅ matamva yatikā tan katĕmu n tinatva vināsvas, iniṅĕt-iṅĕt tan katĕmu ikaṅ sinaṅguh tuhu-tuhu tuṅgal ṅaranya. Tumuluy ata ṅ iṅĕt-iṅĕt, umiṅĕt-iṅĕta yan taya ṅ tuhu-tuhu sinaṅguh makveh, tatan riṅ vāhya vastu juga katĕkan tatva maṅkana kramanya, tĕkā riṅ jñāna svarūpa paḍa tan katamvan an ikā ekāneka grahyākāra; karikā grāhakākāra[4], kunaṅ agrāhaka, [35b] agrāhya kunaṅ tatvanya, tan katĕmu kahiḍĕpanya, enak pva kahiḍĕpanya riṅ śūnyatā ekasvabhāva. Ikaṅ śūnyatā niṅ sarbbadharmma ekasvabhāva; mvaṅ vāhyādhyātma sakṣaṇa iṅĕt-iṅĕtĕn ta ikaṅ sinaṅguh śūnyatā ṅaranya, tan katĕmu [h]atah tatvanya an grāhyarūpa an grāhakarūpa, satata sandeha pravṛtti ikaṅ jñāna. Umabhyāsa ikaṅ śūnyatā kadi rūpa bhāvana, tan katĕmu atah avaknya. [5]Nihan prastāva nikā grāhya grāhaka rūpa. Ri vĕkasan pva ya ta *sarvvaprapañcavarjitaḥ*, ikaṅ jñāna tumiṅgalakĕn sarvvaprapañca tan pamikalpa[6] riṅ (h)ana taya[7], ya ta pagĕh sthiti [36a] tanpolah, ākāśa mata lvirnyālilaṅa nirāvaraṇa[5], paḍa lāvan ākāśa. Ndah yatika vastu sinaṅguh prajñā-pāramitā ṅa ikaṅ inabhyāsa ḍaṅ hyaṅ sarbba siddhi, mataṅnyan paṅguhakĕn ikaṅ kahyaṅbuddhān.

Iti nāhan lakṣaṇa niṅ sinaṅguh ṣaṭ-pāramitā ṅaranya. Kagĕgö pvekaṅ ṣaṭ-pāramitā denta.

Prajñā-pāramitā is:

yāvanti sarvva-vastūni daśadik-saṁsthitāni ca /
tāni śūnyasvabhāvāni prajñāpāramitā smṛtā //

i.e. Everything considered part of the world, *daśadik-saṁsthitāḥ*, found in the ten quarters of the world: E, S, W, N, SE, SW, NW NE, zenith and nadir, along with the external body as well as the metaphysical, and all beings, all knowledge, all actions, all results, all pakṣas — know that they, whether with form or formless, are in essence śūnyatā. The connection (*sambandha*) is: looking at it closely, one does not find it as the embodiment of singularity or of plurality. In single items collected together one discovers what is considered a plurality. Whatever one may find one does not encounter a distinct entity. If one looks at it carefully, one does not find what is considered a true singularity. If one looks over it carefully one will see that what one took to be a true plurality does not exist. Thus external things have no essence, and even the jñāna-svarūpa is not conditioned by singularity or plurality (ekāneka), or by object-aspect (grāhy-ākāra) or subject-aspect (grāhak-ākāra). Beyond the subject-object structure (agrāhaka agrāhya) is the essence. It cannot be experienced by perception. To rejoice in meditating on śūnyatā be the one nature (eka-svabhāva). The śūnyatā of all dharmas is the one nature (eka-svabhāva). To concentrate on the external 'sensory' world and the 'spiritual' at the same instant (*sakṣaṇa*) is śūnyatā. Then one does not notice whether its essence is the subject aspect

or the object aspect. Always to doubt is the tendency of knowledge. If śūnyatā is considered a form of thought, then one does not find its embodiment. On the other hand, the object-subject aspect is after all *sarvva-prapañca-varjitaḥ*, the knowledge devoid of all prapañca. It is not uncertain regarding 'what is' and 'what is not', or one and many.It is freed of object and subject. It is prajñā only, without any erroneous insistence. It is firmness, stability, the unchanging. It is like the sky indeed: pure, stainless. This prajñāpāramitā is practised by all holy siddhas, and thereby they achieve Buddhahood. Such are the characteristics of the Six Pāramitās. You should observe these Six Pāramitās.

[1] A *adhyātma.*

[2] *sambandha* has a special meaning in OJ: "the connection is this ..., the occasion (cause, reason) was the following, it happened like this, this is the story, this is the question. In inscriptions *sambandha* introduces the part which describes the immediate cause why the decree is granted." (Zoetmulder).

[3] "The real is neither one, nor many" (Murti 1960:86). It is stated in Āryadeva's Catuḥśataka 14.19 (Lang 1986:132-3):

tasya tasyaikatā nāsti yo yo bhāvaḥ parīkṣyate /
na santi tenāneke 'pi yenaiko 'pi na vidyate //

"Each thing that is examined lacks unity; and since a thing that is one [in nature] does not exist, things that are plural [in nature] also do not exist."

[4] The subject-object structure (*grāhya-grāhaka).*

grāhakākāra 'the subject-aspect' (Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, 2.398)

[5] A *śūnyatādi*

[5-5] A ri anyatāma nikaṅ grāhya-grāhaka rūpa, riṅ vĕkasanya pva ya thā *sarvvaprapañcavārjjitaḥ*, ikaṅ jñāna tumiṅgalakĕn sarvva prapañca, tan pamikalpa hana tāya ekāneka, *grāhya-grāhaka-nirmuktaḥ*, kaluput saṅkeṅ grāhya mvaṅ grāhaka, prajñā kevala tanpa ṅ abhiniveśa, ya tāpagöh sthiti[36a]tanpovah, ākāśa matā lvirnya lilaṅ, anāvaraṇa.

[6] *vikalpa* "discrimination, as opposed to the intuitive vision which passes beyond it. The false imagination of foolish thinking which imposed a necessary habit of daily life onto the realities of the spirit. Finally, the products of such foolish thinking, subjective forms which the mind believes to be real. Mere appearances. Thus the illusion of a permanent soul, etc. The Mind-Only School of Buddhism regards all forms without exception as vikalpa in this sense" (Humphreys 1962:211-212).

[7] *hana taya* The Ratnāvalī 1.61-62 of Nāgārjuna emphasises that Buddha's teaching is "going beyond existence and non-existence" (*asti-nāsti-vyatikrama).* It is the distinguishing mark of the Dharma (Kalff 1983:73-88):

dharmayautakam ity asmān nāstyastitva-vyatikramam /
viddhi gambhīram ity uktaṁ buddhānāṁ śāsanāmṛtam //

"For this reason you should know that the ambrosia of the teaching of the Buddhas which has been said to be profound, the going beyond existence and non-existence, is the special dowery (or: distinguishing property) of the Dharma".

[8] *abhiniveśa* false opinion, false belief, insistence on an erroneous opinion, heretical belief, evil propensity, adherence to something bad — Edgerton

Kita ṅ tathāgatakula jinaputra ādikarmmika lakṣaṇākĕn taṅ caturpāramitā. Caturpāramitā[1] ṅaranya: metrī, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā. Metrī ṅaranya: *parahita-kartṛtva*, ākāra niṅ jñāna saṅ satva viśeṣa. Saṅ satva viśeṣa ṅaranya: saṅ tumakitaki ṣaṭ pāramitā mvaṅ catur pāramitā, sira ta satva viśeṣa ṅaran ira. Ākāra niṅ jñāna nira [36b] **gumave hayva niṅ para. Para ṅaranya: sarbba satva, kaniṣṭha-madhyamottama, ikaṅ sih riṅ para tan phalāpekṣa, ya metrī ṅaranya.**

***Karuṇā* ṅaranya: *paraduḥkhaviyogecchā*, ākāra niṅ jñāna saṅ satva viśeṣa ahyun (h)ilaṅa ni duḥkha niṅ sarbba satva. Tiga lvir niṅ duḥkha niṅ para, pagavayan saṅ satva viśeṣa karuṇā, lvirnya: duḥkha-duḥkhatā, saṅskāra-duḥkhatā, pariṇāma-duḥkhatā. Nāhan lvirnyan tiga ṅ duhkha.**

Duḥkha-duḥkhatā ṅaranya: paṅalapnya sor saṅkeṅ janmanya tambayan, kadyāṅgāniṅ janma-mānuṣa, māti pva ya, maṅjanma ta ya goḥ gavayādi, yatikā duḥkha-duḥkhatā ṅaranya.

Saṅskāra-duḥkhatā ṅaranya: pāpa valvi-valvinya [h]irikaṅ janma katĕmu denya tambayan, kadyāṅganiṅ janma [37a] **vvaṅ, māti pva ya, maṅjanma ta ya vvaṅ muvah. Yatikā saṅskāra-duḥkha(tā) ṅaranya.**

Pariṇāma-duḥkhatā ṅaranya: paṅalapnya janma sor muvah ri huvusnyan pamaṅguhakĕn janma lĕvih saṅke janmanya ri tambayan, kadyāṅganiṅ janma-mānuṣa, māti pva ya, saṅka ri tan pramādanya riṅ dharmma, maṅjanma ta ya devatā, saṅka ri pramādanya maṅjanma ta ya mānuṣa muvah. Yatikā pariṇāma-duḥkhatā ṅaranya.

Nāhan lvirnyan tiga ikaṅ duḥkha. Ikaṅ satva amaṅguhakĕn duḥkha maṅkana kramanya, yatikā kinĕnan karuṇā de saṅ satva viśeṣa.

CATUR-PĀRAMITĀ

O son of Jina, of the Tathāgata family, as an ādikarmika you should realise the four pāramitās. The four pāramitās are: maitrī, karuṇā, muditā, and upekṣā.

Maitrī means: *parahita-kartṛtva* is the state of the mind of a satva viśeṣa. Satva viśeṣa means one who practises the six perfections and the four perfections. The state of his mind brings about the welfare of others. Others means: all beings, lesser, mediocre and excellent. He loves others without expecting any reward. This is maitrī.

Karuṇā means: *para-duḥkha-viyog-ecchā,* the state of the mind of a satva viśeṣa to wish to remove the miseries of all beings. Threefold are the miseries of others. It is the duty of a satva viśeṣa to extend karuṇā, viz: duḥkha-duḥkhatā (=the misery of affliction), saṁskāra-duḥkhatā (=the misery of saṁskāra); pariṇāma-duḥkhatā (the misery of births). These are the three miseries.

Duḥkha-duḥkhatā means: to remove a lower (status) in the next birth, for example, if one born as a human being dies and is reborn as a cow, Bos gavaeus, etc. that is duḥkha-duḥkhatā.

Saṁskāra-duḥkhatā means: to do away the sin of returning into an immediately completed birth, for example, if one born a human being dies and is reborn as a human being, that is saṁskāra-duḥkhatā.

Pariṇāma-duḥkhatā means: to remove a lower birth when one already has reached a birth higher than the previous ones, e.g. someone born a human being dies and is reborn as a deity (devatā) on account of his being diligent in practising dharma, and if he is born again as a human being due to neglect, that is pariṇāma-duḥkhatā.

This is the triple duḥkha. A creature experiencing such duḥkha, will be saved by the compassion/karuṇā of a satva viśeṣa.

[1] The ten pāramitās are the six plus the four pāramitās: upāya-p., praṇidhi-p., bala-p., and jñāna-p. The four pāramitās given by SHK are in fact the four brahma-vihāra (Dharma-saṅgraha §16), Arthaviniścaya §10). Humphreys (1962:48) defines them: "Brahma in this connexion means lordly, or divine. Vihāra here means a state of mind. Hence the four 'Divine States of Mind' which are methods of meditation in which the mind pervades the six corners of the universe with concentrated thoughts of Mettā (love), Karuṇā (compassion), Muditā (sympathetic joy) and Upekkhā (serenity)".

Kern (1898:54) says: "as a preparatory to soaring into the higher regions of thought, must be considered the bhavanā, cultivation, cherishing of the sentiments of maitrī, benevolence, karuṇā, compassion, muditā, cheerfulness, and upekṣā, indifference, equanimity. These four Bhāvanās, identical in name and character with those of all Yogins, are otherwise termed brahmavihāra, living in the spiritual world, and P. *appamaññā*, Skr. *apramāṇa.*"

AS uses the word bhāvanā on folio 40b in a different sense.

The three miseries in Saṁyutta-nikāya (PTS) 4.259 are: *tisso imāvuso dukkha-dukkhatā/dukkha-dukkhatā saṅkhāra-dukkhatā vipariṇāma-dukkhatā/* "there are these three forms of suffering, friend: the sort of suffering caused by pain, the sort caused by the activities, the sort caused by the changeable nature of things" (transl. F.L. Woodward 4.175).

Visuddhimagga 16.35 (ed. Henry Clarke Warren, revised by Dharmananda Kosambi, Harvard Oriental Series 41, Cambridge, Mass. 1950:424): *Tattha kāyika-cetasikā dukkhā vedanā sabhāvato ca nāmato ca dukkhattā* dukkhadukkhan *ti vuccati. Sukhā vedanā vipariṇāme dukkhuppattihetuto* vipariṇāmadukkhaṅ. *Upekkhāvedanā c'eva avasesā ca tebhūmakā saṅkhārā udayabbayaparipiḷitattā* saṅkhāradukkhaṅ. "Of these, bodily and mental painful feeling, being ill by nature and by name, is called painful ill.

Pleasant sensation is called changeable ill, because it becomes the root-condition of pain through change. Neutral feeling and the remaining compounded things of the three planes of life are called compounded ill, because they are oppressed by the rise and fall of living beings."

Abhidharmakośa 6.3 defines the three duḥkhas as:

"Impure *dharmas*, whether they are agreeable, disagreeable, or otherwise, are, without exception, suffering, by reason of the three types of suffering, each according to its type.

"There are three types of suffering: suffering which is suffering in and of itself (*duḥkhaduḥkhatā*), suffering through the fact of being conditioned (*saṁskāraduḥkhatā*), and suffering which is change or transformation (*pariṇāmaduḥkhatā*).

"By reason of these three, all impure conditioned things, without exception, are suffering: agreeable things are suffering because they are subject to transformation; disagreeable things are suffering in and of themselves; and neither-disagreeable-nor-agreeable things are suffering because they are conditioned. What are the agreeable, disagreeable, and neither-disagreeable-nor-agreeable *dharmas*?" (Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṁ by Louis de la Vallée Poussin, English translation by Leo M. Pruden, Berkeley, California, Asian Humanities Press, 1989:3.899).

The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (ed. H.Kern & Bunyiu Nanjio) 108.17f: *vayaṁ ca bhagavaṁs tisṛbhir duḥkhatābhiḥ sampīḍitā abhūma/ katamābhis tisṛbhir yaduta duḥkhā-duḥkhatayā saṁskāra-duḥkhatayā vipariṇāma-duḥkhatayā ca saṁsāre ca hīnādhimuktikāḥ/* "we were oppressed, O Lord, with three difficulties, viz. the difficulty of pain, the difficulty of conceptions, the difficulty of transition (or evolution); and in the worldly whirl we are disposed to what is low *(hīnādhimukta)"* (transl. H. Kern, The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, SBE XXI, 1909:107).

The Arthaviniścayasūtra-nibandhana (ed. N.H. Samtani, Patna) 1971:160:

jātir duḥkham iti saṁskāra-duḥkhatayā/
jarā duḥkham iti vipariṇāma-duḥkhatayā/
vyādhir duḥkham iti duḥkha-duḥkhatayā/

The Mahāvyutpatti 2228-31 *traya-duḥkhata* enumerates the three. Edgerton 2.265 translates:

duḥkha-duḥkhatā: state of misery qua misery (what is grievous by its very nature, from the start, always painful)

saṁskāra-duḥkhatā: state of misery due to conditioning (saṁskāra; according to Vism. 499.20f. this means particularly experience in itself not painful or pleasurable, but, because impermanent and so undependable, still a cause of misery),

viparināma-duḥkhatā: state of misery due to alteration (of what was pleasurable to begin

with, but cannot last).

The Mahāvyutpatti 2232-2240 enumerates eight duḥkhatā, beginning with jāti-duḥkha 'the misery of birth'. In the AS the three miseries are:
duḥkha-duḥkhatā: a lower rebirth (human→animal)
saṁskāra-duḥkhatā: returning to the just completed birth (human→human)
pariṇāma-duḥkhatā: relapse into a lower birth after a higher previous birth (human→ devatā→human)

***Trividhā karuṇā jñeyā*, tiga prakāra niṅ karuṇā, lvirnya: satvālambana-karuṇā, dharmmālambana-karuṇā, anālambana-karuṇā. Na[37b]han lvirnyan tigaṅ karuṇā.**

Satvālambana-karuṇā ṅaranya: *prahīnātmadṛṣṭīnāṁ*[1] *duḥkhitasatvālambanā karuṇā*[2], karuṇā niṅ hanāgrahanya ryy avaknya: an gavayakĕn ikaṅ karuṇā irikaṅ satva manĕmu duḥkha ināgrahanya pagavayan[a] karuṇā, tĕlas pagavayan[a] metrī, *pṛthagjanānāṁ satvālambanā karuṇā*, kadyāṅganiṅ karuṇā ni pṛthagjana, satvālambana karuṇā ṅaranya.

Dharmmālambana-karuṇā ṅaranya: *prahīnātmadṛṣṭīnāṁ duḥkha-saṁskāra-viṣayā karuṇā*, karuṇā niṅ tan hanāgrahanya ryy avaknya, an gavayakĕn ika karuṇā, irikaṅ satva manĕmu duḥkha, makataṅgvan[3] hana ni abhiniveśanya ri duḥkha niṅ satva pagavayan karuṇā, tĕlas pa[38a]gavayan metrī, *mahāsatvasya āryyasya dharmmālambanā karuṇā*, kadyaṅgani karuṇā saṅ mahāsatva saṅ āryya, ya dharmmālambana karuṇā ṅaranya.

Anālambana-karuṇā ṅaranya: *prahīnātmadṛṣṭīnām evānabhiniveśasaṁskāravāhinī mārgge vyavasthitānām anālambanā karuṇā*, karuṇā saṅ tan hanābhiniveśanya irikaṅ satva pagavayan karuṇā, tĕke dharmmanya, makataṅgön tan hanābhiniveśanya, an gavayakĕn ikaṅ karuṇā riṅ satva manĕmu duḥkha tĕlas pagavayan metrī, *grāhyagrāhakābhiniveśavigatānāṁ buddha-bodhisatvānām anālambanā karuṇā*, kadyaṅgāni karuṇā saṅ bodhisatva nirāgraha, ya anālambana-karuṇā [38b] ṅaranya. Iti nāhan prabheda ni karuṇā.

***Muditā* ṅaranya: *parahitatuṣṭiḥ satvaviśeṣasya jñānasyākāraḥ*, inak ny ākāra ni jñāna saṅ satva viśeṣa[4] de ni sukha ni satva, tĕlas pagavayan ira metrī karuṇā muditā ṅaranya. Tigaṅ muditā: satvālambana-muditā, dharmmālambana-muditā, anālambana-muditā. Nāhan lvirnyan tiga, kadi deniṅ umartha tiga ṅūni, maṅkana deniṅ umartha tiga maṅke.**

Trividhā karuṇā jñeyā, threefold is karuṇā, viz: satvālambana-karuṇā, dharmmālambana-karuṇā and anālambana-karuṇā.

Satvālambana-karuṇā means: *prahīn-ātmadṛṣṭīnāṁ duḥkhita-satvālambanā karuṇā*, compassion on one who clings to his body. When one does compassion on such a being and gets misery because of one's insistence to do karuṇā, then it is the perfection of maitrī. *pṛthag-janānāṁ satvālambanā karuṇā*, compassion on commonfolk (*pṛthagjana)* is called satvālambanā karuṇā.

Dharmmālambana-karuṇā means: *prahīn-ātmadṛṣṭīnāṁ duḥkha-saṁskāra-viṣayā karuṇā*, compassion on one who does not cling to his body. When one does compassion on such a being encountering misery, out of his resolve to do compassion on creatures in misery, it is the perfection of performing maitrī. *Mahāsatvasya āryyasya dharmmālambanā karuṇā*, the compassion of the Mahāsatva, of the noble one is

dharmmālambanā karuṇā (compassion related to dharma).

Anālambana-karuṇā means: *prahīn-ātmadṛṣṭīnām eva anabhiniveśa-saṁskāra-vāhinī mārgge vyavasthitānām anālambanā karuṇā,* the compassion of one who does not have an attachment to do compassion to creatures, except out of a sense of dharma, securely founded on his not being attached. The practice of such compassion on beings in misery is the perfection of maitrī. *grāhya-grāhak-ābhiniveśa-vigatānāṁ buddha-bodhisatvānām anālambanā karuṇā:* the compassion of the bodhisatva without attachment is anālambana karuṇā. Thus are the varieties of karuṇā.

Muditā means: *para-hita-tuṣṭiḥ satva-viśeṣasya jñānasy-ākāraḥ,* the joy of the state of mind of the satva viśeṣa because of the happiness of beings, the perfection of the operation of maitrī and karuṇā, is called muditā. Threefold is muditā: satvālambana-muditā, dharmmālambana-muditā, anālambana-muditā. Just as the three were explained earlier, so are these three also to be explained.

[1] The word *prahīna* is not recorded by Edgerton. *Prahita*=Pali *pahita* 'exerted'. It is noted in the compound *prahitātmanāṁ* in Lalitavistara 262.2(verse): *eko 'pramatto ātāpī prahitātmā* (om. LV), Mv. 2-118.11-12, 120.3, LV 239.2, *eko vyapakṛṣṭo 'pramatta ātāpī prahitātmā* Divy.37.10, MSV.1.48.12f. In Pali *pahitatta (=prahitātman)* "of resolute will" (PTS Dictionary).

[2] The three karuṇā pertain to:

satvālambanā k.	to common people (*pṛthagjana*)
dharmālambanā k.	to mahāsatva ārya
anālambanā k.	to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas

The sattvālambanā karuṇā has been defined by Advayavajra 1927:17: *duḥkha.duḥkhatā-vipariṇāma.duḥkhatābhyām ahany-ahani sattvān ālambya yā karuṇotpadyate sā sattvālambanā.*

[3] *taṅgvan* 'support, prop, firm base, sure foundation, what one can rely on' Zoetmulder.

[4] Saṅ satva viśeṣa is used in the general sense of a sādhaka on folios 36ab, 37a, 38b. With satva viśeṣa we can compare *viśeṣagāmitā* in Sanskrit Buddhist texts. The Śikṣāsamuccaya 1904:316 has four dharmas for the specific attainment (*viśeṣa-gāmitā*) of those on the path of Mahāyāna: śraddhā, gaurava, nirmānatā, and vīrya. Edgerton equates this word and *viśeṣa-gamana* with *viśeṣādhigama* " 'specific attainment', grasping one thought so intently that dhyāna is attained".

A satva viśeṣa meditates on Mahāviśeṣa (40a), Bhaṭāra Viśeṣa (41b), and Deva Viśeṣa (44a) meaning The Supreme Buddha, who has to be envisioned by a yogīśvara. *Bhaṭāra Viśeṣa* 'The Supreme Being' occurs in the Vṛhaspati-tattva as *saṅ hyaṅ Viśeṣa* (4.14, 48.1, 49.7, 80.3 Zoetmulder).

Upekṣā ṅaranya: _lābhānapekṣa-satvaviśeṣasya jñānasyākāraḥ_, ākāra ni jñāna saṅ satva viśeṣa tanpa ṅ apekṣā lābha. Tanpa ṅ apekṣā lābha ṅaranya; tan vava rĕṅö ni jñāna saṅ satva viśeṣa riṅ valĕs: pūjāstu[39a]**ti ṅūniveh [h]artha. An gavayakĕn ikaṅ metrī karuṇā muditā riṅ satva, makanimitta katonan i duḥkha niṅ satva, yogya pagavayana upekṣā, sinamprayutta deni kagavayan iṅ upekṣā, tigaṅ upekṣā: satvālambanopekṣā, dharmmālambanopekṣā, anālambanopekṣā[1]. Sakrama ny artha nikaṅ tiga ṅūni maṅkanārtha nikā tiga maṅke.**

Ikaṅ metrī karuṇā muditā upekṣā, yatikā sinaṅguh catur pāramitā ṅaranya.

Papupul ni catur pāramitā mvaṅ ṣaṭ pāramitā, lvi(r)nya: dāna, śīla, kṣānti, vīryya, dhyāna, prajñā, metrī, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā. Yatikā sinaṅguh dośa pāramitā ṅaranya, yatikā matatva pañca-devī.

Bajradhātvīśvarī devī mahā[39b]***prajñā rūpavatī /***
patyau paramasevitā ṣaṭpāramitam ucyate //

Śrī Bajradhātvīśvarī sira ta lĕvih prajñā nira, atĕhĕr surūpa, atiśaya de nira sevitasvāmi ri bhaṭāra Vairocana, sira ta makatatva ṅ ṣaṭpāramitā.

maitrī Locanā vijñeyā, Māmakī karuṇā matā /
muditā Pāṇḍaravāsī, upekṣā Tārā ucyate //

Bharālī Locanā metrī tatva nira, bharālī Māmakī karuṇā tatva nira, bharālī Pāṇḍaravāsinī sira ta makatatva ṅ upekṣā. Maṅkana tiṅkah niṅ daśa pāramitā,[2] an makatatva pañca devī, ya ta mataññan saṅ maṅabhyāsa hayu devī, sira sevita rumuhun ri vāhyādhyātmi[40a]**ka, apan sira paḍa niṅ umaṅgihakĕn i kahyaṅbuddhān.**

Iti daśapāramitā parisamāpta, paramamārgga ḍataṅ riṅ mahābodhi ikā.

Upekṣā means: _lābh-ānapekṣa-satva-viśeṣasya jñānasy-ākāraḥ_, the state of mind of a satva viśeṣa without expectation of advantage. Without expectation of advantage means: there is no concern in the mind of the satva viśeṣa to get rewards, praises, homage, and much less pecuniary benefits. When one practises maitrī, karuṇā and muditā towards beings, visualising the misery of beings, then it is appropriate to practise upekṣā, fully intent only on doing upekṣā. There are three kinds of upekṣā: satvālambana-upekṣā, dharmmālambana-upekṣā, anālambana-upekṣā. As is the interpretation of the three earlier, so it is with these three.

Maitrī, karuṇā, muditā, and upekṣā are the Four Pāramitās.

TEN PĀRAMITĀS ARE THE FIVE DEVĪS

The aggregation of the four pāramitās and the six pāramitās is: dāna, śīla, kṣānti, vīryya, dhyāna, prajñā/maitrī, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā. These are called the ten pāramitās. Their essence (tatva) are the Five Devīs:

Vajradhātvīśvarī devī mahāprajñā rūpavatī/
patyau paramasevitā ṣaṭpāramitam ucyate//

Śrī Vajradhātvīśvarī is extraordinary in wisdom and at the same time very beautiful, and exceptional is her service to lord Bhaṭāra Vairocana. She is the essence (tattva) of the six pāramitās.

maitrī Locanā vijñeyā, Māmakī karuṇā matā/
muditā Pāṇḍaravāsī, upekṣā Tārā ucyate//

The essence of bharāli Locanā is metrī, the essence of bharālī Māmakī is karuṇā, the essence of bharālī Pāṇḍaravāsinī is muditā, the essence of bharālī Tārā is upekṣa.

These Ten Pāramitās have their essence in the Five Devīs. Therefore, one should concentrate on the devīs well, one should concentrate both on the exoteric and spiritual planes, for it is equal to attaining buddhahood. Thus the ten pāramitās have been dealt with fully. The are the supreme way to attain mahābodhi.

[1] The four ārammaṇa (Skt.ālambana) in the Vibhaṅga (PTS 332, translation by Pathamakyaw Ashin Thiṭṭila/Seṭṭhila, London 1969:436) are: "Therein what are 'four objects'? Limited wisdom, having limited object; limited wisdom, having unlimited object; unlimited wisdom, having limited object; unlimited wisdom, having unlimited object".

[2] Concentration on the six pāramitās and the practice of the four brahma-vihāra become the meditative image itself, as the essence of being absorbs into the iconography of the eternity of the Five Devīs.

The entire verse 6.2 of the Nāma-saṅgīti is devoted to the ten pāramitās.

Huvus pva enak vruhta irikaṅ daśapāramitā mahāmārgga, kavruhi taṅ paramaguhya mvaṅ mahāguhya.

Paramaguhya ṅaranya: rūpa ni avak bharāla, āpan sinaṅguh mahāviśeṣa, kapratyakṣa de saṅ yogīśvara.

Mahāguhya: ikaṅ kāraṇa ri kapaṅguhan bharāla, lvirnya: yoga lāvan bhāvanā[1]. Pāt lvir niṅ yoga, pavĕkas ḍaṅ ācāryya śrī Diṅnāga (A dinaga) pāda, lvirnya: mūla-yoga, madhya-yoga, vasāna-yoga, anta-yoga.

Mūla-yoga ṅaranya: humiḍĕp hana bharāla riṅ ā[40b]kāśa. Madhya-yoga ṅaranya:humiḍĕp hana bharāla riṅ śarīra. Vasāna-yoga ṅaranya: humiḍĕp hana bharāla riṅ pṛthivīmaṇḍala. Anta-yoga ṅaranya: humiḍĕp hana bharāla riṅ śūnyatā-maṇḍala. Śūnyatā-maṇḍala ṅaranya:deśa niṅ bhināvanā.

Deśa niṅ bhināvanā:pāt kveh ni bhāvanā. Lvirnyan pāt: śanti-bhāvanā, ūṣmī-bhāvanā, urddhva-bhāvanā, agra-bhāvanā. Śānti-bhāvanā ṅaranya: vikalpa ri hilaṅ niṅ rāga. Ūṣmī-bhāvanā ṅaranya: vikalpa ri hilaṅ niṅ dveṣa. Ūrddhva-bhāvanā ṅaranya:vikalpa ri hilaṅ niṅ moha. Agra-bhāvanā ṅaranya:vikalpa ri hilaṅ niṅ kleśa-traya.

Krama ni patĕmu niṅ bhāvanā lāvan yoga, yeka kavruhana panujunya. Śānti-bhāvanā[41a] kāraṇa niṅ mūla-yoga; ūṣmī-bhāvanā kāraṇa riṅ madhya-yoga, ūrddhva-bhāvanā ṅaranya kāraṇa riṅ vasāna-yoga; agra-bhāvanā ṅaranya kāraṇa riṅ anta-yoga. Maṅkana krama niṅ patĕmu niṅ bhāvanā mvaṅ yoga. Tuṅgal tatva ni bhāvanā mvaṅ yoga, paḍa jñāna saṅ yogī. Kunaṅ bhedanya: ikaṅ bhāvanā maṅhiḍĕp samanya, ikaṅ yoga maṅhiḍĕp svalakṣaṇa, dudū niṅ viṣaya tinūt niṅ bheda niṅ viṣayī.

MAHĀGUHYA

As you are already fully familiar with the supreme way (mahāmārga) of the Ten

Pāramitās, now you should get to know paramaguhya and mahāguhya.

Paramaguhya means: the shape of the embodiment of the Lord (bharāla), called Mahāviśeṣa, has to be visualised by a yogīśvara.

Mahāguhya means: the means to attain the Lord (bharāla), namely through *yoga* and *bhāvanā*. Yoga is fourfold, as per the teachings of the spiritual master, the glorious Diṅnāga-pāda, namely: mūla-yoga (beginning yoga), madhya-yoga (middle yoga), avasāna-yoga (end yoga) and anta-yoga (closing yoga):
Mūla-yoga means: meditating on the Lord (bharāla) in the sky.
Madhya-yoga means: meditating on the Lord in the body.
Avasāna-yoga means: meditating on the Lord in the earth zone.
Anta-yoga means: meditating on the Lord in the sphere of emptiness (śūnyatā-maṇḍala)
Śūnyatā-maṇḍala means: the sphere of the one concentrated on.

[1]There are four kinds of bhāvana: śānti-bhāvanā, ūṣmī-bhāvanā, ūrddhva-bhāvanā, agra-bhāvanā. Śānti-bhāvanā means: concentration on the cessation of rāga. Ūṣmī-bhāvanā means: concentration on the cessation of dveṣa. Ūrddhva-bhāvanā means: concentration on the cessation of moha. Agra-bhāvanā means: concentration on the cessation of the above three afflictions (kleśa).

The way of combining bhāvanā and yoga: know this to be the aim. Śānti-bhāvanā is the means to mūla-yoga, ūṣmī-bhāvanā is the means to madhya-yoga, ūrddhva-bhāvanā is the means to avasāna-yoga, agra-bhāvanā is the means to anta-yoga. This is the way of combining bhāvanā and yoga. The essence of bhāvanā and yoga is one, and they are the mind of a yogī. The difference is: bhāvanā focusses on the ordinary (sāmānya), while yoga focusses on its own characteristics, the distinction of viṣaya followed by the distinctiveness of viṣayī.

This passage can be summarised as follows:

1. Mahāmārga=Mantranaya initiation on folios 8b-25a.
2. Paramamārga=Mahāmārga of the Ten Pāramitās
3. Mahāguhya comprises yoga and bhavanā (nirākāra).

Yoga is fourfold:	mūla-y.	madhya-y.	avasāna-y.	anta-y.
	↓	↓	↓	↓
Bhāvanā is fourfold:	śānti-b.	ūṣṃ-b.	ūrdhva-b.	agra-b.

Mahāguhya is the nirākāra stage.
Paramaguhya is the sākāra stage.

4. Paramaguhya is the visualisation of the embodiment of the Lord (sākāra).

They are analogous to the spiritual discipline of yogācāra as propounded in the Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra of Asaṅga:

1. Sambhāra-mārga
    Puṇya-sambhāra
    Jñāna-sambhāra
2. Prayoga-mārga
    Ūṣmagat-āvasthā
    Murdh-āvasthā
    Kṣānty-avasthā
    Laukik-āgra-dharm-āvasthā
3. Darśana-mārga: intuition of the highest reality, free from false dualism
4. Bhāvana-mārga
    nirvikalpa or samāhita-jñāna
    savikalpa or pṛṣṭha-labdha-jñāna
    vajropama-samādhi
    yoga-bhūmi

The sequence of Asaṅga has been summarised by Chatterjee 1962:216-220 as under:

"The various stages of the tortuous path of spiritual discipline have been discussed with a wealth of minutest details, born out of personal realisation, in texts like *Abhisamayālaṅkāra, Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* etc. The details are out of place in a metaphysical essay. Only the broadest outline can be indicated here.

"The initial stage is known as the *Sambhāramārga* (the Path of Accumulating Merit), and is only preparatory to the higher levels of the disciplinary path. Consciousness is defiled by the two obstructions which hide its real nature. These are kleśāvaraṇa and jñeyāvaraṇa (VMS. p.44). The kleśas are pain and evil pertaining to the empirical level. The root of all pain is however intellectual. When the object is wrongly imagined to exist as it is not, it repels the will-consciousness. This is the primary obstruction, imagining that there is something to be known. This is jñeyāvaraṇa. These obstructions can be removed by the accumulation of merits and wisdom (puṇyajñāna-sambhāra MSA.6.6). Mere accumulation of merits is not sufficient, since the root of all evil is intellectual. The real antidote is therefore knowledge, knowing things as they really are. This is the highest wisdom (prajñāpāramitā) and this alone can remove jñeyāvaraṇa by realising the nothingness of the object, and consequently, the purification of consciousness. It is jñānasambhāra therefore that is the basic remedy for the evil of empirical existence; puṇyasambhāra is only subsidiary.

"Jñāna is philosophic wisdom. The root of all evil being theoretical, viz., ignorance, the antidote can only be philosophy, right knowledge of things as they are. At first this knowledge remains only verbal and mediate (śrutamaya). Mere intellectual knowledge is not however sufficient. This insight must be intensely meditated on (cintāmaya), and lastly, one must deeply concentrate on this theoretical understanding of things (bhāvanāmaya) so that it is immediately realised (aparapratyaya) as the ultimate truth. Complete realization comes however only in the subsequent stages.

"Next comes the *Prayogamārga* (the Path of Training). The Bodhisattva undertakes an intense cultivation of the philosophic wisdom, theoretically as well as practically. Realising that the objects are only subjective creations (*manojalpa*), he ceases to perceive any objective dharma (*sarvadharmān na paśyati*); he realises that they are only the two kinds of projections of the subjective imagination, viz., the

svalakṣaṇa and the sāmānyalakṣaṇa. This is the *Ūṣmagatāvasthā* (MSA. p. 93, MVSBT. p. 23) of the disciple. He obtains the first sparks of the spiritual enlightenment (dharmāloka) which he strives to make steady, and cultivates still intenser practices (*dṛḍhaṁ vīryam ārabhate*). This is the *Mūrdhāvasthā* (MSA. p. 93). With the intensification of the insight, the Bodhisattva realises the sole reality of consciousness (*cittamātre avatiṣṭhate cittam etad iti prativedhāt*). He sees everything only as appearances of consciousness (*citta eva sarvārthapratibhāsatvam paśyati*). Nothing is independent and external to consciousness. Thus the diversification of consciousness as the object to be known (*grāhyavikṣepa*) is removed; there remains only the other diversification, viz., consciousness as the knowing subject (*grāhakavikṣepa*). This stage is known as the *Kṣāntyavasthā* (MSA. p. 93.). The sublation of the object is comparatively easier than the realisation of the unreality of the subject; the latter dawns only in the subsequent higher stages of the path. The former only paves the way for the latter (*grāhakānupalambhānukūla*) which is the real freedom of consciousness. After this there is the *Laukikāgra-dharmāvasthā* (MSA. p. 93, MVSBT. p.23) in which the Bodhisattva enters into the Ānantarya-samādhi. The trance is so-called because the deeper diversification of consciousness as the knower (*grāhakavikṣepa*) is removed immediately after this (anantara, MSA. 14.27). Realising the unreality of the object, even the awareness of the sole reality of consciousness ceases (MVSBT. p. 23, MSA. 11.47). After this all the subsequent stages are transic. The Bodhisattva enters into higher and higher transic states.

"The next stage is the *Darśana-mārga* (the Path of Vision). The sage has an intuition of the highest reality, free from the false dualism of the knower and the known; he has a non-dual, nor-conceptual and pure (since the two obstructions have been completely destroyed) intuition of the ultimate and unique substance of the universe (*sarvatragadharmadhātu*), and enters into the first bhūmi, characterised by the withdrawal of the Ālaya (āśrayaparāvṛtti, MSA. 14.28-9). He realises the essential identity of every living being and thinks of them in terms of himself (MSA. 14.30). He acquires the characteristic excellences of the attainment of Enlightenment (Bodhi), like smṛtyupasthāna etc. Though he has no pain of his own, he grieves at the misery of suffering mankind.

"The next and highest state is the *Bhāvanāmārga* (the Path of Concentration) in which the Bodhisattva enters into the rest of the bhūmis. He obtains a complete mystic intuition of the Absolute. This intuition is two-fold (MSA. 14.43, MVSBT. pp. 29-30). First is the nirvikalpa or the samāhita (transic) -jñāna (The form of this non-conceptual intuition is the same in the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra, cf. MSA. p. 191). "It is a mystic Gnosis, a direct supernatural intuition of the Saint (ārya)." It is immediate and entirely personal. The other is the pṛṣṭhalabdha-jñāna, the empirical (laukika) knowledge that arises in the wake of the first transcendental intuition. This knowledge is conceptual (savikalpa). "It is a logically constructed explanation of what has been perceived in trance, as far as it is capable of logical explanation" (Obermiller, *The Doctrine of Prajñāpāramitā*, p. 20.). Unlike the first, this can be communicated to others who are still ignorant. The transic culmination is reached in the Vajropamasamādhi, which is so-called being impenetrable (abhedya) by any subjective construction (vikalpa, MSA. p. 96). The process of the retracting of the Ālaya (āśrayaparāvṛtti) is completed. The intuition is absolutely pure, being free from any trace of the two obstructions (sarvakleśa-jñeyāvaraṇanirmalā). The disciple attains the universality of consciousness (sarvākārajñatā), which is no longer limited by particular objects. He rests in the absolute and ultimate reality (anuttarapada), and strives for the well-being of all humanity.

"The different stages of the disciplinary process (yoga-bhūmis) are sometimes condensed into five (MSA. 11.42.) viz., ādhāra, ādhāna, ādarśa, āloka and āśraya. Ādhāra is the reception of the verbal knowledge, taught by Buddha. Ādhāna is deep attention and meditation regarding the same. Ādarśa is the resting of consciousness in its own essence by the sublation of the object. Āloka is the correct vision of things

as they really are, by negating their externality and affirming their reality, viz., identity with consciousness. Āśraya is the consequent retracting of the Ālaya. This is nirvāṇa.

"As already discussed in the last chapter, consciousness of freedom is incompatible with freedom. One can be self-conscious of one's freedom only by contrasting it with the consciousness of bondage, and this entails entertaining the idea of objectivity still. With the total sublation of this idea, even the consciousness of having attained freedom must go. To be aware of freedom is to allow something to stand out against consciousness, be it the idea of its own freedom, and this militates against the absoluteness of consciousness. (*vijñaptimātram evedam ityapi hyupalambhataḥ sthāpayan agrataḥ kiñcit tanmātre nāvatiṣṭhate*, VMS. pp.42-3).

Mahāguhya corresponds to jñāna-sambhāra of the sambhāra-mārga. The four bhāvanās of mahāguhya are prayoga-mārga. The followers of Siddhānta call the highest yoga-mārga (mārga-yogādi) as parama-guhya. As stated on f.41b of the AS, mahāguhya comprises yoga, bhāvanā, four noble truths and ten pāramitās. While paramaguhya is to attain the Lord in embodied form, mahāguhya is the striving through yoga and bhāvanā:

four yoga

mūla-yoga	Lord in the ether
madhya-yoga	Lord in the body
avasāna-yoga	Lord in the earth
anta-yoga	Lord in the sphere of śūnyatā, the sphere of bhāvanā

four bhāvanā

śānti-bhāvanā	destruction of rāga	mūla-yoga
ūṣmī-bhāvanā	destruction of dveṣa	madhya-yoga
ūrddhva-bhāvanā	destruction of moha	avasāna-yoga
agra-bhāvanā	destruction of the above three afflictions	anta-yoga

ūsmagata, ūṣmagata 'become warm' is applied to the first stage of nirvedha-bhagīya. Nirvedha is intellectual penetration, insight. Mvy. 1210 has four states of insight: ūṣmagata (avasthā), mūrdhan (murdhāvasthā), kṣānti and laukikāgr(y)a-dharma.

This passage refers to the three saṁskṛta-lakṣaṇas: sāmānya-lakṣaṇa, sva-lakṣaṇa, and viśeṣa-lakṣaṇa which are detailed in the Prasannapadā of Candrakīrti (May 1959:106 n.256). Also see Jong 1949 n.14.

Tumūt taṅ catur āryyasatya, kavaśāk̆n denta marapvan siddhi yogabhāvanānta, lvirnya: duḥkha-satya, nirodha-satya, samudaya-satya, mārgga-satya. Nāhan lvir niṅ catur āryya-satya anuṅ gĕgönta.

Ikiṅ yoga, bhāvanā, catur āryyasatya, daśapāramitā, yatikā[41b] **sinaṅguh mahāguhya ikā.**

Sājñā mahāmpuṅku, paran pvekaṅ aji anuṅ gĕgö ni pinakaṅhulun, marapvan kapaṅgih ikaṅ parama-guhya, pāvak bhaṭāra viśeṣa, marapvan siddhi ṅhulun?//Ĭ//

Hanāji saṅ yogadhāra[1] ṅaranya, tigākṣaranya tigārthanya[2]: Advaya[3] iti, nāhan lvirnya. Advaya ṅaranya: advaya mvaṅ advaya-jñāna. Advaya ṅaranya: aṁ aḥ.

Advaya-jñāna[4] ṅaranya: ikaṅ vruh tan vikalpa[5] ri hana taya[6], tan vikalpa ri sĕla ni hana

taya, kevala humiḍĕṅ nirā-kāra. Hana liṅanteriya taha, taya liṅanteriya taha, ri sĕla niṅ (h)ana taya liṅanteriya taha, manameya-[7]phala liṅanteriya taha, [taha tapva liṅanteriya, sakaliṅa[42a]n iṅ manaṅguh] hayva juga saṅśaya, taha pva liṅanta, advayajñāna maṅkana liṅanta.

Ikaṅ aṁ-aḥ[8] mvaṅ advaya-jñāna ya advaya ṅaranya. Aṁ ṅaranya: pasuk niṅ bāyu, aṁ śabdanya, lumrā riṅ śarīra, ṅūniveh riṅ navadvāra, sūryya-rūpa ikaṅ śarīra hibĕkan denya, smṛti-sūryya ṅaran ikā. — Aḥ ṅarannya: vijil niṅ bāyu saṅke śarīra, aḥ śabdanya, mukṣa riṅ śarīra, candra-rūpa ikaṅ śarīra ri mukṣa niṅ bāyu riṅ śarīra, somyālilaṅ ahĕniṅ ikaṅ śarīra vĕkasan, śānta-candra[9] ṅaran ikā, śānta-smṛti[10] ṅaranya vaneh. Ri hana niṅ smṛti-sūryya śānta-candra dadi taṅ advaya-jñāna, patĕmu niṅ advaya mvaṅ advaya-jñāna, ya tāṅdadyakĕn divārūpa, avā sadākāla, ahĕniṅ nirāva[42b]raṇa kadi teja niṅ maṇik, apaḍaṅ rahina sadā, sugandha ṭan gavai-gavai, surūpa tan gavai-gavai, surasa tan gavai-gavai sira katon denta. Ikaṅ aṁ-aḥ yatikā sinaṅgah saṅ hyaṅ advaya ṅaran ira bapa sira de bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha. Ikaṅ jñāna vruh tan vikalpa humiḍĕṅ nirākāra[11], yatikā sinaṅgah saṅ hyaṅ advaya-jñāna ṅaranira. Saṅ hyaṅ advaya-jñāna sira ta devī bharālī Prajñā-pāramitā ṅaran ira, sira ta ibu[12] de bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha. Saṅ hyaṅ divārūpa[13] sira ta bhaṭāra hyaṅ Buddha ṅaran ira.

FOUR NOBLE TRUTHS

Now will follow the Four Noble Truths (ārya-satya). You should master them to perfect your yoga and bhāvanā. They are: duḥkha-satya (the truth of suffering), nirodha-satya (the truth of cessation), samudaya-satya (the truth of cause), mārgga-satya (the truth of the way). These are the Four Noble Truths you should adhere to.

Yoga, bhāvanā, Four Noble Truths, and Ten Pāramitās are called the *mahāguhya.*

PARAMAGUHYA

By your permission, Great Master, which doctrine(*aji*) should I follow to attain paramaguhya, the embodiment of the Supreme Being (Bhaṭāra Viśeṣa), so that I obtain perfection.//Ĭ//

There is the doctrine *(aji)* called yogādhāra. It has three letters and three denotations: a-dva-ya. It is like this. Advaya means: advaya and advaya-jñāna. Advaya means: aṁ aḥ. Advaya-jñāna means: knowledge which does not doubt existence and non-existence, does not doubt the interspace between existence and non-existence, meditate only on the formless. Existence you should consider an assumption, non-existence you should consider an assumption, the interspace between existence and non-existence you should consider an assumption, the fruit of discernment by the mind you should consider an assumption. Your consideration itself is an assumption. The statements of opinion should not be doubted. Statements are assumptions. Advaya-jñāna is thus your statement.

ADVAYA, ADVAYA-JÑĀNA

Aṁ-aḥ and advaya-jñāna are called advaya. *Am* means the inhaling of breath, *am* is its sound. It spreads throughout the body and onwards into the nine openings. The body appears like the sun (sūrya-rūpa) when pervaded by it. It is called smṛti-sūrya (the mind

illumined like the sun). *Aḥ* means exhaling breath out of the body, *ah* is its sound. It comes out of the body. The body appears like the moon (candra-rūpa), when breath comes out of the body. The body is serene, clear and pure at last, then it is śānta-candra (tranquil like the moon), it is also called śānta-smṛti (composed in mind). When smṛti-sūrya and śānta-candra are present advaya-jñāna arises, and both advaya and advaya-jñāna are experienced together. It becomes divārūpa, always adjoined, pure, un-sullied like the lustre of a crystal, always bright like the day, really fragrant, really beautiful in form, and of real good taste. Aṁ-aḥ, called the divine advaya, is the father by virtue of Bhaṭāra Buddha. The jñāna that knows without doubt and meditates on the formless (nirākāra) is called the divine advaya-jñāna. The divine advaya-jñāna is the goddess bharālī Prajñāpāramitā, she is the mother by virtue of Bhaṭāra Buddha. Divārūpa is the Supreme Buddha (Bhaṭāra Hyaṅ Buddha).

[1] After practising mahāguhya which consists of yoga, bhāvanā, the Four Noble Truths and the Ten Pāramitās, the disciple goes on to paramaguhya to obtain siddhi. Paramaguhya is the embodiment of Bhaṭāra Viśeṣa. This can be achieved through yogādhāra. Kats could not find the word yogādhāra elsewhere and hence tried to equate it with yogācāra the philosophical system founded by Asaṅga, the teacher of Diṅnāga who has been cited earlier on folio 40a as a teacher of yoga. The word *yogadhāraka* 'concentration of the mind' occurs in Ādiparva 108.14, Bhīṣmaparva 56.5, Bhārata-yuddha 23.7 (*saṅ paramasādhaka humĕnĕṅ ayogadhāraka)*, and Sutasoma 9.8, 48.2, 59.3, 125.10. It means the way of yoga. Yogādhāra is the first of the five stages (yoga-bhūmis) of the disciplinary process, namely ādhāra 'the reception of the verbal knowledge taught by the Buddha'. The other bhūmis are: ādhāna, ādarśa, āloka, āśraya (Chatterjee 1962:219). Yogādhāra is advaya.

[2] *tigārthanya* means advaya-yoga, advaya-jñāna, and advaya-śāstra/aji advaya.

[3] The AS has four expressions:

(i) advaya, as a generic term. Advaya *per se,* as a fundamental term, is 'non-duality', the quintessential Buddhist doctrine. In Mahāvyutpatti 1717 *advayam* (Tib. *gñis.su.med.pa* non-duality) is listed among *paramārtha-paryāyāḥ* 'synonyms for the true doctrine'. In Mahāvastu 1.237.14 *advayasaṁjñā udapasi* 'consciousness of non-duality arose in him (so that he resolved to become a Buddha)' (Edgerton p.11). An epithet of the Buddha is *Advaya-vādin* 'preaching non-duality' in Mvy.23 and Divyāvadāna 95.13.

(ii) advaya-yoga (46b) or aṁ-aḥ (folios 42-46)

In certain passages of the AS advaya=advaya-yoga 'yoga of non-duality', a term which occurs once in AS 53.1 and thrice in Sutasoma 41.1, 145.6, and 147.5. The last stanza 147.5c reads: *mukhyān advaya-yoga rakva karuhun pavarah ira ri saṅ rva guhyaka* "foremost among them the advaya-yoga which was the king's instruction to both

the initiates" (Soewito Santoso).

Advaya-yoga is aṁ-aḥ (inhaling and exhaling) and is the father (bapa) element. The yogic states of smṛti-sūrya and śānta-candra lead to advaya-jñāna. Advaya-jñāna is nirākāra, the mother (ibu) element, the Prajñāpāramitā. The coming together of the two elements of advaya-yoga and of advaya-jñāna, transcends into the yogic state of Divārūpa, by which the yogin attains The Supreme Buddhahood.

(iii) advaya-jñāna (folios 42-46)

(iv) aji advaya (43a), advaya-śāstra (43b), to reach (ii) advaya-yoga and (iii) advaya-jñāna.

Advaya is constant integration, harmonising at every step. It is part of the third darśana-mārga 'path of vision' wherein one has an intuition of the highest reality free from false dualism of the knower and the known (Chatterjee 1962:218). The AS propounds successive stages of jñāna→yoga→Buddhahood. After jñāna, one practises yoga, which transcends into Buddhahood. The stages are interlinked as advaya.

1. Jñāna aspect of knowledge
   advaya[-yoga] + advaya-jñāna=advaya
   advaya[-yoga] is aṁ-aḥ
   advaya-jñāna is nirvikalpa jñāna
2. Yoga aspect of meditational practice
   aṁ-aḥ (advaya-yoga) + advaya-jñāna=advaya
   aṁ=inhaling of breath, which sounds aṁ
   The body becomes sūrya-rūpa
   Termed smṛti-sūrya
   aḥ=exhaling of breath, which sounds aḥ
   The body becomes candra-rūpa
   Termed śānta-candra, also śānta-smṛti
   smṛti-sūrya + śānta-candra>advaya-jñāna

Divārūpa	The Supreme Buddha (Bhaṭāra Hyaṅ Buddha)
aṁ-aḥ	advaya[-yoga] father (bapa) element
jñāna	advaya-jñāna mother (ibu) element/ Prajñāpāramitā

The three analogous formations of sūrya-rūpa, candra-rūpa, and Divā-rūpa are yogic terms.

The confluence of advaya and prajñā occurs on folios 46b-47a. The thirtyseven letters are advayātmaka (48b).

Hiorth 1984:35 says that "the god Advaya (not-two) is presented as the father of the god Buddha and Prajñāpāramitā as the mother". He follows the translation of Soewito Santoso (Sutasoma 41.4). Its new interpretation is given below.

Hiorth 1984:38 summarises the interpretation of Kats 1910:192 in the following words: "The origin of everything is Advaya (Non-Duality). Advaya gives rise to another Advaya and to Advaya-jñāna (Non-Duality knowledge), and these again to Divārūpa (Divine form). From the Divārūpa the Bhaṭāra Buddha (Lord B.) arises. He is the origin of all Buddhas, the first being Śākyamuni." This interpretation of AS which started with Kats, who edited the text for the first time, has to be revised.

The Sutasoma of Mpu Tantular refers to the yoga of non-duality in 39.4c, 5a, and summarises it in 41.1-4:

1. ... ...
   bheda mvaṅ Jinatatva teki ri siraṅ boddhāprameyeṅ jagat/
   saṅ hyaṅ Advaya-yoga-sandhi pinakeṣṭi-dvāra saṅ bhiṣuka/
   aṁ-aḥ śabda nikaṅ svabāyu ri ḍalĕm kaṇṭha prasiddhaṅ hayu//
2. *rĕp prāptaṅ ravi soma de nya sumaput riṅ deha śuddhakṛti/*
   mvaṅ taṅ advayacitta divya mapagĕh ṅkāne manaḥ nirbhaya/
   pöh niṅ rvānupamātiśighra ri vijil hyaṅ Buddha tan kāvaran/
   śūnyākāra devāṅga nirmmala, sirān nirbbāṇa nirllakṣaṇa//
3. ... ...
   siṅgih yan Paramārthabuddha tĕmahan saṅ siddha yogīśvara/
   icchā nora kasaṅśayāganal alit, tanmātra mātreṅ sarāt//
4. *nāhan hetu bhaṭāra Buddha kahiḍĕp putrāprameyeṅ jagat/*
   saṅ hyaṅ Advaya rāma tatva nira de saṅ paṇḍitaṅhayvani/
   Prajñāpāramitebu tan sah i sĕḍĕṅ niṅ yoga sānusmṛti/

1. [Śaivism] differs from Buddhism, which is unequalled in the world for Buddhists.
   which is the advaya-yoga-sandhi, the access to desired salvation for bhiksus.
   Aṁ-aḥ is the sound of their own breath in the pharynx, which accomplishes bliss.
2. All at once (*rĕp*), Sun and Moon rise and pervade the body which has been purified,
   then the divine advayacitta becomes steadfast, in the heart without fear.
   The result of the convergence of these two incomparables is the immediate manifestation of the Buddha, unveiled,
   God in the form of Śūnya/Void, of immaculate limbs, nirvāṇa beyond attributes.
3. Truly He is the Supreme Buddha, the manifestation of perfect great ascetics
   Tranquil, fearing nothing, coarse and fine, subtle as well as gross in the world.
4. That is why the Buddha is considered by the monks (*putra*) without compare in the world.
   The divine Advaya is the father element, according to yogīs who practise bliss (*hayu*).

Prajñāpāramitā is the mother, inseparable [from her spouse] at the time of yoga in the stage of evocation (*anusmṛti*).

See J. Ensink, Sutasoma's teaching to Gajavaktra, the Snake and the Tigress (Tantular, Sutasoma Kakavin 38.1-42.4), *BKI* 130 (1974).195-226.

Advaya 'non-duality' is the focal point of the present text of Advaya-sādhana. It integrates the dualities of knowledge and the dual processes of yoga into the non-dual, into advaya. The two tantras of Mahāvairocana-sūtra and the Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha are non-dual. The first tantra represents jñāna and the caryā-tantras, while the second is a yoga-tantra and is devoted to yoga, to be precise to samaya-yoga. Advaya, *funi* in Japanese, is also central to Japanese Mantrayāna. It is explained by Kōbō Daishi, in his Sokushin-jōbutsu-gi as follows: "Mahāvairocana in the Mahāvairocana-sūtra is the body of reason which is symbolized by a lotus... Mahāvairocana of the Tattvasaṅgraha is the body of the wisdom which is symbolized by a vajra. The vajra is the wisdom that removes ignorance (avidyā) and affliction. The body of reason in the Mahāvairocana-sūtra represents the reason in the mercy that is not yet realized and the body of the wisdom in the Tattvasaṅgraha represents the wisdom that enlightens. The former is represented by the Garbha maṇḍala and the latter by the Vajradhātu maṇḍala. Daishi says that the body of reason and the body of wisdom are not two (advaya): "what realizes is the wisdom and what is realized is the reason". So the reason and the wisdom are not two (advaya), and Vajradhātu and Garbha are not two... Abbot Hui-kuo affirmed for the first time the advaya of reason and wisdom, the advaya of Vajradhātu maṇḍala and Garbha maṇḍala. The Mahāvairocana-sūtra says as to the development of wisdom: "The bodhicitta is the cause, mahākaruṇā (great compassion) is the root, and the expedient is ultimate" and also "the complete Enlightenment is to know one's own mind exactly as it is". The reason that is to be realized is in all the sentient beings and it is wisdom that manifests the reason. It is to know the reason of one's own mind by means of wisdom" (Yamamoto 1987:90).

Hakeda 1972:85 interprets the above passage as follows:

"The Mahāvairocana of the Vajraśekhara Sutra, the Body of Wisdom, is symbolized by the vajra.... The vajra stands for the power of illumination, for penetrating insight that breaks through the darkness of ignorance, for infallibility, dynamic function, and actualization. In the Mahāvairocana Sutra, on the other hand, Mahāvairocana appears as the Body of Principle and is represented by a lotus which stands for Principle yet unrealized, compassion, potentiality, growth, and creativity. Hence, the Body of Wisdom is represented by the Diamond Mandala; the Body of Principle, by the Matrix Mandala. Kukai interpreted these two aspects of Mahavairocana as being inseparably related and asserted that both Bodies are nondual (richi funi). He said: "That which realizes is

Wisdom (*chi)* and that which is to be realized is Principle (*ri).* The names differ but they are one in their essential nature."

Advaya has been an important concept in Buddhism. The Buddha is called Advayavādin in the Amarakośa (Nakamura 1983:124 n.44). This epithet is repeated in the Divyāvadāna 95.13. *Advaya-saṁjñā udapāsi* 'consciousness of non-duality arose in him' (so that he resolved to become a Buddha) Mahāvastu 1.237. Mahāvyutpatti 23 lists advayavādin in the section *Tathāgatasya paryāya-nāmāni.* In the Saṁyutta-nikāya 2.17 the Buddha denies the duality *(dvayatā)* of existence (*atthitā*) and non-existence (*natthitā),* which two terms refer to the theories of eternalism (*sassata-diṭṭhi*) and annihilationism (*uccheda-diṭṭhi*). *An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles* 1.1459-61 is a rich source of information on advaya and it gives further references to Advayavādin as a name of Buddha: SāṁkhyaPraBh.15.10 on 1.20, Mā. 1.85, Vaija.5.34, ŚabdaRa.(Vā.)76, KalpaK.84.144.

The leading concept in the Vimalakīrti-nirdésa-sūtra, existing prior to AD 200 or 150 (Nakamura 1980:224) is advaya in the chapter advaya-praveśa. The Sandhi-nirmocana-sūtra, translated by Paramārtha into Chinese in AD-557, has advaya (Tib. *gñis.min* 1.6) and advayajñāna (*gñis.med.paḥi.śes.pa* 4.9). The Daśabhūmika-sūtra (5c) of the Avataṁsaka also speaks of advaya. The Citta-viśuddhi-prakaraṇa:

anādi-nidhanaṁ śāntam bhāvābhāva-vivarjitam /
nirvikalpaṁ nirālamban-āvasthitam advayam //

Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi of Anaṅgavajra 4.17 (about AD 650-800, Nakamura 1980:337):

etad advayam ity uktaṁ bodhicittam idaṁ param/
vajraṁ śrī-Vajrasattvaṁ ca sambuddho bodhir eva ca//

Advaya-siddhi-sādhana by Lakṣmīkarā (9th century) occurs in the Tibetan Tanjur (Toh.2220) and reminds of the title of our work Advaya-sādhana.

In the Mahāvyutpatti 1717 *advaya* as designation of the Buddhist doctrine is listed among *parāmartha-paryāyāḥ* 'synonyms for the true doctrine'. Other occurrences are:
Sūtrānta-uddhṛtāni tathāgata-māhātmya-nāmāni
352 *Advaya-samudācāraḥ*
367 *Advaya-buddha-vihāra-parama-pārami-prāptaḥ*
Daśa-kṛtsn-āyatanāni
1539 *Pṛthivī-kṛtsnam ity eke saṁjānate ity ūrdhvam adhas tiryag advayam apramāṇam*
Paramātha-paryāyāḥ
1717 *advayam*
1713 *advayam etad advaidhīkaram abhinnam acchinnam*

In Japanese Mantrayāna (Shingon) too *funi=advaya* is central to the non-duality

of the Twin Maṇḍalas (Matsunaga 1974:175) as Bodies of Wisdom and Principle (*richi funi).* Mind and matter remain the same in their essential nature, they are non-dual (Hakeda 1972:89). The Japanese encyclopaedia of Mantrayāna, *Mikkyō Daijiten* 4.1958-1960 s.v. *funi* details advaya.

Advaya has been used in several contexts and in different meanings:
advaya tantra: neither father tantra nor mother tantra
advaya of prajñā and upāya (Joshi 1967:356f.)
advaya of śūnyatā and karuṇā (Bhattacharyya 1932:101f.)
advaya: the fusion in embrace, naddhayuga (ib.103, Dasgupta 1958:113f.)
advaya: free from the duality of the extremes (antas or dṛṣṭis) of 'Is' and 'Is not' (Murti 1960:217)
Advaya is integration, harmony, fusion.

Advayavajra gives three yānas: śrāvaka-yāna, pratyeka-yāna and mahāyāna. Mahāyāna has two branches: pāramita-naya and mantra-naya. This section integrates these three phases in the evolution of Buddhism. The early phase is represented by daśaśīla and four Noble Truths. The historic Buddha Śākyamuni is Advayavādin. The second phase of pāramitānaya is advaya-jñāna. Jñāna as pāramitā is represented by Prajñāpāramitā. The third phase of mantra-naya is beyond all. The hierophant observes the fundamental vows of daśaśīla, attains the supreme knowledge of pāramitā-naya symbolised by Prajñāpāramitā, and gains emancipating illumination of the Buddha Vairocana.

To attain Buddhahood in a time shorter than by non-tantric methods, in this very life, "the speeding up process involves contemplation of oneself as a god, contemplation of a god in front from the sphere of the void, introduction of the 'wisdom' (jñāna) beings into oneself; and this may involve prāṇāyāma (breath and mind control)" (Wayman 1992:38).

Fundamental to the Vajrayāna doctrine is the concept of the non-duality (*advaita*) of mind and phenomenal forms (on the non-duality of forms and Mind see MKDJT p.910 s.v. *Shiki shin funi* "The Non-duality of Form and Mind"; BKDJT p.2373 s.v. *Jū fu ni mon* "The Gate of the Ten Non-Dualities", Snodgrass 1985:147). *Kendo muni,* written as 見道無二 or as, 顯道無二 is the Realization of the principle of non-duality at the stage of the 'path of insight' */kendō. Kendō* is darśana-mārga, the stage of spiritual progress in which one awakens for the first time the undefiled wisdom with which one penetrates the principle of reality. In Mahāyāna, it corresponds to the first bhūmi/*shoji* (Inagaki 1984:174).

[4] *Advaya-jñāna* is explained as vajra-jñāna in AS.52.5: *bajrajñāna ṅaranya saṅ hyaṅ advaya-jñāna.* The tantric practitioner seeks admission into absolute awareness

(advaya-jñāna, Bhāvanākrama ed. G. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts)*. The perfect mode of life is expressed in the Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi as advayākāra-yoga (Upadhyaya 1988:11). Nāma-saṅgīti 6.6. (Wayman 1985:75) speaks of *advayo 'dvayavādī ca* 'not the two, preaching there is not two.' Its Smṛti commentary interprets *advaya* as 'neither apprehendable (*grāhya)* nor apprehender (*grāhaka)'.

[5] *Vikalpa* 'subjective construction' (Chatterjee 1962:219). Vimalamitra wrote a treatise on non-conceptual (*nirvikalpa*) meditative realisation (*bhāvanā*), in which entry is simultaneous or gradual (Ruegg 1981:107).

In Buddhist philosophy advaya is the knowledge devoid of the catuṣkoṭi which are: *asti, nāsti, asti nāsti, nāsti nāsti* (*Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti Kośa* 1.111). Advaya-tārak-opaniṣad, 53rd of the 108 upaniṣads, describes the steps of yoga.

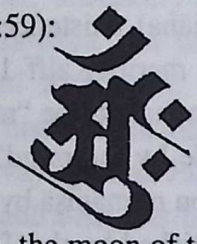
[6] *hana taya* is *asti nāsti* 'existence and non-existence' of the Ratnāvalī of Nāgārjuna. In higher knowledge (jñāna) existence and non-existence cease, there is a going beyond (*vyatikrama)* evil and merit (Kalff 1983:74).

[7] Zoetmulder takes mānameyaphala to be "manomayaphala, product of the mind? manomeya, discernible or measurable by the mind?" It is a technical term of mīmāṁsā which occurs in the title of a primer on mīmāṁsā by Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa of the 16th century: Mānameyodaya. This work was published by the Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras, but is not accessible to us. In this he gives "an account of Kumārila's views on the nature of proof... The work is interesting as showing how far the school of Kumārila went in appropriating the views of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy". (A Berriedale Keith, *The Karma-Mīmāṁsā*, The Heritage of India Series, Calcutta, 1921:14). It can be *manomeya,* compare *manojalpa* 'subjective creations' (Chatterjee 1962:217).

[8] The section on am or inhaling and aḥ or exhaling has striking parallels in Vairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra and Sarva-durgati-pariśodhana-kalpa. The AS says that during inhalation or aṁ the wind goes to the nine orifices or navadvāra, and the body glows like the sun. During exhalation or aḥ, the body shines like the moon: it is serene, cleansed and pure. This reflects the Sanskrit *svacchāḥ śuddhā hy anāvilāḥ* (VAS 2.230, Wayman 1992:19). By the confluence of the lunar and solar states the highest state of mind is reached. The VAS 5.4cd, 5 (ibid.162) says that one should restrain and purify prāṇa and āyāma. Prāṇa is 'wind' and āyāma is 'stretching unto (the mind)'. The DPK comm. 53.3.5 says: "Drawing back by reiteration (Tib. *slar sdud)*, the mind restrains the prāṇa and āyāma. Ibid. 73.1.3: "Prāṇa is the wind (*vāyu)* characterized as issuing from, and entering, the eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, navel, male and female sex organs, the unclean orifice, the pores of head hair and body hair." "Restraining it means, in the present context, preventing the ingress and exit" (ibid.162).

In the terminology of the AS, the āṁ āḥ, the surya and candra-rūpa transcend into the Diva-rūpa, which reminds of the Abhisambodhi Vairocana of the VAS. In the quarter of Ākāśagarbha in the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala there are five bodhisattvas whose names end in *-mati*. Among them is Gagana-mati, Gaganāmala[mati] and Viśuddha-mati. The three together point to mind immaculate *(amala, viśuddha)* like the sky (*gagana*, Tajima 1959:117)

ĀḤ is the symbolic syllable of Vairocana in the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala in Japan. From the void/śūnyatā comes the symbolic seed syllable. "From the seed, the conception of an icon develops, and from that conception, the external representation of the icon is derived" (Mahāsukha-prakāśa, Stevens 1981:27). Another seed syllable of the same Vairocana is ĀṂḤ (ĀṂ + ĀḤ), which occurs in the Thirteen Deities venerated on special days following a believer's death (ibid. 59,48). The combined syllables *āṁ* and *āḥ* are the bija of Vairocana (Stevens 1981:59):



[9] *śānta-candra* 'tranquil moon, the moon of tranquility' (Zoetmulder). It occurs in the AS:

49:20 *taṅ bayu aḥ .... mukṣa riṅ śarīra, atĕmah śānta-candra somyālila*
54.13 *aṁ-aḥ jñāna-sūrya śānta-candra*
80.11 *ya śānta-candra ṅaran iṅ smṛti yan maṅkana.*

"The Bodhicitta-śāstra proposes five stages of meditation for realizing buddhahood, technically referred to as *gosō-jōshin-kan (pañcākārābhisambodhi-krama)*, the meditation on the five marks of buddhahood:

a) seeing the moon (bodhi) through a thin layer of cloud (ignorance);
b) clearing that cloud;
c) becoming one with the moon;
d) realizing non-duality; and
e) perfecting bodhicitta (the identity of man and the Buddha).

The number 16 (as in the case of the 16 prajñā- and 16 samādhi-bodhisattvas) is employed because the cultivation of bodhicitta is described metaphorically to be like the sixteen waxing phases of the moon. The full moon is conceived as the complete revelation of bodhicitta, the identity of man and the Buddha" (Kiyota 1982:38).

"Why is the disc of the moon employed as a simile? Because a perfect full moon is like bodhicitta. The moon disc has sixteen phases. This is the simile of the sixteen bodhisattvas—from Vajrasattva to Vajrasaṁdhi—realized in yoga" (Kiyota 1982:87).

6. [The sixteen phases of the moon and their implication in meditation]

There is an element of pureness—fully prepared to perform various practices—in the minds of all beings. This element is extremely subtle, pure and bright. Though it transmigrates within the six destinies, it does not change, like the light essence which does not change in any one of the sixteen phases of the moon: a part of the light of the moon is absorbed by the sun, such as at the time of the new moon: [at that time] the nature of its light is not manifested but afterwards, the moon arises, increasing its brightness day by day, until it reaches fullness after the fifteenth day" (Kiyota 1982:89).

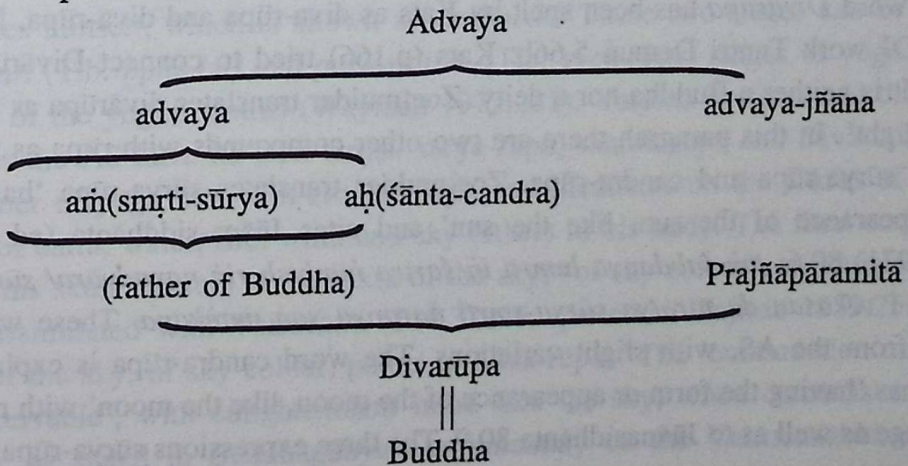
[10] *śānta-smṛti* 'with composed mind, meditation in tranquility' Zoetmulder.

[11] According to Advayavajra (1927:14), yogācāra has two divisions of sākāra and nirākāra (*yogācāraś ca dvividhaḥ: sākāra-nirākāra-bhedena).* In AS 44b: according to the masters of nirākāra the supreme is the fruit of pratyakṣa, while according to those following sākāra it transcends into the Ratnatraya and Pañca-Tathāgata. Later on AS 52b states that knowledge (jñāna) is of three kinds: vāhyaka, sākāra and nirākāra.

[12] AS uses the expressions *bapa sira de bhaṭāra hyaṅ Buddha,* and *sira ta ibu de bhaṭāra hyaṅ Buddha.* The two expressions do not mean father of Buddha or mother of Buddha. The OJ *de* does not mean 'of'. *De* is 'by (through the agency of), condition, cause, reason' Zoetmulder.

Through advaya-yoga (aṁ-aḥ) one accomplishes bliss. Sun and Moon manifest in the purified body, and divine advaya-citta becomes firm in the mind without fear. It is followed by an instantaneous manifestation of the Buddha, who is the divine being of śūnya form, pure and devoid of characteristics, the Supreme Buddha as visualised by yogīśvaras, subtle and gross at the same time, and inconceivable. Advaya-yoga the father-element and advaya-jñāna the mother-element as Prajñāpāramitā are indistinguishable in the stage of manifestation in yoga.

Kats p.167 has tabulated this section as follows:



This table is a misleading statement of the ideas propounded in the AS. Kats gives a feeling of linear evolution, rather than successive ascension through advaya of various stages, in which analogical correspondences are crucial. The followers of the Nyāya school accepted analogy as an independent valid source of knowledge. In agreement with them, Candrakīrti accepted all four sources of knowledge (*pramāṇa)* in practical life, namely direct perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāṇa*), testimony (*śabda*) which is the lineage of trustworthy persons (*āptāgama)*, and analogy (*upamāna*) (Wayman 1973:31).

It has to be revised as follows:

advaya[-yoga] **sūryarūpa**(aṁ) **candrarūpa** (aḥ) father element	⟵ **Divārūpa** ⟶	advaya-jñāna Prajñāpāramitā mother element

Advaya means harmonisation of apposites and opposites. All dualities resolve into the non-duality (advaya) of harmonisation. When advaya-yoga and advaya-jñāna are harmonised they become the father and mother elements respectively, and the supreme yogic state of Divārūpa is realised as the nirākāra which corresponds to the Supreme Buddha of the sākāra. The father and mother concept has been invoked by Divārūpa or the Sky element as a mythic resonance of the complementarity of Sky and Earth as father and mother, the inherent bipartite concept of *Dyauṣ pitā* and *Pṛthivī mātā* in the Ṛgveda (Macdonald 90). The conception of Earth as mother and Heaven as father is from a remote antiquity. It has its echo in the Supreme god of the ancient Greeks Zeus (Latin *Diēs-piter > Jū-piter, Dyauṣ-pitar*) and Demeter *(Dēmeter*, Doric Greek *Dāmāter* 'earth-mother' from *dā* Doric equivalent of Greek *gẽ* 'earth').

[13]DIVĀRŪPA

The word *Divārūpa* has been spelt by Kats as diva-rūpa and divā-rūpa. It occurs in another OJ work Tantri Demuṅ 5.66b. Kats (p.166) tried to connect Divārūpa with Dipaṅkara. It is neither a Buddha nor a deity. Zoetmulder translates divārūpa as '(having a) body of light'. In this paragrah there are two other compounds with rūpa as the final component: sūrya-rūpa and candra-rūpa. Zoetmulder translates sūrya-rūpa 'having the form or appearance of the sun, like the sun' and cites Jñāna-siddhānta (ed. Haryati Soebadio 1971) 80.6: *aṁ śabdanya lumrā iṅ śarīra ṅūniveh riṅ navadvāra/ sūrya-rūpa ikaṅ śarīra i věkasan de nira/ya sūrya-smṛti ṅaranya yan mańkana.* These words are taken over from the AS, with slight variations. The word candra-rūpa is explained by Zoetmulder as 'having the form or appearance of the moon, like the moon' with reference to our passage as well as to Jñānasidhānta 80.9. The three expressions sūrya-rūpa, candra-

rūpa and Divā-rūpa refer to the sun, moon and sky. They are yogic terms.

The word Divārūpa is not found in MW or Edgerton. Divā occurs as the first element of compounds, like *divākara*=sun (AV, MBh, Ram, etc). *Divā* is 'heaven, sky' (MW), *divakṣas* 'heavenly' RV, *divaukasa* is the name of a yakṣa in the Divyāvadāna. *Divā* is well attested in Sanskrit for sky. *Divā* is from the root *div* 'to shine, be bright'. *Dyāvā-pṛthivī* 'heaven and earth' are sky the father (*dyauṣ pitā)*, and earth the mother. Greek *Zeus, Divos* are cognate to *dyauṣ, divas.* The second element *rūpa* does not mean 'body, form, appearance', but 'like or having the characteristics' of the prefixed word, that are the sun or the moon or the sky.

The word Divārūpa has been used in the AS in six passages. On folio 42ab, it is the culmination of advaya-yoga and advaya-jñāna. Divārūpa is equivalent to Buddha (that is Vairocana). The coalescence of the quintessence of jñāna and yoga, is Divārūpa (folio 43a). The disciple should know the lakṣaṇas and sādhana to attain Divārūpa (folio 45b). When jñāna is pervaded by the immaculate in your mind (*nirmalākāra ri svacittanta*), it becomes Divārūpa (folio 46b). Divārūpa is the embodiment (*āvak)* of Lord Buddha i.e. Vairocana (folio 52a, and again on folio 52b). Divārūpa becomes Ratnatraya (folio 54a). Throughout the AS Divārūpa is the highest stage in yoga by attaining which a disciple becomes the embodiment of Vairocana, that is, he attains Buddhahood. As luminescence, Divārūpa is equal to The Buddha, i.e. Vairocana who is effulgence (*rocana*). Divārūpa is not a deity, as has been the impression. It is supreme illumination during yoga, that transcends the effulgence of the sun and the moon.

The three terms (sūrya-rūpa, candra-rūpa, and divā-rūpa) referring to the sun, moon and sky, are three stages in yoga. The Pañcakrama 4.25-27 says that a disciple should get proper instructions and practise yoga in two steps (krama): drawing the winds into the heart, he enters the pinnacle of creation (*bhūtakoṭi)* which is known as *piṇḍagrāha.* Having illumined all stationery and moving life (plants and animals) he illumines himself, which is known as *anubheda.* These two stages can be compared to *saṅkrānti* (Tib. *ḥpho.ba)* and *purāvatāra* (Tib. *groṅ.ḥjug)* stages of yoga in the terminology of the yoginī-tantras (Wayman 1977:281). Various systems had different terms. So does the AS have its own terms: sūrya-rūpa, candra-rūpa and Divārūpa. A Shingon practioner of yoga, sits with crossed legs, and meditates on the cakras of the five elements of earth, water, fire, wind and sky (ether) in his body. The final contemplation is on top his skull wherein is the cakra of the sky, "of sky colour", of rounded form. Thus he is assimilated with Vairocana (T18.31a25, quoted in Tajima 1959:258). The final cakra of the sky, of sky colour, points to Divā-rūpa. "The 'continuation mind' is called 'inconceivable', with enlightenment mind like the sky, when dharmas are not apprehended' as stated in Buddhaguhya's commentary on the Vairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra

(Wayman 1992:187 n.28). Vajrayāna, the best way (*yānavaraṁ)*, is beyond existence and non-existence, and immaculate like the sky(*asti-nāsti-vyatikrāntam ākāśam iva nirmalaṁ)* according to VAS 2.58, 60 (Wayman 1992:18-19). Thus the sky symbolises the climax, culmination and pinnacle, illumination immaculate.

The commentary on Mahavairocana-sūtra says: "In Sanskrit Vairocana is one of the names of the sun ... These are some of the reasons why Vairocana is compared with the sun of this world but since the former resembles him very little, the qualifying word 'great' (*mahā*) is added to his name and he is called Mahāvairocana" (T 1796:39.579a4-19, Wayman/Tajima 1992:248).

In the Tendai denomination of Mantrayāna, Chih-I classified the development of Buddhist teachings into five temporal periods, comparable to the (i) sun at dawn, (ii) the sun at a point that illuminates the lowest valleys, (iii) the sun at 8 a.m., (iv) the sun at 10 a.m., (v) the sun at high noon. The five periods are cited below from Matsunaga 1974:1.152:

Five Periods

a) Time of the *Avataṁsaka,* immediately after the Enlightenment of the Buddha, when he taught the essence of his Enlightenment but was unable to be understood by his disciples. Comparable to the sun at dawn, whose rays touch only the highest mountain peaks.

b) Time of Deer Park, when he preached the *Nikāyas*. This was also known as the time of 'inducement' or 'attraction' since the purpose of the teachings was to prepare the disciples for Mahāyāna. The sun at a point that illuminates the lowest valleys and canyons.

c) Time of the *Vaipulya,* when the Hīnayānists were converted to Mahāyāna. Sutras such as the *Vimalakirti nirdeśa* and *Laṅkāvatāra* were preached. Comparable to the sun at 8 a.m., the time of the monk's meal.

d) Time of *Prajñāpāramitā,* when the doctrine of *śūnyatā* was emphasized. Comparable to the sun at 10 a.m.

e) Time of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* and *Māhaparinirvāṇa Sūtras.* The *Lotus Sutra* was considered to be the supreme doctrine taught by the Buddha uniting the temporary teaching of the three vehicles (Śrāvaka, Pratyeka Buddha and Bodhisattva) into one vehicle. The ultimate objective of these five periods was to lead the Śrāvakas to the perfect teachings of the *Lotus*. The *Nirvana sutra* served as a resumé of the previous teachings and source of Enlightenment for those not included in the *Lotus*. Comparable to the sun at high noon, which illuminates the entire earth without distinction.

The sun was the greatest symbol of spreading light everywhere, but limited. It can illuminate the exterior, but cannot penetrate the interior. The moon was also a symbol of sober light, gentle and subdued. Beyond the illuminating Sun (sūrya-rūpa) and the serene Moon (candra-rūpa) is the Sky, which provides a comparison with the highest state e.g. in the Bodhicaryāvātara 1.19:

avicchinnāḥ puṇyadhārāḥ pravartante nabhaḥsamāḥ /

In the Chāndogy-opaniṣad 7.12.2 *ākāśa* is worshipped as Brahma: *saḥ yaḥ ākāśaṁ Brahmeti upāste.*

According to Advayavajra 1927:18 citta is formless, beyond effulgence, and like the pure and infinite sky: *nirākāra-vādi-yogācāras tu cittam eva idam anākāra-svasaṁvedana-rūpam iti manyate/ taduktam:*

yāvad ābhāsate yac ca tan mayaiva ca bhāsat /
tattvato hi nirābhāsaḥ śuddh-ānanta-nabhonibhaḥ //

Nabho-nibha is the same as Divā-rūpa.

Advayavajra 1927:39 compares the knowledge of prajñā to the immaculate sky of autumn: *prajñā-jñānam eva abhyasyamāna-śarad-amala-gagana-saṁkāśam.* Gagana-saṁkāśa is synonymous with divā-rūpa.

Divāpuruṣa is a synonym of mahāśūnya in the Pañcakrama p.28:

divāpuruṣa-saṁjñā ca kharākārā ca dakṣiṇā /
sūryamaṇḍala-saṁjñā ca vajrasaṁjñā tathaiva ca //3.21//
kalā saiva tu vijñeyā bindudvaya-vibhūṣitā /
divākarāṁśū-saṁkāśā ālokābhāsa-yogajā //3.22//
ālokasy-opalabdhiś ca upalabdhaṁ tathaiva ca /
pariniṣpannakaṁ caiva avidyā caiva nāmataḥ //3.23//
mahāśūnya-padasyaite paryāyāḥ kathitā jinaiḥ /

Saṅsipta niṅ aṁ-aḥ mvaṅ advaya-jñāna ya rasa niṅ aji advaya ikā.[1] Ikaṅ aji advaya[2] sari niṅ aji tarkka vyā[43a]**karaṇa.**

Uli(h)an iṅ aṅaji tarkka: vruha riṅ advaya-jñāna, āpan bharālī Prajñā-pāramitā vĕkas niṅ jñāna pinet [n]iṅ maṅaji tarkka, hetunyan prakaraṇa[3] kāraṇa ri kapaṅgihan bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha. Phala niṅ maṅaji vyākaraṇa vruha ri saṅ hyaṅ advaya, apan aṁ-aḥ vĕkas niṅ aji vyākaraṇa, hetunyan vyākaraṇa kāraṇa nira ri katĕmvana saṅ hyaṅ advaya-jñāna. Patĕmu niṅ vyākaraṇa mvaṅ prakaraṇa yatikā mijilakĕn aji tantra, pinakāvak bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha.

Saṅsiptanya: taṅ jñāna avak bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha, apan pĕh niṅ jñāna matĕmu lāvan bāyu huměněṅ inandĕlakĕn iṅ śabda aṁ-aḥ, ikaṅ sinaṅguh saṅ hyaṅ divārūpa[4] ṅaran ira. Saṅkse[43b]**panya: artha niṅ advayaśāstra ya ta udik[5] pĕgatakna[6] gĕsĕṅananta ri sadābhyāsa, sādhanantāt maṅgihakna ṅ kahyaṅbuddhān.**

Mapa de niṅ luměkasa, makasādhana saṅ hyaṅ advaya. Tan kari ikaṅ bāyu aṁ maṅkana liṅnya, ya ta isĕp i tutuk, andĕlakĕn i guruṅ-guruṅan, hayva ta vavarĕṅö ri pasuk vĕtu niṅ bāyu sakeṅ iruṅ; ikaṅ inandĕlakĕn iṅ guruṅ-guruṅan, ya ta lumrā humiběk i śarīranta kabeh, atĕmah sūryya raktavarṇa. Muvah dadyakna [ṅ] taṅ bāyu aḥ, maṅkana liṅnya: andĕlakĕn i guruṅ-guruṅan, mukṣa riṅ śarīra, atĕmah śānta-candra, somyalīla, saprāṇāyāma ṅaran ikā, nityaśa kita maṅkana, hilaṅ sarvvakleśanta, ri huvus nikā, andĕlakĕn taṅ buddhānusmaraṇa.[7]

AJI ADVAYA (LOGIC, GRAMMAR), ADVAYA-JÑĀNA

In short, aṁ-aḥ (advaya-yoga) and advaya-jñāna are the essence of aji advaya (advaya-śāstra). The aji advaya is the quintessence of logic (aji tarkka) and grammar (vyākaraṇa).

The result of studying logic is that one can know the advaya-jñāna, for bharālī Prajñāpāramitā is the ultimate of jñāna, sought by one who studies logic. This is why logic (*prakaraṇa*) is a means to attain the Supreme Buddha. The fruit (*phala)* of studying

grammar is that one can know the sacred advaya. For aṁ-aḥ is the ultimate of grammar. That is why grammar is a means to obtain the sacred advaya-jñāna. The combination of grammar and logic (*vyākaraṇa mvaṅ prakaraṇa*) brings forth the aji tantra which is the embodiment of the Supreme Buddha. In short, jñāna is the body of the Supreme Buddha. When the quintessence of jñāna combines with silent breathing, it gets established in the sound aṁ-aḥ and this is called Divārūpa. In brief, the goal (*artha)* of advaya-śāstra is to go ashore (*udik)* by reducing the austerities of constant practice. It is a means of your attaining Buddhahood.

How can one begin so as to realise the divine advaya? The breathing *aṁ* does not stay behind. It is sucked in through the mouth and stabilised in the throat. Pay no attention to the going in or out of breath through the nose. When stabilised in the throat it spreads out, fills your entire body, and finally becomes like the red-coloured sun. The becoming of the breathing *aḥ* is as follows: stabilise it in the throat, release it in the body, it becomes śānta-candra, peaceful and serene. It is termed practising prāṇāyāma. When you are in this state constantly, all your evil inclinations will disappear. After this, be steady in meditation on the Buddha (buddhānusmaraṇa).

[1] After grounding in logic and grammar one studies the tantras. Hereafter one takes up the philosophy of non-duality (advaya-śāstra, aji advaya). It is followed by the practice of advaya-yoga (aṁ-aḥ). Having perfected yoga, one practises meditation on the Buddha, to attain Buddhahood.

[2] *aji advaya=advaya-śāstra* 'the doctrine of non-duality', cited by Zoetmulder only from SH.49.9

[3] *prakaraṇa* does not mean simply 'treatment, discussion, explanation' as rendered by Zoetmulder, but is used here in the specific sense of logic. Compare below: *vyākaraṇa mvaṅ prakaraṇa*

[4] The definition of *Divārūpa* as the ultimate stage when the essence of jñāna combines with silent breathing and gets stabilised in aṁ-aḥ (advaya-yoga) makes it clear that Divārūpa is the final stage in yoga. It is a yogic term and not the name of a deity.

[5] *udik* 'to rise, to proceed upstream, to land, go ashore' Zoetmulder.

[6] *pĕgat* 'cut through, cut off, finish, accomplish, to go straight through, cross, traverse, take the shortest way through' Zoetmulder. It refers to *pāramitā* or crossing over to the yonder shore. Advaya-śāstra is the shortest way to Buddhahood, by reducing the austerities of constant practice.

[7] Zoetmulder translates *Buddhānusmaraṇa* 'meditation on the Buddha'. *Buddhānusmṛti* 'recollection of the Buddha' is the name of a dharmaparyāya in Mahāvastu 1.163.11. There are six anusmṛti in Mahāvyutpatti 1148-54, Dharmasaṅgraha 54, and in the Pali Visuddhimagga.

Buddhānusmaraṇa ṅaranya: saṅ hyaṅ advaya-jñāna kasākṣātkṛta ni tan hana niṅ hiḍĕp, len taṅ hiḍĕp mvaṅ maṅhiḍĕp, tiṅkahnya: ikaṅ bāyu tan masuk mĕtu ri tutuk, riṅ iruṅ kunaṅ mukṣa mvaṅ ikaṅ śarīra de ni kaśaktin saṅ hyaṅ advaya mvaṅ kaśaktin saṅ hyaṅ advaya-jñāna, ri vĕkasan avā lilāhĕniṅ avās ikaṅ śarīra, mvaṅ tanpāṅhiḍĕp, tan hiniḍĕp, kevala lilaṅ aheniṅ nirāvaraṇa ikaṅ śarīra, nirākāra apaḍaṅ rahina sadākāla śarīranta, kadi miñak inandĕlakĕn miñak. Sira ta deva viśeṣa[1] ri boddha, bhaṭāra paramaśūnya ṅara[44b]n ira, sira ta bhaṭāra paramaśiva ṅaran ira, bhaṭāra puruṣa sira de saṅ vādiśiṣya bhagavān Kapila, saṅ hyaṅ ātmā ṅaran ira de saṅ vādi Kaṇabhakṣyaśiṣya, bhaṭāra nirguṇa ṅaran ira de saṅ vādi veṣṇava, sira ta phala ni pratyakṣa de ḍaṅ ācāryya nirākāra, sira matĕmah bhaṭāra ratnatraya mvaṅ bhaṭāra pañca tathāgata de ḍaṅ ācāryya sākāra, sira inandĕlakĕn ri saṅ arcca, pratima, pĕṭa de ḍaṅ ācāryya vāhyaka, sira saṅ hyaṅ viśeṣa jīva ṅaran ira, sir ta saṅ hyaṅ vaṅsil ṅaran ira vaneh.

Aturū pva kita rumĕgĕpa maṅkana yekā yoganidrā ṅaranya, aturū tan paṅipi. Evŏh katamvan ira, a[45a]pan sira phala niṅ sarbbayoga, sarbbasamādhi, sarbbabrata, vĕkas niṅ sarbbapūjā, sarbbapraṇamya, sarbbamantra, sarbbastuti, nityaśa pva sira katon denta, vĕnaṅ ta kita umratyakṣākĕn ikaṅ dūra sūkṣma, kavaśa pva śarīranta maṅekatva kalavan sira, makanimitta kavaśa niṅ samādhinta[2], yatikā sinaṅgah amaṅgihaken aṣṭeśvarya-sukha ṅaranya, yapvan śarīranta ekatva kalavan sira, sadākāla, tan saprayogi ta kita an pakāvak ri sira, yekā sinaṅgah mokṣa-skandha[3] ṅaranya, sinaṅgah siddha munīndra ṅaranya.

Buddhānusmaraṇa means: the divine advaya-jñāna is the realisation of the non-being of sense and the difference between sense and sensation. In this manner, breathing does not go in and out through the mouth (but) through the nose. It pervades the body, through the power of sacred advaya[yoga] and of sacred advaya-jñāna, and finally the body becomes brilliant, serene, bright, clairvoyant. Without sensation and beyond being sensed, the body becomes lovely, shining, and without blemishes. Your body is beyond form, always as bright as daylight, and like oil merges into oil. He is Deva Viśeṣa to Buddhists, He is bhaṭāra Paramaśūnya, He is bhaṭāra Parama-śiva. He is bhaṭāra Puruṣa to the disciples of bhagavān Kapila, He is called saṅ hyaṅ Ātmā by the disciples of Kaṇāda (Kaṇabhakṣya), He is called bhaṭāra Nirguṇa by Vaiṣṇava followers, He is the fruit of pratyakṣa according to the masters of Nirākāra, He reveals himself as Ratnatraya and the Five Tathāgatas according to the Masters of Sākāra, He is identified with the holy arcca, images (pratimā) and scrolls (pĕṭa) by Vāhyaka masters, He is called divine Viśeṣa Jīva, and He is also known as divine Waṅsil.

If you are asleep and keep the mind concentrated, this is yoga-nidrā, sleep without dreaming. It is hard to attain, for it is the fruit of all yogas, all samādhis, all bratas, the culmination of all pūjās, all salutations, all mantras, all hymns. You can visualise it continuously, you can perceive the distant and subtle, your body is capable of uniting with it as a result of the power of your samādhi. It is called the attainment of the aṣṭeśvaryya-sukha. When one's body is constantly one with Him, and one need not perform ritual (prayoga) because substantiated with Him, such a one is called mokṣa-skandha and siddha-munīndra.

[1] After meditation on Buddha, the body and mind are illumined, and the hierophant is consubstantiated with the Supreme who is Deva Viśeṣa or Parama-śūnya among the Buddhists. He is known by different names by the followers of various systems, such as:

Deva Viśeṣa, bhaṭāra Parama-śūnya	to the Bauddha
bhaṭāra Parama-śiva	to the [Śaiva]
bhaṭāra Puruṣa	to the śiṣya bhagavān Kapila
Saṅ Hyaṅ Ātmā	to the Kanakabhakṣya-śisya
bhaṭāra Nirguṇa	to the Vaiṣṇava
phala ni Pratyakṣa	to the ācārya Nirākāra
bhaṭāra Ratnatraya and bhaṭāra Pañca-Tathāgata	to the ācārya Sākāra
arcca, pratimā, pěṭa	to the ācārya Vāhyaka

[2] A *samādhi denta.*

[3] Zoetmulder translates *mokṣa-skandha* 'to obtain liberation while in the body' and cites the present passage as the only one where this compound occurs.

Buddhaguhya's commentary on VAS 2.186 says that the ācārya of the "deep and broad conviction may chiefly offer with his mind. The disciples who are *dmigs.pa.can* (apprehend outwardly), so as to fix them in their mind, will make external offerings" (Wayman 1992:153 n.120)

The Tibetan *dmigs.pa*=ālambana. The AS 52b speaks of three kinds of jñāna: vāhyaka, sākāra and nirākāra. The vāhyaka ācāryas worship images and scrolls (44b), repeated on folio 54a that those with vāhyaka jñāna engage in the worship of religious objects, images, scrolls with all the five external constituents of offering flowers, incense, lamps, unguents and food. On folio 35b vāhyādhyātma is employed in the definition of śūnyatā. One should concentrate on the Devīs both on the external and spiritual planes *(vāhyādhyātmika)*, as this leads to attaining Buddhahood (40a).

Saṅ hyaṅ advaya mvaṅ saṅ hyaṅ advaya-jñāna sira ta vĕkas niṅ sarvvaśāstra, sarvva āgama, sarbbasamyak-byapadeśa, sarbbopadeśa, sarbbasamaya. Saṅ hya[45b]**ṅ advaya mvaṅ saṅ hyaṅ advaya-jñānātah āpan sira vĕkas niṅ vinarahakĕn[1], ya ta mataṅnyan saṅ hyaṅ yogādi parama-nairātmya ṅaran ira vaneh de saṅ boddha, ananta parama-nandana ṅaran ira de saṅ bhairava, mārggayogādi parama-guhya ṅaran ira de saṅ siddhānta, niṣkalādi parama ṅaran ira de saṅ veṣṇava, sira ta sodhamatatvānta[2] ṅaran ira, evŏh saṅ kumavruhane sira.**

Sājñā mahāmpuṅku, tulusakna pva sih śrī mahāmpuṅku ri pinakaṅhulun, varahĕn ri lakṣaṇa muvah sādhana ni umaṅguhakna saṅ hyaṅ divārūpa.

Oṁ! Pahenak denta rumĕṅŏ kita ṅ tathāgatakula jinaputra. Ikaṅ śarīra aṣṭadala pan malavŏ, vvalu lavŏlavŏnya, lvirnya: mata ṅa, [46a] **taliṅa ṅa, iruṅ ṅa, tutuk ba, pāyūpastha ba, nāhan pinakalavŏ-lavŏnyan vvalu, ya ta inandĕlakĕn[3] bajrajñāna. Bajrajñāna ṅaranya: saṅ hyaṅ advaya-jñāna. Ikaṅ lambe i sor i ruhur mvaṅ ilat, ya ta bajrarūpa, makavarak tuṅtuṅ niṅ jihvā,**

makaśuci lambe i sor i ruhur; ikaṅ bajra maṅaděg ri śarīra padmarūpa sake tuṅtuṅ niṅ ilat, miṅsor taṅ aṁ-kāra, mandĕl i sor ni padma, [ikaṅ aṁ-kāra mandĕl i sor ni padma], ya ta tĕmah sūryya, dumilah deni dilah nikaṅ sūryya, lĕbur arok; dadi taṅ aḥ-kāra lumĕpasakĕn lĕbur ikā kabeh, mukṣa parok ni lĕbur nikā, mvaṅ ikaṅ ākāra tĕlas dadi taṅ maṇiratna nirmmalakāra, ya ta paṅanusmara[46b]**ṇanta irikaṅ rāt kabeh.**

Yan hana vvaṅ alara prihati kunaṅ katutura nanta kadyaṅga niṅ cintāmaṇi, hilaṅ ikaṅ duḥkha denya, apan ikaṅ jñāna kita kĕna(?) nirmmalākāra ri svacittanta, atĕmahan saṅ hyaṅ divārūpa sira.

The sacred advaya and advaya-jñāna are the culmination of all scriptures, all āgamas, all right prescriptions, all sermons and all vows (samaya). The sacred advaya and advaya-jñāna are, after all, the culmination of what is being taught, that is why they are called yogādi parama-nairātmya by Buddhists, ananta parama-nandana by Bhairavas, margga-yogādi parama-guhya by the Siddhāntas, and niṣkalādi parama by the Vaiṣṇavas. They are called ṣoḍaśa-tatvānta. They are difficult to know.

By your permission, great master, have compassion on me glorious great master. Instruct me further about the characteristics (*lakṣaṇa)* and means (*sādhana*) to attain the divine Divārūpa.

Oṁ! Listen to me at ease, you son of Jina of the Tathāgata family. The body consists of eight petals, namely, eyes, ears, nose, mouth, *ba*, anus, genitals, and *ba*. Thus its eight petals are identified with bajra-jñāna. Bajra-jñāna means: the divine advaya-jñāna. The lower and upper lips and the tongue, they have the bajra shape, the tip of the tongue being *varak* (?), the lower and upper lips serving as *sūci*. The bajra stands upright in the body in lotus shape from the tip of the tongue. The aṁ-kāra goes downwards and dwells below the lotus, it becomes the sun, shining by sunshine, it dissolves and blends. The aḥ-kāra causes to disappear all (dust) that has dissolved, the blend of the dissolved disappears, and this perfected form assumes the shape of an immaculate jewel, that is your evocation (anusmaraṇa) of the entire world.

When someone is in grief and sad, and you give him instructions which are like a cintāmaṇi, his grief disappears. For your knowledge touched by the immaculate in your own mind, becomes the divine Divārūpa.

[1] The culmination of all doctrines and praxis is called by different names by the various denominations:

Buddhists	yogādi parama-nairātmya
Bhairava	ananta parama-nandana
Siddhānta	mārga-yogādi parama-guhya
Veṣṇava	niṣkalādi parama
—	ṣoḍaśa-tattvānta

[2] *sodhama-tatvānta:* the reading of C is *ṣoḍaśa-tattvānta,* as in Agastya-parva

384.29 *hana ya anta, ndan kapiṅg-nĕmbĕlas riṅ tattva sakeṅ sor ya,* 385.6 *muktapada ikaṅ ṣoḍaśa-tattvānta.*

[3] A *inandĕla.*

Muvah (h)ana ta sapta-janma[1] ṅaranya. Gavayakna[na]nta kaṅ pratipatyaniṅ advaya. Sādhana mātra tan parovaṅ prajñā kadi manah niṅ rarai jro vĕtaṅ, ya jambhala-samādhi[2] ṅaranya.

Karĕgĕpan iṅ advayayoga vruh ri tatva kadi buddhi niṅ manuk vāhu tĕtĕs ri hantiga, ya vāgiśvara-samādhi ṅaran ikā.

Karĕgĕpan iṅ advaya mvaṅ prajñā karuṇā ri sarbbasatva, ya lokeśvara-samādhi ṅaranya.

Karĕgĕpan iṅ advaya mvaṅ bajra krodha karuṇā riṅ sarbbasatva, bajra[47a]**satva-samādhi ṅaran ikā.**

Karĕgĕpan iṅ advaya mvaṅ prajñā makapuhara anurāga ri sarbbasatva, munivaracintāmaṇi-samādhi ṅaran ikā.

Karĕgĕpan iṅ advaya mvaṅ prajñā makāvasana ṅ varah-varah ri heyopādeya[3] ri sarbbasatva, śvetaketu-samādhi ṅaran ikā.

Karĕgĕpan iṅ bāyu aṁ śabdanya, humiběk iṅ śarīra sūryyarūpa ikaṅ śarīra, hilaṅ taṅ śarīra linĕpasakĕn deniṅ bāyu aḥ śabdanya, mukṣa tan pahaměṅan[4], tatan pāna pasuk vĕtu[5] ni bāyu, hiděṅ niṅ bāyu tan hanātah, śarīra citta tan hanātah, samaṅkana avā lilaṅ aheniṅ nirāvaraṇa nirākāra rahina sadākāla pinakāvaknya, kumāra-nirbbāṇa cittamaṇi samādhi[6] ṅaran ikā. Kapiṅ pitu ni samādhi [47b] **samādhi niṅ meh muliha ri kolilahan maṅgihakna kamokṣan.**

SAPTA-JANMA or SEVEN SAMĀDHIS

Further, there are the seven janmas. You have to accomplish them to achieve advaya. Sādhana alone, not accompanied by wisdom (prajñā), is like the mind of a child in the womb — this is called (1) *jambhala-samādhi.*

Concentrating on advaya-yoga, with knowledge of the essence, is like the intellect of a bird just (*vāhu*) emerged from the egg — this is called (2) *vāgiśvara-samādhi* .

Concentrating on advaya and prajñā for compassion towards all beings — this is called (3) *lokeśvara-samādhi.*

Concentrating on advaya and bajra-krodha for compassion towards all beings — this is called (4) *bajrasatva-samādhi.*

Concentrating on advaya and prajñā in order to bring about affection for all beings — this is called (5) *munivara-cintāmaṇi-samādhi.*

Concentrating on advaya and prajñā with the objective of instruction to all beings about what is to be avoided (*heya*) and what is to be done (*upādeya)* — this is called (6) *śvetaketu-samādhi.*

Concentrating on the bāyu whose sound is *aṁ*, and which pervades the body, the body assumes the form of the sun (sūryarūpa). The body disappears released by the bāyu whose sound is *aḥ.* It vanishes (into ecstasy), without a trace. There is no inhalation or exhalation of the bāyu, there is also no standing still of the bāyu, there is neither body

nor spirit, thus radiant, shining, immaculate, taintless, without form, always with the (light of) day for body — this is called (7) *kumāra-nirbāṇa-cintāmaṇi-samādhi.* The seventh samādhi is the samādhi of nearly reaching the destination, the attaining of liberation.

[1] The word *saptajanma* or *sapta-janmāntara* is used in a general sense of 'seven rebirths, seven lives' in the Rāmāyaṇa (Kern 1900:11.23), Arjunavijaya 71.5, Abhimanyuvivāha 75.2 (Zoetmulder). In Buddhist usage it is *saptakṛd-bhava-parama* or Pali *sattakkhattu-parama* 'destined to be reborn not more than seven times' as an epithet of a srotaāpanna (Mahāvyutpatti 1010, Divyāvadāna 534.4, Edgerton). The sapta-janma indicated here are explained as seven samādhis, which are detailed again on folio 49b, 50ab. In this passage *janma* means 'spiritual rebirth': when a disciple goes to his guru he is born a second time, he becomes a *dvi-ja* 'twice-born'. A hierophant undergoes all the seven rebirths by practising the seven samādhis, wherein praxis (sādhana) and wisdom (prajñā) converge. He thus attains advaya. The names of the seven samādhis are not found in Edgerton.

The seven samādhis are named after Jambhala, Vāgīśvara, Lokeśvara, Vajrasattva, Munivara-cintāmaṇi and Śvetaketu. Vāgīśvara can refer to Mañjuśrī, Lokeśvara to Avalokiteśvara, and Munivara-cintāmaṇi can be Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara. Śvetaketu is the name of a previous incarnation of Śākyamuni in the Tuṣita heaven (Mahāvastu 1.337.14,18 Lalitavistara 10.16).

[2]Offering of water to Jambhala(*jambhala-dāna-vidhi*) is the first act in the morning rites according to the Ādikarma-pradīpa. It comprises three steps: (i) vibhāvanā, (ii) hast-ābhimantraṇa, and (iii) jala-dāna. Vibhāvanā: on a lotus of eight petals, whose bījākṣara is red YAṂ, develops the maṇḍala of the moon, whose mystic value is prajñopāyātmaka. On this maṇḍala, the hierophant visualises the protector Jambhala, arisen out of the bīja JAṂ of green colour. On his head is golden Ratnasambhava, decked in all the ornaments, notably with a garland of blue lotuses (Poussin 1898:216-217).

[3] A reads *heyopodeya*, the correct reading is *heyopādeya* and not heyopadeśa.

[4] *tan pahaměňan* 'without leaving anything behind, without trace' Zoetmulder.

[5] *pasuk větu* are *uśśvāsa* and *praśvāsa* in Sanskrit and *hiděň* is the interval *(antara)* between inhalation and exhalation. The three Sanskrit terms are from the manuscript B22a(Kats p.170).

[6] *kumāra-nirvāṇa-cintāmaṇi samādhi*: is there any connection of kumāra with Mañjuśrī kumārabhūta who is eternally young.

Nihan ta vaneh pājara mami ri kita, ikaṅ śarīra i jro i yavā[1] stūpa-prāsāda[2]. Kunaṅ ta ṅaranya ikaṅ akṣara:

namaḥ siddhaṁ/a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ e ai o au aṁ aḥ
ka kha ga gha ṅa
ca cha ja jha ña
ta tha ḍa ḍha ṇa
ta tha da dha na
pa pha ba bha ma
ya ra la va
śa ṣa sa ha

Nihan lvir niṅ akṣara pinakāntara nikaṅ śarīra prāsāda tatva. Nihan ajarnya: namaḥ: kāya śuddha, siddham: hĕniṅ sukha, a ā: jñāna[3] sukha, i ī: varṇa sateja, u ū: rūpa paripūrṇa, ṛ ṝ: mata mulat, ḷ ḹ: taliṅa maṅrĕṅö, e ai: iraṅ maṅambu, o au: pāyūpastha, aṁ aḥ: jñāna-sūryya śānta-candra.

[4] Na: tahu[48a]lan, mah: rudhira, si: dagiṅ, ddhaṁ: kulit.

a: jñāna, ā: lrānya[5]; i: varṇa, ī: lrānya, u: rūpa, ū: lrānya, ṛ: mata, ṝ: lrānya, ḷ: taliṅa, ḹ: lrānya, e: iruṅ, ai: lrānya, o: pāyūpastha, au: lrānya, aṁ: sūryya, aḥ: śānta-candra.

ka kha ga gha ṅa ca cha ja jha ña: mata mvaṅ tinon
ṭ ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa: taliṅa mvaṅ riṅĕṅö
ta tha da dha na: iruṅ mvaṅ kambuṅ
pa pha ba bha ma: pāyūpastha
ya ra la va: bhūmi
śa ṣa: suku kalih
sa ha: taṅan kalih.

AKṢARA-NYĀSA/DISPOSITION OF LETTERS

Further, my teaching to you is as follows. The body, internally and externally, is a stūpa-prāsāda. And the letters (a-kṣara 'im-mutable, eternal') are:

namaḥ siddhaṁ. a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ e ai o au aṁ aḥ
ka kha ga gha ṅa
ca cha ja jha ña
ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa
ta tha da dha na
pa pha ba bha ma
ya ra la va
śa ṣa sa ha

Now follow the parallels (antara) of letters to the body as the essence of a temenos (prāsāda). The explanations are as follows: *namaḥ* pure body, *siddhaṁ* pure joy, *a ā* happy knowledge, *i ī* shining colour, *u ū* perfect form, *ṛ ṝ* seeing eyes, *ḷ ḹ* attentive ears, *e ai* the nose that smells, *o au* anus and genitals, *aṁ aḥ* the sun of knowledge and the moon of serenity.

Na bones, *maḥ* blood, *si* flesh, *ddhaṁ* skin. *a* knowledge, *ā* its dissemination, *i* colour, *ī* its dissemination, *u* form, *ū* its dissemination, *ṛ* eyes, *ṝ* their dissemination, *e* nose, *ai* its dissemination, *o* anus and genital opening, *au* their dissemination, *aṁ* sun, *aḥ* serene moon.

ka kha ga gha ṅa ca cha ja jha ña: eyes and seeing
ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa: ears and hearing
ta tha da dha na: nose and smelling
pa pha ba bha ma: anus and genital opening
ya ra la va: earth
śa ṣa: the two feet
sa ha: the two hands

[1] *yavā* (in kakavins usually *yava)* 'outside' Zoetmulder.

[2] The word stūpa-prāsāda occurs twice in the AS: on folios 47b and 48b. Zoetmulder has correctly treated it as a compound with a hyphen, in contradistinction to Kats who treated them as separate words. It is a homonymic synonym of kūṭāgāra: stūpa=kūṭa and prāsāda=āgāra. Stūpa-prāsāda is a temple (prāsāda) with a pinnacle (stūpa). Stūpa means 'turret, pinnacle (of building)' in Avadāna-śataka 2.115.8 (Edgerton). Stūpikā 'small turret or pinnacle (on a house)', Pali Jātaka 6.117.6 *pañcathūpam* (*vimānam*), where stūpa means a pinnacle. Prāsāda is "a lofty palatial mansion (approached by steps), palace, temple, AdbhBr., MBh., Kav. etc." (MW). Such a temple was magnificent like a mansion, and a veritable palatial abode of the Divine. Umakant P. Shah translates *prāsāda* as 'shrine' *(Jaina-rūpa-maṇḍana: Jaina Iconography*, New Delhi, Abhinav Prakashan, 1987:15). The fantastic Viṣṇu temple built by high dignitaries of the Cambodian Court in AD 921 is called Prasat Kravan, where Prasat means temple (Kalman/Cohen 1975 pl.13-15). A stūpa-prāsāda can be seen in the thirteen-pinnacled stone pagoda at the site of Chŏnghyesa temple of the ninth century from the Unified Shilla period. The structure is unusual for a Shilla pagoda in that it has thirteen pinnacles instead of the usual three or five and the first storey is a full-scale room with niches on each side. The wooden pagoda at the Danzen shrine in Nara, Japan is similar to this one.

The synonyms of stūpa-prāsāda are:

(i) kūṭāgāra, used in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī
(ii) Sudarśana in Mkhas.grub.rje
(iii) Vimāna. Compare the Cambodian sanctum of Phimean-akasa, or Ākāśa-vimāna in the Sanskrit order of the compound, built in the tenth century, on a stepped pyramid. Chou Ta-kuan who visited Angkor relates the popular mythology connected with this tower, that the king sleeps in the summit of the golden tower of the palace (Kalman/Cohen 1975 pl.36). As a *Deva*-rāja he was in the *sky*-kissing *(ākāśa)* Vimāna.

Stutterheim 1929:35 says: "The passage starts by equating the body with a stūpa-prāsāda, i.e. a combination of stūpa and terraced pyramid. This matter is referred to again on two occasions; first there is a repetition of the statement that the body is a prāsāda, and then it is said that the body is a prāsāda inside and a stūpa outside".

In the meditation of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in the Tendai school, the meditator envisions the vajra-stūpa that stands atop Mount Sumeru. He sees "the stūpa become a great palace, with four massive corners and four great gates at its base. To the left and right of the gateways are adorned latice screens, fortuitous banners, and ornate pillars. Four pathways lead up to the summit. The palace, a five-tiered pavilion, is decorated with jewels, drapes, embroidery, strings of pearls and garlands of flowers" (Saso 1991:215). The vajra-stūpa mudrā in the Vajrādhātu-maṇḍala meditation is to visualise the oneness of self with Vairocana (Saso 1991:234).

The body becomes a stūpa-prāsāda, a pinnacled pavilion. Identification of the body with sacred space as configured in the turreted (stūpa) temple (prāsāda) enshrining the eternal (akṣara) principle was an important step in ādikarmika rites. It is the identity of man and eternity symbolised by the akṣaras of the Sanskrit alphabet. The body of the sādhaka becomes the abode of The Supreme Buddha. The Supreme Buddha of every maṇḍala is seated in the midst of the kūṭāgāra in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī: *sumerūpari kūṭāgāram/tasya madhye...bhagavān Vairocanaḥ* (text p.44), *kūṭāgārasya nābhau... Mañjughoṣaḥ* (text p.54), *sumerūpari kūṭāgārasya madhye...Śriśākyasiṁho bhagavān Mahāvairocanaḥ* (text p.66). Likewise the sādhaka or devotee becomes the kūṭāgāra or stūpa-prāsāda wherein The Supreme Buddha will take his residence, the Divine in the centre of the heart *(hṛdayastham bhāvaya Devam).* We see it as early as the Muṇḍak-opaniṣad 2.1.1 where the niṣkala Brahma resides in the self:

hiraṇmaye pare kośe virajaṁ Brahma niṣkalam /
tac-chubhraṁ jyotiṣāṁ jyotis tad yad ātmavido viduḥ //

(Bhāṣya explains *kośe* as *ātman).*

Poussin (1898:182, 219) refers to a text entitled Caityapuṅgava on the making of clay caityas. The same subject is treated in the Ādikarma-pradīpa (p.193) under the caption: *sarvaka-tāḍana-vidhir ucyate* wherein *sarvaka-tāḍana* means *caitya-vidhi.*

The body of the yogin is correlated to the sanctum and the alphabet. Śākyamuni the historical Buddha in nirmāṇakāya is idealised as Mahāvairocana in dharmakāya. The body of the yogin is likened to a stūpa of dharmadhātu in the ninth chapter of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (Wayman/Tajima 1992:320). This chapter admonishes the faithful to contemplate in his body the five elements (earth, water, fire, wind, ether) and to liken his body to a stupa of five elements, namely, the dharmadhātu-stūpa. A set of six dhātus is: cakṣur-dhātu (eyes), śrotra-d. (ears), ghrāṇa-d. (nose), jihvā-d. (tongue), kāya-d.

(body), mano-d. (mind) (Tajima 1936:60 n.2). The MVS goes on to give the twelve-syllabled mantra whose contemplation leads to the identity of beings with the omniscient Tathāgata. Dharma-maṇḍala means a maṇḍala where the deities are not represented iconically, but as bījākṣaras or their symbolic letters usually the initial or crucial letter of the name. A dharma-maṇḍala is a bījākṣara-maṇḍala. Kōbō Daishi, in his *Hizō hōyaku* 'The Precious Key to the Secret Treasury' defines the dharma-maṇḍala as:

["I take refuge] in the Silent One
Ka [evolving], *Ca* [involving], *Ṭa* [majestic]
Ta [Suchness], *Pa* [Truth], and *Ya* [Vehicle].

The Silent One stands for Mahāvairocana. *Ka* is *kārya* (action), *Ca* is *cyuti* (falling), *Ṭa* is *ṭaṅka* (pride), *Ta* is *tathatā* (Suchness), *Pa* is *paramārtha-satya* (the ultimate Truth), and *Ya* is *yāna* (vehicle — the absolute Vehicle on which all are being carried)." (Hakeda 1972:162)

This section of the AS reminds of the following chapters of the VAS on akṣara-nyāsa:

Chapter		Wayman/Tajima	Yamamoto
2	All akṣaras are gates of all dharmas	133 n.152, 153	
8	Akṣara-cakra-pravartana	318	85
10	Akṣara-cakra (ka kha ga...in the body)	319	121
17	The disposition of letters	177, 324	148
22	alphabet minus vowels+nasals +a sa va kṣa, five nasals	328	159
19-22	śatākṣara 'hundred letters' (25 consonants x 4 a ā aṁ aḥ = 100) Chapter 22 ends with Thirtyseven akṣaras.	325-28	

The Chinese akṣara-cakra has to be corrected to *akṣara-nyāsa* according to its Tibetan rendering *yi.ge.dgod.pa.* Akṣara-nyāsa is a common term to this day in Indian ritual, e.g. in the preliminary rites of the recitation of the Durgā-saptaśatī (Gorakhpur ed. p.55).

The AS speaks of the body as the internal and external stūpa-prāsāda, and goes on to enumerate the complete Sanskrit alphabet, without defining its relationship to the stūpa-prāsāda. The letters of the alphabet are correlated to the various parts of the body. There is an intimate relationship of the letters to a stūpa. This has been taken for granted. It is through letters that the body becomes a stūpa-prāsāda.

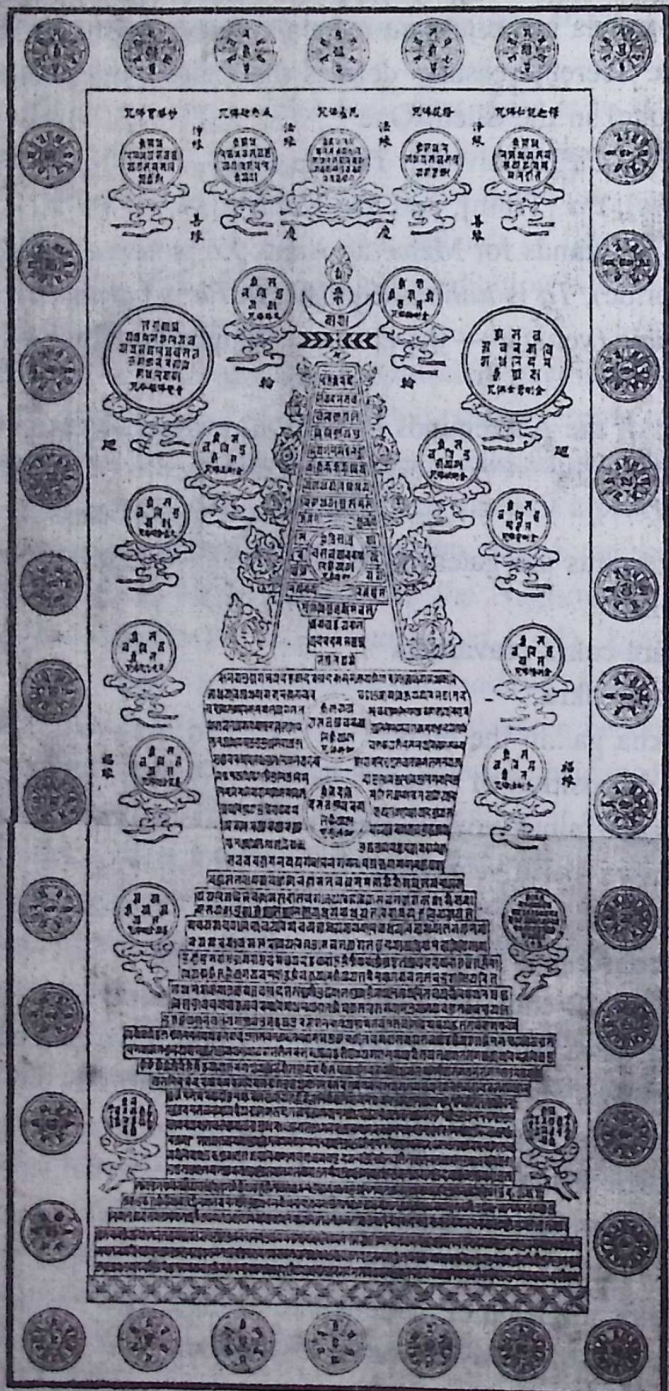
The letters of various sūtras and dhāraṇīs were arranged in the form of a stūpa. A dhāraṇī in the form of a sūtpa is reproduced below from China:

超度無恩
亡生上物

陀羅尼經被

人人應備百年壽品

咒爲諸佛心。功德妙用。最爲不可思議。此陀羅尼經被上印各種咒語。多至七十二種。誠可謂集咒語之大成也。夫一一咒各有無邊功德妙用。今廣集諸咒於一處。其功德効用。更爲可知。據藏文經中滅惡趣本續云。此陀羅尼經被。是滅惡趣威德王密咒。若書此咒貼於亡屍額喉心密等處。或復佩帶蓋復之者。是人亡魂便默承佛如來攝受之力。將無始劫來。種種罪業。悉皆消除。不墮地獄惡道。往生淨土。得見菩薩。親受提記。或轉生人間。富貴壽考。其功德不可思議云。茲將此被咒名一一列后。以見其功德之殊勝焉。



【尊勝塔】尊勝陀羅尼咒 普覺根本咒 金剛薩哆百字咒 無垢頂髻陀羅尼咒 如來百字咒 不動佛淨業障咒 菩薩莊嚴集咒 秘密舍利咒 大寶樓閣咒 因緣藏咒 【塔內三分圓光中】加持身咒 加持語咒 加持意咒 【塔外】釋迦能仁佛咒 隆花佛咒 毗盧佛咒 滅惡趣佛咒 妙勝寶佛咒 金剛輪佛咒 文佛佛咒 金剛勇士佛咒 普覺佛根本咒 金剛欲佛咒 金剛王佛咒 金剛寶佛咒 大吉金剛佛咒 金剛幢佛咒 日光金剛佛咒 金剛法佛咒 喜笑金剛佛咒 善語金剛咒 往生咒 增長天王咒 持國天王咒 多聞天王咒 廣目天王咒 【周圍】普覺壇城三十六佛咒

上海佛學書局總發行所

靜安寺後愚園路一五四號 電話三五五二四

[3] A *ṇna,* emended to *janma* by Kats, but it should be jñāna, in accord with the following paragraph.

[4] The letters of the alphabet are correlated to the body, its joys, and the pañcendriyas or the five organs of sense (eye, ear, nose, tongue, skin) or the five organs of action (hands, feet, larynx, organs of generation and excretion):

namaḥ	pure body	*na*/bones, *maḥ*/blood
siddhaṁ	pure joy	*si*/flesh, *ddhaṁ*/skin
a ā	happy knowledge	*a*/knowledge, *ā*/dissemination
i ī	shining colour	*i*/colour, *ī*/dissemination
u ū	perfect form	*u*/form, *ū*/dissemination
ṛ ṝ	seeing eyes	*ṛ*/eyes, *ṝ*/dissemination
ḷ ḹ	attentive ears	
e ai	the nose that smells	*e*/nose, *ai*/dissemination
o au	anus and genitals	*o*/anus and genitals, *au*/dissemination
aṁ aḥ	sun and moon	*aṁ*/sun, *aḥ*/moon

There are three enumerations of akṣaras: (i) the complete alphabet, (ii) the 37 akṣaras (iii) the hundred akṣaras or śatākṣara. In general the akṣaras are the gates of all dharmas (VAS 2, Wayman 1992:133), each associated with a voidness samādhi as enunciated in Buddhaguhya's commentary (ibid. 152 n.97). Setting the wheel of letters in motion (*akṣara*-cakra-pravartana) consists in meditating on them in circular order (VAS 8, Wayman 1992:318). Buddhaguhya's commentary on the 17th chapter of VAS says that while keeping the akṣaras deposited in the body:

the first ācārya-samādhi at the time of Mahākaruṇāgarbha maṇḍala
the second ācārya-samādhi at the time of Akṣaracakra
the third ācārya-samādhi at the time of the Secret Maṇḍala

The 37 akṣaras are 32+5 letters of the Sanskrit alphabet. The 32 letters are all the letters minus vowels and nasals (28) and *a sa va kṣa.* The placement of the 32 akṣaras in various parts of the body are given in chapter 17 of the VAS (ibid.177). The 5 letters are the 5 nasals. By contemplating on the thirtytwo syllables "can be acquired the thirty-two principal characteristics of the Buddha (*mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*); by the meditation on the five nasals *ṅa, ña, ṇa, na* and *ma*, can be acquired the eighty secondary marks (*anuvyañjana,* VAS ch.22, Wayman 1992:328). The five nasals control the samādhis of the 32 akṣaras (Buddhaguhya's comm., Wayman 1992:153).

The hundred akṣaras are 25 consonants multiplied by four (*a ā aṁ aḥ*), for instance, *ka kā kaṁ kaḥ* are four akṣaras (Wayman 1992:163) according to chapter 17 of VAS.

The AS enumerates the complete Sanskrit alphabet: 16 vowels +25 consonants +4 semivowels +4 sibilants etc. This placement differs from VAS ch.17 (Wayman 1992:177). The VAS says that having arranged all the Sanskrit akṣaras on the various parts of his own body, the practising (devotee) transforms his body into a dhrmadhātu-maṇḍala (Tajima/Wayman 1992:324). The AS correlates the 37 akṣaras to the kāmadhātu, rūpadhātu and arūpadhātu on folio 48a.

The text of the AS seems to be corrupt here. Out of the five nasals two are missing: ṇa ma. They have to be added. The letters *ka kha ga gha* are repeated, while *ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha* are missing. The second *ka*-series should be replaced by *ḍa*-series. The three dhātus are followed by their *tĕlĕk* 'deepest point', *tinĕlĕṅ* 'to penetrate to the deepest point' *ka: tĕlĕknya* goes with arūpadhātu. *Ma* are the entrails or coiled snake, which can be kuṇḍalinī. *Rasuk* means 'attire, mail'. It can be an equivalent of Sanskrit *kavaca* 'armour' in the sense of *kavaca-mantra* or protective mantras. Thus the emended correlations will be as follows:

ka	kha	ga	gha,	pa	pha	ba	bha	:	kāmadhātu
nā	ga	ja	lā,	ṅa	ña	ṇa	na	:	secret point (kāmakoṭi?)
ta	tha	da	dha,	ya	ra	la	va	:	rūpadhātu
ṭa	ṭha	ḍa	ḍha,	ca	cha	ja	jha	:	arūpadhātu
[ka]								:	secret point
śa								:	end of knowledge
ṣa (woman) sa (man)								:	woman, man
ma								:	entrails, coiled snake (kuṇḍalinī)
ha								:	the kavaca-mantra

[5] *lrā* (subst.) should have a philosophical meaning which cannot be discerned at the moment. Yogācāra conceives of eight kinds of vijñāna 'consciousness, cognition by discrimination, or discriminating mind'. The eight vijñāna are (1) eye-v. (2) ear-v. (3) nose-v. (4) tongue-v. (5) body-v. (6) mano-v. (7) mano-v. (8) ālaya-v. (Kiyota 1982:32). The AS has the *lrā* of the eye, ear, nose: what can they mean?

ka kha ga gha pa pha ba bha: kāmadhātu
nā ga ja lā ña na ṅa: tĕlĕknya
ta tha da dha ya ra la va: rūpadhātu (A rūpya-)
ka kha ga gha ca cha ja jha: arūpadhātu (A asarūpya-)
ka: tĕlĕknya
śa: paryyanta niṅ jñāna
ṣa: strī
sa: puruṣa

ma: usus nāgāṅ lĕkĕr
ha: rasuk niṅ advaya.

I[48b]**kaṅ akṣara 37 kvehnya**[1] **advayāṭmaka ikā kabeh, arok**[2] **lavan kleśa, avĕlu**[3] **rūpanya; ṅke śarīra-stūpa**[4] **i heṅ i jro prāsāda, i taṇḍas nikaṅ stūpa-prāsāda śarīra ṅka ta kahanan bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha masamāhitarūpa**[5] **nira ṅkana. Pājar saṅ hulun kṛtopadeśa i saṅ hyaṅ Mahāyāna, keṅötaknanta kita ṅ jinaputra.**

Nihan ta vaneh pājara mami ri kita: hayva dṛśya deniṅ len śarīranta mvaṅ huripta, radinana vehalilaṅa, matanta kalih āditya sateja, taliṅanta kalih āditya sateja, iruṅta kalih āditya sateja, i ilatta lambenta āditya sateja, hatinta, pusuh-pusuhta, vuṅsilanta, amprunta, pa[49a]**ru-parunta, limpanta, ususta, āditya sateja tapva śarīranta kabeh i yava i jro, maṅkana denta mahayu śarīranta. Āditya sateja**[6] **ṅaranya: karĕgĕpan iṅ advaya, yatānyan [h]ilaṅa sarvvakleśa ri śarīranta kabeh, tĕmah ta śarīranta somya lilaṅ.**

Lambenta i sor i ruhur patĕmvaknanta tuṅtuṅ nīlatta ya ta andĕlakna ri tuṅtuṅ niṅ [h]untunta (A huntu), **sĕla niṅ [h]untu i sor i ruhur sarambut deyanta, isĕpta bāyu sake tutuk, piṅsorakna tĕkeṅ pusĕr, miṇḍuhurakna** (A-duhura) **ikaṅ bāyu humĕnĕṅa tan polaha, ikaṅ bāyu sūkṣmālit tatan** (A tan) **katĕṅĕra miṅsor miṇḍuhur, samaṅkana ṅ bāyu rakṭa dadi aṁ liṅnya, atĕmah āditya paripūrṇa sakaja**[7] **umasuk** [49b] **ri śarīranta. Ri huvus nikā dadi taṅ manah alilaṅ ahĕniṅ nirāvaraṇa, kadi kāla niṅ lahrū tĕṅah ṅ ve. Ikaṅ āmbĕk maṅkana yeka sinaṅgah kahyaṅbuddhān ṅaran ira, sira ta maṇik sarvvāśā-paripūraka**[8] **ṅaran ira, maṅkanābhyāsanta sāri-sāri, yatānyan maṅgihakna ṅ kahyaṅbuddhān.**

ka kha ga gha pa pha ba bha: kāmadhātu.
na ga ja la ña na ṅa: its deepest point
ta tha da dha ya ra la va: rūpadhātu
ka kha ga gha ca cha ja jha: arūpadhātu.
ka: its deepest point
śa: the end of knowledge
ṣa: woman
sa: man
ma: entrails, coiled snake (kuṇḍalinī?)
ha: the armour (kavaca) of advaya.

The above letters, 37 in number, are all advaya in essence. They attack kleśas. They are configured as a circle. In the body stupa, outside and inside the prāsāda, in the head of this stūpa-prāsāda body is the dwelling of The Supreme Buddha in samādhi posture. These are my teachings on holy Mahāyāna, you should concentrate on them O son of Jina.

Further my teachings to you are: do not let your body and your life be seen by others. Purify it and let it shine, both your eyes be [brilliant] like the brilliant sun (*āditya sateja*), both your ears be āditya sateja, both your nostrils be āditya sateja. In your tongue and your lips be āditya sateja, in your heart, your liver, your loins, your gall-bladder, your lungs, your spleen, your bowels. Āditya sateja be your entire body, without and within,

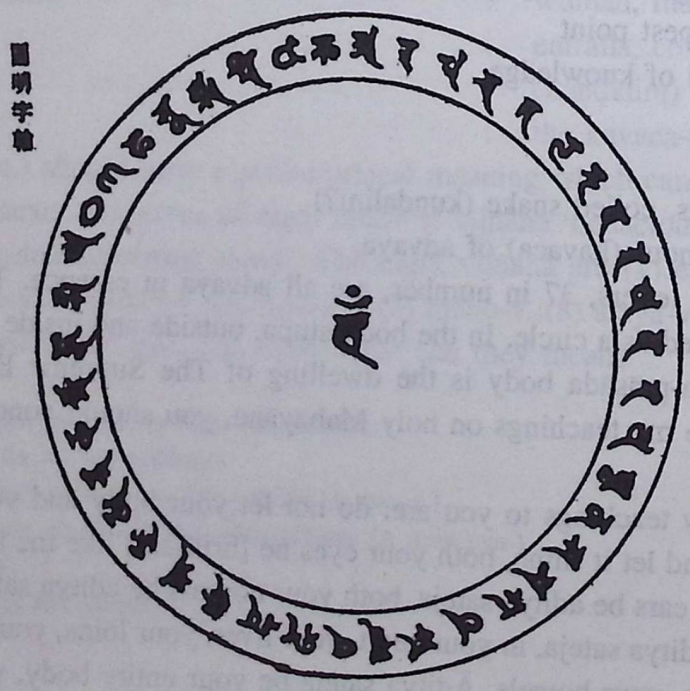
in this way you should embellish your body. Āditya sateja means: to concentrate on advaya, so that all miseries go away from your body, and eventually your body becomes serene and pure.

Join your upper and lower lips, put the tip of your tongue against the tip of the teeth, keep a hair's breadth in the space between upper and lower teeth, inhale air through the mouth, let it go down to the navel, let the breath go up again, be quiet, don't move, let the breathing be subtle and gentle so that the going down or up can not be noticed. The red breath becomes the sound *aṁ*, finally it becomes like the sun, perfect and spontaneous (*sahaja*), and penetrates your body. Thereupon the mind becomes pure, brilliant and taintless like the dry season at midday. Such a disposition is called Buddhahood. It is the jewel that fulfils all wishes. You should practise like this constantly, so that you may attain Buddhahood.

[1] The 37 letters represent the 37 bodhipakṣya dharmas (as rightly pointed out by Kats 1904:170), which are aids to enlightenment. The main deities in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala are also thirtyseven.

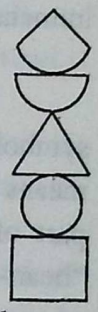
[2] *rok* 'to attack furiously' Zoetmulder.

[3] The letters are arranged in a circular formation. The Chinese text of the VAS calls them the 'circle of letters'(*jirin=akṣara-cakra*). We can cite an analogous example of the arapacana alphabet in a circle from the Kegonkyō-jirin-giki or *Avataṁsaka-sūtra-akṣaracakra-kalpa (T1020) translated by Amoghavajra who worked AD 746-771.



[4] In Shingon, the five elements represent the body as a stūpa (Wayman 1992:165):

element		rite	colour
earth	feet	prosperity (pauṣṭika)	yellow
water	abdomen	appeasing (śāntika)	white
fire	chest	controlling (vaśīkaraṇa)	red
wind	face	drastic acts (ābhicāruka)	black
space	over head	'not-two' (advaya)	—



Kōgyō daishi says that "the Stupa of Iron would appear as nothing else than our own body... That is why the tradition says that the Stupa of Iron symbolises the body of the believer" (Tajima/Wayman 1992:240). The 11th chapter of the Vairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra on the esoteric maṇḍala admonishes the faithful follower to liken his body to a stūpa of the dharmadhātu (stūpa of the five elements) (Tajima/Wayman 1992:320).

[5] In the AS in the head (*taṇḍas)* of the stūpa-prasāda body, the body as sanctum, dwells the Buddha in samādhi posture (*Buddha masamāhita-rūpa)*, that is Abhisambodhi Vairocana, called Garbhadhātu-Vairocana in the Japanese tradition. Over the head, which represents the ākāśa-element in the body, is the advaya, in the Japanese configuration given above. This passage of the AS derives from the Vairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra.

He is Bhaṭāra Hyaṅ Buddha in the samādhi-mudrā who dwells in the head of the body of the yogin now consubstantiated with the stūpa-prāsāda. Vairocana dwells in the centre of the kuṭāgāra situated on Sumeru. When the yogin has attained the dharmadhātu or akṣaras in his body and his body has become the sanctum, in the highest point of his head dwells Vairocana. Stutterheim 1929:58 had expressed uncertainty about the significance of *samāhitarūpa.* It means that the hands of the Buddha are in samādhi-mudrā, that he is Abhisambodhi-Vairocana, in contrast to the hands of Vajradhātu-Vairocana whose hands are in bodhyagrī mudrā. The adjective *masamāhita-rūpa* makes it clear that the AS refers to the Abhisambodhi-Vairocana of the VAS. The present context refers to the VAS as a step to the STTS.

[6] All parts of the body of the meditator are radiant like the sun: eyes, ears, nostrils, tongue, lips, heart, and so on. The whole body is the radiant sun (*aditya sateja*). Earlier, it has been pointed out that the body becomes like the sun, sūrya-rupa (42a, 47a). A brilliant light diffuses from the forehead of Vairocana. Bright light flows everywhere from the body of Vairocana, from the chest, left and right shoulders and back, in all the four directions (Saso 1991:216). The pearl on the forehead of the meditator becomes bright. Tucci (*Indo-Tibetica* IV/1.244) points out that "during the meditative process the divinities on whom the mystic fixes his mind are imagined to reveal themselves in all

their luminosity in the centre of the heart to spread, afterwards, as luminous rays in the immensity of space."

[7] *Sakaja* seems to be *sahaja* 'spontaneously, naturally' Zoetmulder.

[8] *Maṇik sarv-āśā-paripūraka* is the cintāmaṇi. In Mantrayāna cintāmaṇi is the symbol of the mind/*manas*. The reading of ms C is *maṇik sarv-āsthā-paripūṛṇa rakta*. It means the red jewel full of complete devotion. Cintāmaṇi "is used to denote a particular part of man's interior (also cintyamaṇi, cittamaṇi or nala cintāmaṇi, something like "heart-jewel"), a central point in the samādhi, so it occurs in the names of various kinds of samādhi:

AS 53.9 *munivara- cintāmaṇi- samādhi ṅaran ikā*
53.19 *kumāranirbāṇa- cittamaṇi- samādhi ṅaran ikā*
57.17 *mahāmunivara- cintāmaṇi- samādhi ṅaran ikā* (Zoetmulder, s.v. cintāmaṇi).

Muvah hana ta sapta samādhi[1] ṅaranya, lvirnya: pĕgĕṅ ikaṅ bāyu sapraśvāsa, huměnĕṅ āmbĕkanta, tan vavarĕṅö [h]ri hana taya, jambhala-samādhi ṅaran ikā, pūrvva samādhi ikā.

Huvus iṅ amĕgĕṅ vijilakĕn ta bāyunta, hayva karkaśa vĕtunya, dadi taṅ āmbĕk alilaṅ kadi manah niṅ manuk vahu tĕtĕs ri hantiga, vruh riṅ viśuddha niṅ kāya vāk citta, alilaṅ nirmmala. Ikaṅ āmbĕk maṅkana vāgīśva[50a]ra-samādhi ṅaran ikā.

Katon pvekaṅ sarbbasatva kāsyasih deniṅ rāgādi, dadi taṅ āmbĕk (k)umiṅkiṅ hayva niṅ sarbbasatva, masih tanpa saṅkan upakāra, ikaṅ āmbĕk maṅkana lokeśvara-samādhi ṅaran ikā.

Dadi taṅ āmbĕk makāvak bajra rodra humilaṅakĕn ikaṅ sarbba duṣṭacitta, kumiṅkiṅ hayva ni rāt kabeh, ikaṅ āmbĕk maṅkana bajrasatva-samādhi ṅaran ikā.

Dadi taṅ āmbĕk ādibuddha[2] ni ratu cakravarttī huvus malahakĕn śatru śakti vĕnaṅ aveh sakaharĕp niṅ sarbba-satva, ikaṅ āmbĕk maṅkana mahāmunivara cintāmaṇi-samādhi ṅaran ikā.

Dadi taṅ āmbĕk (k)umiṅkiṅ hayva ni sarbba-satva, utsāha ri kagavayan iṅ dharmma ni sarbbasatva, [50b] ikaṅ āmbĕk maṅkana śvetaketu-samādhi ṅaran ikā.

Dadi taṅ manah alilaṅ aheniṅ mukha[3] riṅ[3] nirbbāṇa kadi sūryya paripūrṇ[ṇ]a alilaṅ aheniṅ aho nirāvaraṇa avā paḍaṅ rahina sadākāla kumāra nirbbāṇa-samādhi ṅaran ikā.

SEVEN SAMĀDHIS

There are the seven samādhis: restraining the breath during inhaling (praśvāsa), your mind will become inactive, do not be conscious of being and not-being. It is called Jambhala-samādhi, the first of samādhis.

After retaining the breath you exhale. Do not let it go out roughly. The mind, thereafter, becomes as clear as the mind of a bird newly emerged from the egg. It knows the purity of kāya, vāk and citta, clear and immaculate. Such a mind is Vāgīśvara-samādhi.

When all beings are seen with compassion out of a loving nature, so that the mind strives assiduously for the well-being (*hayu*) of all creatures, out of love and not with a

motive of philanthropy — such a mind is Lokeśvara-samādhi.

The mind that is embodied as the fierce vajra (*bajra rodra*) to destroy all evil intentions, to strive assiduously for the well-being of the entire world — such a mind is Bajrasatva-samādhi.

The Ādibuddha mind of a cakravartī king who has conquered powerful enemies and who can grant all the wishes of all beings — such a mind is Mahāmunivara-cintāmaṇi-samādhi.

The mind that strives assiduously for the well-being of all beings, and exerts to get the dharmma practised by all beings — such a mind is Śvetaketu-samādhi.

The mind, pure and brilliant, that focusses on nirvāṇa, and is like the perfect sun, radiant, bright, pure, without blemish, always bright as day-light, is kumāra-nirvāṇa-samādhi.

[1] The sapta-samādhi occur in the OJ Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa 97.25 but they are entirely different from the AS.

[2] Stutterheim (1929:58 n.85) refers to the Ādibuddha-spirit from this passage. The word Ādibuddha occurs in this passage and in Devaruci 5.5 *ādibuddha rĕṣi*, alongside *hyaṅ buddhatatva rĕṣi* and *Jina rĕṣi* 4.5.

[3] A *anirmukha ri.*

Nihan ta muvah kayatnākna temĕn-tĕmĕn yan ahyun amaṅgihakna ṅ kamokṣan. Ikaṅ bāyu[1] i tĕṅĕn Amitābha ṅaran ira, ikaṅ bāyu i kiva Amoghasiddhi ṅaran ira, ikaṅ bāyu parĕṅ mĕtu Ratnasambhava ṅaran ira, tan vĕtu niṅ bāyu kiva tĕṅĕn Akṣobhya ṅaran ira, vĕkas niṅ bāyu Vairocana ṅaran ira, kahanan ira i tuṅtuṅ niṅ iruṅ i rahi i uṣṇīṣa, vĕkas niṅ nirmmala śuddhi-śuddhin sira kalima, sira ta saṅ hyaṅ pañca rasa[1] ṅaran ira.

Kunaṅ [51a] **yan ahyun ri karmmaprasara[2] ikaṅ bāyu i tĕṅĕn atĕmah (h)anāgnimaṇḍala, trikoṇākāra, dumilaḥ rakta varṇ[ṇ]a, madhyanya triśūla, sādhananta ri sarbbakarmma ikā.**

Vaneh dadyakĕn mahendramaṇḍala ikaṅ bāyu i tĕṅĕn, apasagi, dumilah kunaṅ varṇ[ṇ]anya kadi mās, madhyanya pañca-sūcikabajra mĕṅa, sādhananta ri vṛddhya niṅ hurip mvaṅ ri vṛddhya niṅ sada ikā.

Muvah dadyakĕn mahendramaṇḍalāpasagi, bhedanya putih tĕjanya, somya, bajra i tĕṅah sādhananta riṅ kasvasthān ika. Ikaṅ caturasramaṇḍala dadi vaśīkaraṇa, ākarṣaṇa.

Ikaṅ uśvāse kiva atĕmahan bāyumaṇḍala nirākāra, irĕṅ, ijo, kuniṅ kunaṅ varṇ[ṇ]anya, dumilah tuṅtuṅnya [51b] **kalih, dhvaja cihna patākā, kunaṅ taṅan i kiva maṅrĕgöp aṅkus kuṇḍala lvirnya, sādhananta riṅ ākarṣaṇa ika, stambhana uccāṭana. Kunaṅ lāvan ta vaneh dadyakĕn bāruṇamaṇḍala ikaṅ uśvāse kiva, avĕlu, dumilah putih varṇ[ṇ]anya, madhyanya sūkṣma maṇḍalālit, kadi śuddha sphaṭika ri tĕṅah pinakavarṇ[ṇ]anya pinakacihnanya, sādhananta riṅ śāntika ikā.**

Kunaṅ ikaṅ paramaviśeṣa bāyu tanpolah niṅ uśvāsa, kevalālilaṅ ahĕniṅ nirāvaraṇa humiḍĕṅ nirākāra riṅ ghrāṇa pradeśanya tĕka riṅ rahi ryy uṣṇīṣa śuci śuddha tan hanāṅgĕlĕh iriya, Vairocanasamādhi ṅaran ikā.

FIVE BREATHS (PAÑCA-RASA)

You should exert assiduously if you want to attain liberation. The breath on the right is Amitābha. The breath on the left is Amoghasiddhi. The breath going out is Ratnasambhava. The breath not going out of either the right or the left is Akṣobhya. The paramount breath is Vairocana, it is at the tip of the nose, in the forehead and in the hariknot (uṣṇiṣa). These five are the supreme immaculate, the purest of the pure. They are called the sacred *pañca-rasa.*

If you want its ritual details (*karma-prasara*), then the breath on the right side becomes the *agni-maṇḍala,* of triangular shape, giving a red sheen, in the centre of which is a trident (triśūla). It ensures the success of all karmmas.

The breath on the right side becomes the *mahendra-maṇḍala*, (of) square (shape), producing a glow yellow like gold, in its centre opens up the five-pronged bajra. It is to extend one's life and to increase one's reward.

It becomes the square *mahendra-maṇḍala*, different (from the above-mentioned) in that it has a white glow that is benign, it has a bajra in the centre, and it is a means to obtain health. These square maṇḍalas are for vaśīkaraṇa and ākarśaṇa.

The breath on the left side becomes the *bāyu-maṇḍala,* without form (nirākāra), black, green, and yellow in colour, radiant at both ends, its banner (*dhvaja*) bears the sign of a penant (*patākā*), the left hand holds a hook in shape of an ear-ring to effect [the tantric rites of] attraction (*ākarṣaṇa)*, immobilisation (*stambhana*), and overthrowing (*uccāṭana*).

The breath on the left side becomes the *baruṇa-maṇḍala,* round, its white colour shines, and in its centre is a smaller and subtle maṇḍala in whose centre is its characteristic mark whose colour is like pure crystal. It is to perform the śāntika [rites].

The parama-viśeṣa-bāyu is immobile breath. It is pure, bright, without blemish, persists without form in the nose, upto to the forehead and as far as the hairknot (uṣṇīṣa), purest of the pure, without impurity, and it is *Vairocana-samādhi.*

[1] The five winds (*bāyu*) are called *pañcarasa* in the AS. The Pañcakrama (p.19) also deals with them at length under the caption of vāyu-tattva:

Nāsāgre sarṣapaṁ nāma prāṇāyāmasya kalpanā /
Prāṇāyāmasthitāḥ pañca raśmayo buddhābhā vataḥ //16
Ūrdhvaṁ ghrāṇād viniḥkrānto vāmadakṣiṇadvandvataḥ /
Adhaś ceti caturdhāsmād velā adhyātmikā smṛtā //17
Kaṇṭhahṛnnābhiguhyābje gatyagati vinirdiśet /
Vihared ardhayāmikaṁ [velā]paripāṭyā yathākramaṁ //18
Dakṣiṇād vinirgato raśmir hutabhuṅmaṇḍalaṁ ca tat /
Raktavarṇam idaṁ vyaktaṁ padmanātho 'tra devatā //19

Vāmād vinirgato raśmir vāyumaṇḍalasaṁjñitaḥ /
Haritaśyāmasaṁkāśaḥ karmanātho 'tra devatā //20
Dvābhyāṁ vinirgato raśmiḥ pītavarṇo mahādyutiḥ /
Mahendramaṇḍalaṁ caitad ratnanātho 'tra devatā //21
Adho mandapracāras tu sitakundendusaṁnibhaḥ /
Maṇḍalaṁ vāruṇaṁ caitad vajranātho 'tra devatā //22
Sarvadehānugo vāyuḥ sarvaceṣṭapravartakaḥ /
Vairocanasvabhāvo 'sau mṛtakāyād viniścaret //23
Vāyutattvam idaṁ vyaktam pañcajñānasvabhāvakam /
Tārkikā na prajānanti agamyam bālayogināṁ//24

The breaths (*bāyu*) are equated with the Five Tathāgatas:

breath on the right	Amitābha
breath on the left	Amoghasiddhi
breath going out	Ratnasambhava
breath not going out	Akṣobhya
paramount breath	Vairocana

[2] In terms of ritual (*karma-prasara*), the breath becomes various maṇḍalas or cakras correlated to Agni, Mahendra, Vāyu and Varuṇa:

breath on the	maṇḍala	shape	glow	in the centre	homa
left	agni-m.	triangle	red	trident	sarva-kārmika
right	mahendra-m.I	square	golden	5 pronged vajra	āyuṣya
right	mahendra-m.II	square	white	vajra	vaśīkaraṇa, ākarṣaṇa
left	vāyu-m.	no form	black green yellow	pennant	ākarṣaṇa stambhana uccāṭana
left	varuṇa-m.	round	white	smaller maṇḍala	śāntika

Thereafter is the supreme breath, immobile, purest of the pure, and that is Vairocana-samādhi.

The word maṇḍala in this passage does not have the commonly understood configuration of the assembly of a main deity with its entourage in a square palace, surrounded by three or four concentric circular formations of the psychosphere. So Kats could not find a relationship of the maṇḍalas of the AS with those of Tibet. They originate from various kinds of breathing in yoga and in the end culminate in the samādhi of Vairocana, who is supreme in the caryā-tantras. Kats 1904:175 is right in surmising a connection between these maṇḍalas and samādhi as pointed out by the breathing ex-

ercises common to both. In the AS the term means cakra. They are situated at four centres in the body: throat, heart, navel and privities.

The term maṇḍala is used in a yogic sense elsewhere too, as in Mkhas.grub.rje and in Advayavajra. The Kudṛṣṭi-nirghātana of Advayavajra (p.5) speaks of the four maṇḍalas: *caturasrādi-caturṇām anyatamam abhimata-maṇḍalakaṁ kṛrtvā..* Mkhas.grub.rje specifies the method of studying the steps of the path (Lessing/Wayman 1968:207-211). It has four parts. The last and fourth part is the manner of accomplishing siddhis after completing the preliminary service (*pūrva-sevā).* He says: "by contemplating intensely the earth, water, fire and wind maṇḍalas at their positions within the body, one accomplishes the rites of Appeasing, Increasing, and so forth". The four maṇḍalas are: the usual location of these "disks" (maṇḍala) is water disk in heart, earth disk in privities, fire disk in throat, and wind disk in navel" (Lessing/Wayman 1968:211 n.14).

maṇḍala	corporeal centre		maṇḍala in AS
water	heart	appeasing	varuṇa-m.
earth	privities	increasing	mahendra-m.
fire	throat	—	agni-m.
wind	navel	—	vāyu-m.

The maṇḍalas are named after four deities representing the four elements, which are depicted in the four corners of the main Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (Esot.464-67, Tajima 1936:190-191):

Agni	tejas (SE)
Mahendra	pṛthvi (NE)
Bāyu	vāyu (NW)
Baruṇa	āpaḥ (SW)

The four elements are invoked for protection (*rakṣantu cāgni-bhū-vāri-marutaḥ pratimāṁ ciram)* in the Vajrāvalī (p.162).

The term mahendra in Buddhist tantras means 'earth'. "Thus is clear enough in the Pañcakrama (ed. by de La Vallée Poussin). Vajrajāpakrama, verses 19-22, which set forth the Buddha elements streaming forth from one or other nostril from their bases in various element cakras, here called "maṇḍala" (vortex). Verse 19 speaks of the hutabhuṁ-maṇḍala, i.e. the vortex of fire (*hutabhuj*) which is red and departs from the right nostril. Verse 20 uses the expression vāyu-maṇḍala for the vortex of wind which is greenish yellow and departs from the left nostril. Verse 21 has the term mahendra-maṇḍala for the earth vortex which goes forth in a golden ray from both nostrils. Finally, verse 22 has the term vāruṇa ("related to Varuṇa") for the water vortex which is the white ray also

leaving through both nostrils. Here mahendra (related to, belonging to, fit for Great Indra) is name of the earth" (Wayman 1973:99 n.15). In chapter 29 of VAS on homa, the fire of wisdom (*jñānāgni*) is called mahendra, coloured golden, and confers (good) complexion, prosperity and power" (Wayman 1992:191). The golden colour and the conferring of prosperity are also the functions of the mahendra-maṇḍala in the AS.

Each maṇḍala is for a specific homa, and every homa has a separate function. Thus varuṇa-maṇḍala is for śāntika homa, that is to pacify evil. Six homas are enumerated for the four deities, besides a homa for all purposes (*sarva-karma*). The names of the four homas are different in the VAS:

VAS	AS
śāntika	śāntika
pauṣṭika	āyuṣya, svāsthya
vaśīkaraṇa	vaśīkaraṇa, ākarṣaṇa
ābhicāruka	stambhana, uccāṭana

There are two kinds of homas: external and internal. The AS details the external homas. The internal homa is a rite of meditation (Matsunaga 1974:1.193, Wayman/Tajima 1992:331).

The above forms can be compared to different kinds of homa-kuṇḍas in Japanese Mantrayāna/Shingon, for example, in Taishō Zuzō 254 fig.1-4/8.421: square (śāntika), round (pauṣṭika), triangle (ābhicāruka), semicircle (vaśīkaraṇa). The correlation of different homas and the shapes of kuṇḍas is not fixed, as can be seen in the many illustrated manuals reproduced in the eighth volume of the Taishō Zuzō.

Some correspondences of the five classes of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala tally with ours, for example, the agni-maṇḍala is triangular and red like Amitāyus.

Class of	Buddha	vajra	ratna	padma	karma
Buddhas	Vairocana	Akṣobhya	Ratnasambhava	Amitāyus	Amoghasiddhi
symbols	stūpa	5 pointed vajra	maṇi	lotus	karma-vajra
rites	śāntika	ābhicāruka	pauṣṭika	vaśīkaraṇa	vaśīkaraṇa
colours	white	blue	yellow	red	black
forms	maṇi	square	round	triangle (Tajima 266)	semi-circle

Buddhaguhya's commentary on VAS 13(the secret maṇḍala) states that the virtues of the Dharmakāya empower the element-maṇḍalas: "The Dharmakāya transcendent of signs and devoid of materiality — thus cannot be shown — has these virtues (guṇa): not astray, non-changing consummate nature, avoiding all constructive thought, free from

all defilement, able to do anything. Accordingly, these virtues empower the element-maṇḍalas. One of them empowers the vajra-maṇḍala of earth (mahendra) because earth is non-changing and firm, with consummate nature like vajra. The nature of avoiding all constructive thought empowers the water-maṇḍala, because water purifies everything by washing. The one free from all defilement empowers the fire-maṇḍala, because the nature of fire is to burn up, and because the syllable RA shows that all dharmas are free from dust. The ability to do anything empowers the wind-maṇḍala, because wind goes everywhere and separates everything" (Wayman 1992:143).

The five element-maṇḍalas are correlated to the first five months of the preliminary rites, to the five letters A VA RA HA KHA, and the basis of their concord is also given. The five letters destroy defilements and conquer the four Māras:

A	skandha	personal aggregate Māra
VA	vikalpa	son of the gods Māra
RA	kleśa	defilement Māra
HA	karma	death Māra
KHA	sky	śūnyatā is realised (Wayman 1992:158, 317)

VAS 17 restrains prāṇāyāma and performs recitation (Wayman 1992:162-63):

maṇḍala	mudrā of	food	month	
mahendra	vajrin	milk	first	lower part of the body
water	lotus	water	second	above that in the body
fire	sword	not taken	third	
wind	wheel	wind	fourth	
Rejects receipt and non-receipt			fifth	like a Sambuddha
—			sixth	attains desired siddhi

Buddhaguhya's commentary (Wayman 1992:165,173) gives the colours of the gods who go with the various maṇḍalas:

earth-maṇḍalas	gods of yellow colour
water-maṇḍalas	gods of white colour
fire-maṇḍalas	gods of red colour
wind-maṇḍalas	gods of blue colour

Kayatnākna tĕmĕn-tĕmĕn sira, tan dadi dṛśya deniṅ len sira bvat maṅdadya[52a]**kĕn pāpa yan kājar iṅ len, dadi mara(h)-vinarahakĕn ḍān[1] maṅhanākna [kna] gurukrama iriṅ vvaṅ. Iti ḍaṅ niṅ saṅketa[2] sira, sari niṅ kapaṇḍitan //Ĭ//**

Sājñā mahāmpuṅku tulusakna pva sih śrī mahāmpuṅku ri pinakaṅhulun. Saṅ hyaṅ divārūpa kapvāvak bhaṭāra buddha de'śrī mahāmpuṅku. Mapa pva liṅ saṅ paṇḍita vaneh? Bhaṭāra

ratnatraya mvaṅ bhaṭāra pañca tathāgata sira rakvāvak bhaṭāra buddha, śuddha, nīla, pīta, rakta, viśvavarṇanira[3], dhvaja, bhūḥsparśa, varada, dhyāna, abhaya mudrā nira. Maṅkana liṅ saṅ paṇḍita vaneh, [52b] **ya tāṅde sandigdha ri jñāna ranak mahāmpuṅku. Pahidhyakna ta ranak śrī mahāmpuṅku, marapvan hilaṅ ikaṅ saṅśaya-jñāna[4], malya samyagjñāna.**

Oṁ! Anakku kita ṅ tathāgatakula jinaputra, pahenak denta maṅrĕṅö. Tiga bheda niṅ jñāna: vāhyaka, sākāra, nirākāra[6].

Yan bhaṭāra divārūpa sira pinakāvak bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha, jñāna nirākāra kāraṇa nira, mvaṅ grāhaka[5] ri sira. Pinūjā pva bhaṭāra buddha de ni jñāna sākāra śrīmān akalĕṅka lvirnya: samaṅkana ta bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha maśarīra devatārūpa, dadi deniṅ kriḥkāra śvetavarṇa, dhvaja-mudrā, sira ta bhaṭāra śrī Śākyamuni ṅaran ira, [53a] ***sarvvadevagurūcyate*, inajarakĕn guru niṅ sarvva-devatā. Mijil taṅ devatā sakeṅ śarīra bhaṭāra śrī Śākyamuni ri tĕṅĕn, rakta varṇa, dhyāna mudrā, makasaṅkan hriḥkāra sira ta bhaṭāra śrī Lokeśvara ṅaran ira. Mijil taṅ devatā sake śarīra śrī Śākyamuni kiva, nīlavarṇa, bhūḥsparśamudrā, makasaṅkan briḥkāra, sira ta bhaṭāra śrī Bajrapāṇi ṅaran ira. Sira ta katiga bhaṭāra ratnatraya ṅaran ira, sira sinaṅguh buddha, dharmma, saṅgha, sira makatatva ṅ kāya, vāk, citta, sira makaśila ṅ asih puṇya bhakti, ahyun pva sira pūrṇa niṅ tribhuvana.**

Mijil ta bhaṭāra śrī Vairocana sake mukha śrī Śākyamuni. Mavibhāga ta bhaṭāra śrī Lokeśvara, mijil ta bhaṭāra Akṣobhya mvaṅ bha[53b]**ṭāra Ratnasambhava. Mavibhāga ta bhaṭāra śrī Bajrapāṇi, mijil ta bhaṭāra Amitābha mvaṅ bhaṭārāmoghasiddhi. Sira ta kalima sira sinaṅjñān bhaṭāra pañca tathāgata mvaṅ bhaṭāra sarvvajñāna ṅaran ira vaneh.**

Be very very alert, don't be seen by others. It is serious, and causes sin, if communicated to others. If one has to transmit the teaching, then arrange the guru-rites (guru-krama) for the person. This sacred Mahāyāna is the supreme vow (*parama samaya*), the great teaching. A Buddhist should keep it secret. Don't be indiscriminate, as it is the culmination of a vow, the quintessence of wisdom. //Ĭ//

By your permission, great master, complete your favour to me. The holy Divārūpa is the embodiment of Lord Buddha, according to my glorious master. Then what do other paṇḍitas say? Ratnatraya and the Five Tathāgatas are, they say (*rakva*), the embodiment of Bhaṭāra Buddha. Their colours are: white, blue, yellow, red and green (*viśvavarṇa*). The mudrās are: dhvaja, bhūḥsparśa, varada, dhyāna, and abhaya. So say other paṇḍitas. This causes uncertainty in my understanding. Do teach me, glorious great master, so that doubts of the mind vanish and right understanding returns.

Om! My son, you disciple of the Buddha of the Tathāgata family, listen to me calmly. Jñāna is threefold: vāhyaka, sākāra and nirākāra.

Bhaṭāra Divārūpa is the embodiment of bhaṭāra Buddha, nirākāra jñāna is its cause, and is its subject.

If bhaṭāra Buddha is worshipped by sākāra jñāna, he is glorious and immaculate (*śrīmān akalĕṅka*). In this way bhaṭāra Buddha is embodied as a deity, emanates by kriḥkāra, is white in colour, has the dhvaja-mudrā. He is called the glorious bhaṭāra Śākyamuni, *sarvva-devagurur ucyate:* he is known as the Teacher of all gods. A deity

comes forth from the right side of the body of bhaṭāra Śākyamuni, red in colour, in dhyāna-mudrā, originating from hriḥkāra: he is called bhaṭāra Lokeśvara. A deity comes forth from the left side of Śākyamuni, blue in colour, in the bhūḥspara-mudrā, arising from briḥkāra: he is called bhaṭāra Bajrapāṇi. These three are called bhaṭāra Ratnatraya. They are Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha. Their essence (tattva) is kāya, vāk and citta. They have for śīla: love, virtue (puṇya) and devotion (bhakti). They wish to pervade the three worlds. Bhaṭāra Vairocana arises from the mouth of Śākyamuni. Bhaṭāra Lokeśvara divides himself into two, so that bhaṭāra Akṣobhya and bhaṭāra Ratnasambhava come into existence. Bhaṭāra Bajrapāṇi divides himself, so that bhaṭāra Amitābha and bhaṭāra Amoghasiddhi come into existence. These five are termed the Five Tathāgatas. They are also called Bhaṭāra Sarvajñāna.

[1] *ḍān, aḍān* 'to make ready, prepare, arrange' Zoetmulder.

[2] *saṅketa* = samaya 'vow.'

The admonition to secrecy of the teachings is given at the end. Evidently, it ends a section in the presentation.

[3] *viśvavarṇa* is the colour of nature (*viśva*), that is, green.

[4] *saṁśaya-jñāna* is the mind affected by doubts and *samyag-jñāna* is right understanding.

[5] *grāhaka* 'subject' opp. to *grāhya* 'object' (Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic* 2.398).

[6] This passage distinguishes three kinds of jñāna: vāhyaka, sākāra and nirākāra. The three jñāna or perceptions represent three approaches with a specific dominant element that characterises it:

jñāna	dominant	
vāhyaka	ritual	with pañcopacāra
sākāra	iconic	deities become embodied (*maśarīra*) as images or paintings.
nirākāra	yogic	sādhana, aṁ-aḥ

The AS specifies the embodiment (*pinakāvak, maśarīra)* of the three aspects as follows:

jñāna nirākāra: Divārūpa is the embodiment of The Buddha.

jñāna sākāra: Buddha Śākyamuni (i.e. Abhisambodhi-Vairocana) is perceived as embodied in glory and immaculacy(*śrīmān akaleṅka*) as a trinity the Ratnatraya, flanked by [Padmapāṇi] Lokeśvara and Bajrapāṇi. They correspond to the historic Triratna of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

sarva-jñāna: as the Ratnatraya want to pervade the three worlds they become the Pañca-Tathāgata of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala.

vāhyaka-jñāna is 'external perception' (Zoetmulder) and in AS 61.12:54a) refers to the worship of images, scrolls, etc with the external (*vāhya*) rites of fivefold offerings of flowers, incense, lamp, perfumes, and food *(kahiḍĕp pva sira de niṅ vāhyaka-jñāna saṅ hyaṅ arca pratimā pĕṭa śākali, pinūja riṅ pañcopacāra vāhya).* Vāhyaka is excluded in yoga and hence has not been detailed in the present passage.

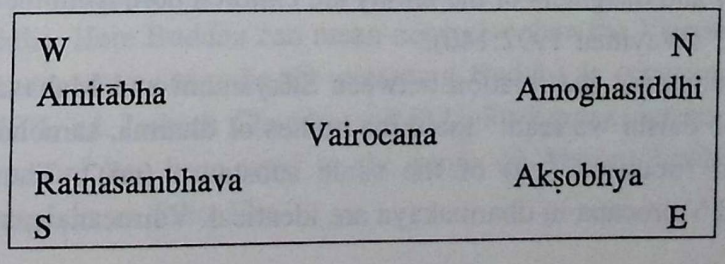
The sākāra/iconic approach represents two stages of the evolution of the Abhisambodhi-Vairocana (with three kulas of deities) and of the Vajradhātu-Vairocana (with five kulas of deities):

Ratnatraya	Śākyamuni	Lokeśvara(right)	Bajrapāṇi(left)
Five Tathāgata	Vairocana	Amitābha	Akṣobhya
		Ratnasambhava	Amoghasiddhi

The attributes of the Ratnatraya are:

	bīja	colour	mudrā		tattva	
-	krīḥ	white	dhvaja	Śākyamuni	kāya	asih (karuṇā)
right	hrīḥ	red	dhyāna	Lokeśvara	vāk	puṇya
left	brīḥ	blue	bhūḥsparśa	Bajrapāṇi	citta	bhakti

In this passage the word Śākyamuni is equivalent to Vairocana. He is not the historical Śākyamuni, whose body colour is golden. His colour is white and he is in dhvaja-mudrā. He is Abhisambodhi-Vairocana, flanked by Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi, but the colours and mudrās do not tally with those of the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala. They can represent a tradition that has to be located, they appear to be derived from the Five Tathāgatas of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala. According to AS, Five Tathāgatas evolve from them. From the body (*sakeṅ śarīra*) of Śākyamuni emanate Lokeśvara and Bajrapāṇi. They are the Ratnatraya. They become Pañca-Tathāgata. From the mouth of Śākyamuni emanates Vairocana. Lokeśvara divides and emanates Amitābha and Ratnasambhava. Bajrapāṇi divides and emanates Akṣobhya and Amoghasiddhi. The colour of Śākyamuni is the white of Vairocana, the red colour and dhyāna mudrā of Lokeśvara are those of Amitābha, and the colour and mudrā of Bajrapāṇi are the same as the blue and bhūsparśa of Akṣobhya. The Ratnatraya seem to be a backformation based on the Five Tathāgatas, who would be placed as follows in the right-left system of emanation:



The Sanskrit words for directions are in relation to a person facing the east (*pūrva* 'front'), his back to the west (*paścima* 'back'), his right is the south *(dakṣiṇa* 'right'), and his left is the north (*uttara* 'above').

The question of the disciple gives the colours and mudrās of the Five Tathāgatas, without naming them. They are the same as those of the Five Tathāgatas of the Vajradhātu, except the mudrā of Vairocana.

	SM.2.569	SM.2.569
Vairocana	white	bodhyagrī (AS has dhvaja)
Ratnasambhava	yellow	varada
Amitābha	red	dhyāna
Amoghasiddhi	green	abhaya
Akṣobhya	blue	bhūsparśa

The evolution of Ratnatraya and Pañca-tathāgata reminds of the Pāñcarātra system in which the four emanatory forms of Viṣṇu are Vasudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. From Viṣṇu emanated Vāsudeva, and from Vāsudeva's own body, another body was dragged out (*ākṛṣya tu svakād dehāt*), viz. Saṅkarṣaṇa. Based on Vāsudeva, he performed severe penance and produced Pradyumna, the third emanatory form. Pradyumna in turn contemplated and produced from half of his own body (*dehārdhāt*) Aniruddha, the lord of the universe and master of yogins. "The ten incarnations (avatāra) of Viṣṇu are accommodated within the four emanatory forms: Vāmana and Kṛṣṇa are manifestations of the Vāsudeva form; Matsya, Kūrma, the two Rāmas (Jāmadagni and Dāśarathi) and Kalki of Saṅkarṣaṇa; Buddha of Pradyumna; and Varāha and Nṛsiṁha of Aniruddha (Nāradīya-saṁhitā 1.57-60", Rao 1989:2.208). The author of the AS speaks of the Vaiṣṇavas, and his statement seems to have been influenced by the Vaiṣṇava system, where the Caturvyūha Vāsudeva is the active mode, the emanative form of Para Vāsudeva, the Supreme Being.

Vairocana emanates from the mouth of Śākyamuni. The second chapter of VAS says that "After initially generating the Mind (of Enlightenment), and adhering to it, as much as be the merits collected that arise from the Tathāgata, one may know that this much be the merit collected by that son of the family or daughter of the family. Master of the Secret Ones, while it is in this manner, you should also regard it as follows: Those sons of the family and daughters of the family are children born from the mouth and heart of the Tathāgata" (Wayman 1992:140).

Tajima points out the relation between Śākyamuni and Mahāvairocana: "In the Fuhōden of Kōbō daishi we read: "the three bodies of dharma, sambhoga, and nirmāṇa are the different functions (yü) of the same substance (tai)". Thus Śākyamuni in nirmāṇakāya and Vairocana in dharmakāya are identical. Vairocana cannot exist without

Śākyamuni. We can consider Śākyamuni from two points of view: as the historical person and as the enlightened Buddha... In short, Mahāvairocana is the historical Buddha idealized in dharmākaya "which neither is born nor dies" (Tajima/Wayman 1992:249, 250).

VAS 9(Wayman 1992:166, 185) makes a difference between the outward and the inward praxis as 'with signs (or images)' and 'without signs (or images)'. The yoga with images (*sanimitta*) and without images (*animitta-yoga*) are detailed by Mkhas.grub.rje (Lessing/Wayman 1968:207-11).

After having dealt with the sākāra pantheon, we go back to the third approach of nirākāra, in which the Supreme Tathāgata is the final stage in yogic concentration, namely Divārūpa, beyond the sūrya-rūpa and candra-rūpa. On the level of grāhya-grāhaka 'subject-object', he is the Subject.

The word Buddha has been used in the AS in four senses:

1. The Transcendental Buddha of the system under consideration i.e. Vajrasattva, Vajradhara, or Vairocana, according to the context.

2. Any of the Five Transcendental Buddhas, that is Pañca-Buddha, e.g. on folio 55b.

3. The historical Buddha i.e. Śākyamuni. This meaning is applicable only in one passage on folio 53a: Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha.

4. Buddha as the Supreme Being beyond the Transcendental Buddhas of the systems of Vajrasattva, Abhisambodhi-Vairocana, Vajradhātu-Vairocana, etc. This meaning is evident in the epistemological evolution from jñāna on folios 52a-54a.

The above meanings depend on the context. Besides, Muni, Mahāmuni and Śākyamuni are also employed in a generic denotation.

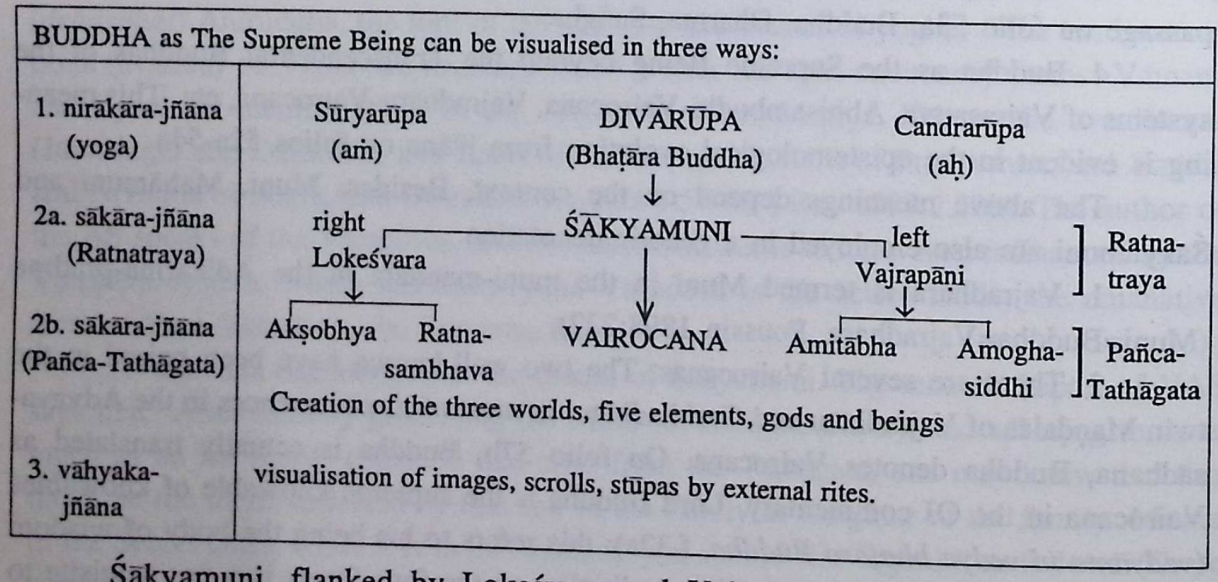
1. Vajradhara is termed Muni in the muni-maṇḍala in the Ādikarma-pradīpa (Muni=Buddha=Vajradhara, Poussin 1898:222).

2. There are several Vairocanas. The two well-known have been paired in the twin Maṇḍalas of Vajradhātu and Garbhadhātu. In most of its occurrences in the Advaya-sādhana, Buddha denotes Vairocana. On folio 57b, Buddha is actually translated as Vairocana in the OJ commentary. Lord Buddha is the supreme knowable of knowables (*vedyānta ni vedya bhaṭāra Buddha*, f.32a): this refers to his being the body of wisdom (jñānakāya). At the end of folio 62a, meditation on the four Devīs is a pre-requisite to realise the Buddha. Here Buddha can mean none else than the Vajradhātu-Vairocana. In the Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha the presiding Buddha is occasionally referred to as Śākyamuni (STTS, ed. Lokesh Cḥandra and D.L. Snellgrove, introd. p.52).

3. Śākyamuni has been used in the sense of Abhisambodhi-Vairocana of the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala on folio 53a.

4. The term Buddha is used in the sense of The Supreme Being in 52b from the point of view of knowledge (jñāna). This Buddha as the Supreme Being can be comprehended on three levels of knowledge: (i) external (vāhyaka), (ii) iconic (sākāra), and (iii) aniconic (nirākāra). The Formless (nirākāra) is the highest. On this plane He is beyond form as Divārūpa.

On the iconic plane, when Buddha The Supreme Being is worshipped as form, He is embodied as a deity (devatārūpa) emanating from the bījākṣara *krīḥ*, white in colour, and is called Śākyamuni. From the right of his body emanates Lokeśvara (Padmapāṇi) and from the left Vajrapāṇi. The three are the Ratnatraya and they represent the triads of Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha, kāya-vāk-citta, *asih* (karuṇā)-puṇya-bhakti: they desire the three worlds to be full. Out of this desire emerges Vairocana from the mouth of Śākyamuni. The two acolytes divide. From Lokeśvara appear Akṣobhya and Ratnasambhava. Vajrapāṇi divides into Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi. They are the Pañca-Tathāgata. From Vairocana the Omniscient appear all the Gods omnific or all-creating (*sarv-kārya-kartā*): the Trinity of Īśvara-Brahmā-Viṣṇu, moving beings and stationary objects, heaven-earth-netherworld. The AS sums up the cosmic genesis as follows: Divārūpa→Ratnatraya→Pañcatathāgata→all beings and gods. The above can be tabulated as follows:



Śākyamuni, flanked by Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi, is the Vairocana of the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala, who is also attended upon by Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi. As they are the Ratnatraya, their Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala pertains to three families.

Vairocana belongs to the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. It is self-evident by the names of the four Tathāgatas. Had they been from the Garbhadhātu, their names would have been different: Ratnaketu, Saṁkusumitarāja, Amitābha, Divya-dundubhi-megha-nirghoṣa. The

Vajradhātu-maṇḍala has five families.

The above statement is based on folios 52a-54a and the chart given by Kats 1910:192 about the origins of Buddhas will have to be radically altered. He has failed to grasp that the genesis is based on yoga, jñāna and upacāra (meditation, knowledge and ritual), or nirākāra, sākāra and bāhyaka.

The Upaniṣads say:

ākāśe puruṣas tam evāham upāse (Kauṣ.4.8)

ākāśam eva bhagavo rājan (Chan.5.15.1)

The VAS.2.23 (Wayman/Tajima 1992:350): "My Dharma is fully enlightened. It arises from the sky." Divārūpa is this sky, the innermost being in yogic meditation whence emanate deities of the two maṇḍalas of Vairocana.

Buddha masamāhitarūpa (f.48b) refers to Vairocana in samādhi-mudrā, that is Abhisambodhi-Vairocana of the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala. In the first chapter of VAS Bhagavat is an epithet of the Buddha Vairocana (Tajima/Wayman 1992:269 n.5). Likewise, elsewhere in the VAS (e.g. ch.23) Bhagavat stands for Vairocana. Vairocana is also addressed as Mahāmuni in the same passage: "the Bhagavat, Dharmeśvara, Mahāmuni, omniscient one, the lord Vairocana..." (Wayman 1992:179). In the AS, Śākyamuni does not signify the historical Buddha, but a transcendental Buddha whose acolytes are Lokeśvara and Bajrapāṇi (folios 52b, 53a, 55b, 56b).

The term Vairocana occurs in several places: 39b, 50b, 53ab, 54ab, 55ab, 56b, 57ab, 58b, 59b, 60ab. The word *pañcākārābhisambodhi* occurs on 59a, but the other terms are *Vairocana-samādhi* (51b) and *kavairocanan* 'Vairocanahood', though the usual expression is *kahyaṅbuddhān* (43b...) 'Buddhahood' like Japanese *jōbutsu* 'becoming (*jō*) Buddha (*butsu*)' for abhisambodhi.

Mijil taṅ devatā sarvvakāryyakarttā[1] sake kasarvvajñān bhaṭāra Vairocana, Ivirnya Īśvara, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, sira ta kinon mamaripūrṇākna ṅ tribhuvana mvaṅ isyanya[2] de bhaṭāra Vairocana, donanya pagavayana kaparārthān mvaṅ sthāna bhaṭāra pinūjā irikaṅ kāla, dadi taṅ sthāvara jaṅgamādi. Svargga hiběkan devatādi, marttyapada (h)iběkan mānuṣādi, pātāla hiběkan nāgādi de bhaṭārEśvara Brahmā Viṣṇu, ya ta mataṅnyan sarvvakāryyakarttā [54a] **sira, nora tan kahanan ira, ndān dinadyakěn de ni kasarvvajñan bhaṭāra śrī Vairocana, kaṅ sarvvakāryyakarttā bhaṭāra Īśvara Brahmā Viṣṇu. Maṅkana kahiḍěpan bhaṭāra sarvvajñā deniṅ sākāra jñāna, pinūjā sira riṅ pañcopacāra jñāna tatva.**

Kahiḍěp (p)va sira deniṅ vāhyaka jñāna saṅ hyaṅ arcca pratimā pěṭa śākali[3], pinūjā riṅ pañcopacāra vāhya.

Kaliṅanyānak(k)u: bhaṭāra divārūpa sira dadi bhaṭāra ratnatraya, matěmahan bhaṭāra pañcatathāgata. Pañcatathāgata maṅdadyakěn pañceśvara, pañceśvara maṅdadyakěn brahmarṣi, brahmarṣi maṅdadyakěn sarvvajanma devatādi. Pahenak ta manahta, hayva saṅśaya!

Nihan taṅ tatva viśeṣa mu[54b]**vah pavaraha mami ri kita, krama ni pañcaskandha[4] ri saṅ**

yogiśvara: rūpa, vedanā, sañjñā, saṅskāra, vijñāna.

rūpaṁ Vairocano jñeyo, vedanā Ratnasambhavaḥ/
saṁjñā ca Amitābhaś ca, saṁskāro 'moghasiddhidaḥ/
Akṣobhyo vijñānaṁ jñeyaḥ, pañcaskandhāś ca ity ete/
pañcāṅga-pañcabodhiś ca pañcatathāgatātmakāḥ//

ka: ḍaṅ hyaṅ Vairocana rūpa. Rūpa ṅaranya: kulit, dagiṅ, otvat, tahulan, rāh, vuduk, sumsum, ya rūpa ṅaranya.

Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Ratnasambhava vedanā. Vedanā ṅaranya: ikaṅ maṅhiḍĕp sukha duḥkha ya vedanā ṅa.

Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Amitābha sañjnā. Sañjñā ṅaranya: nāma, nāma ṅaranya:aran, ya sañjñā ṅaranya.

Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Amoghasiddhi saṁskāra. [55a] **Saṁskāra ṅaranya: ikaṅ ginave hetu mvaṅ ginave pratyaya[5], ya saṅskāra ṅaranya.**

Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Akṣobhya vijñāna. Vijñāna ṅaranya: samya-jñāna. Samyajñāna ṅaranya: pratyakṣānumāna, ya vijñāna ṅaranya.

Skandha ṅaran iṅ śarīra, pañca ṅaran iṅ lima, yata sinaṅguh śarīra lima ṅaranya. Maṅkana tatva niṅ pañcaskandha ri saṅ yogīśvara.

The omnipotent gods arise from the omniscience of bhaṭāra Vairocana. They are: Īśvara, Brahmā and Viṣṇu. They are commissioned by bhaṭāra Vairocana to pervade the three worlds and their essence, in order to effect the welfare of beings, so that the dignity of the Lord is extolled, while stationary and moving beings (plants and creatures) are created. Heaven (*svarga*) is filled with gods and others, the earth (*martyapada*) is filled with men and others, the netherworld (*pātāla*) is filled with nāgas and others, by bhaṭāra Īśvara, Brahmā and Viṣṇu. Therefore they are the omnipotent ones. They certainly have no [independent] existence, except that arising from the omniscience of bhaṭāra Vairocana, so that they — bhaṭāra Īśvara, Brahmā and Viṣṇu — can he omnipotent. Thus the omniscient Lord is conceived by the sākāra jñāna, and is worshipped by the five-fold rites of jñāna-tattva (=*tattvajñāna*).

He is conceived by vāhyaka-jñāna via the sacred objects (*arcca*) like images (*pratimā*), paintings (*pĕṭa*), and (*śākali*), and is worshipped by the five-fold external (*vāhya*) rites.

My son, it means that bhaṭāra Divārūpa becomes bhaṭāra Ratnatraya, and transforms into the Five Tathāgatas. The Five Tathāgatas create the Five Īśvaras, the Five Īśvaras produce the brahmarṣis, the brahmarṣis give rise to all creatures, gods, etc. Be at ease, don't doubt.

TATTVA VIŚEṢA

Now I will instruct you in the tattva viśeṣa as follows. The five skandhas in a yogiśvara are: rūpa, vedanā, saṁjñā, saṁskāra, and vijñāna.

rūpaṁ Vairocano jñeyo, vedanā Ratnasambhavaḥ /
saṁjñā ca Amitābhaś ca, saṁskāro 'moghasiddhidaḥ /

Akṣobhyo vijñānaṁ jneyaḥ, pañcaskandhāś ca ity ete /
pañcāṅga-pañcabodhiś ca pañcatathāgatātmakāḥ //

It means: the holy Vairocana is rūpa. Rūpa means skin, flesh, veins, bones, blood, fat, marrow. The holy Ratnasambhava is vedanā. Vedanā means that which senses joy and sorrow. The holy Amitābha is saṁjñā. Saṁjnā means nāma. Nāma means name. The holy Amoghasiddhi is saṁskāra. Saṁskāra means what which activates the proximate and remote cause. The holy Akṣobhya is vijñāna. Vijñāna means samyagjñāna. Samyagjñāna means direct apprehension (pratyakṣānumāna). Skandha means body, pañca means five. These are called 'five bodies'. Such is the essence of the five skandhas in a yogīśvara.

[1] Omnipotence or *sarvakāryakartā* is contrasted with omniscience or *kasarvajñān*. Vairocana is omniscient and his omnipotence is delegated to the Hindu Trinity of Īśvara, Brahmā and Viṣṇu which emanates from him. They are his active power, that creates all beings, stationary and moving, gods and men, plants and animals.

We can systematise the ideas of this section as follows: yoga→ jñāna→ kārya.

yoga	→ jñāna	→ kārya
	kasarvajñān	sarva-kārya-kartā
Divārūpa	Bhaṭāra Sarvajña	Īśvara, Brahmā, Viṣṇu
	= Vairocana	

Yoga culminates in Divārūpa. That leads to the omniscience of Vairocana. Vairocana is the Omniscient Lord or Bhaṭāra Sarvajña. From him stems the creative power of the Hindu Trinity, who have no independent existence of their own. They get the order to create heaven, earth and netherworlds with inhabitants, to give rise to plants and other living beings. Though almighty they owe their existence and their authority to the glorious Vairocana.

Following Guṇa-kāraṇḍa-vyūha, Hodgson 1828:42 says that Padmapāṇi was delegated with the creation of the Trinity with the aid of the three guṇas. "Padmapāṇi, was engaged by Śambhu's command, in creation; and having by the efficacy of Śambhu's dhyāna, assumed the virtues of the three guṇas, he created Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśa, and delegated to them respectively, creation, preservation, and destruction. Accordingly, by Padmapāṇi's commands, Brahmā set about creating all things; and the Chatur-yoni (or oviparous, viviparous, etc.) came into existence by Brahmā. The creation of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśa by Padmapāṇi, is confirmed by the śloka the meaning of which is, Kamalī (Padmapāṇi) produced Brahmā for creating, Viṣṇu for preserving, and Maheśa for destroying. And the creation of Brahmā is six-sorted, viz., Deva, Daitya, Mānuṣa, etc., and, for the Devas, Brahmā made heaven; and for the Daityas, Pātāla; and the four remaining kinds he placed between these two regions and upon the earth."

Vairocana or Bhaṭāra Sarvajña is supreme and he is

contemplated by the followers of	and worshipped by
sākāra jñāna	pañcopacāra jñāna-tattva
vāhyaka jñāna	pañcopacāra vāhya

[2] *ihi (hisi)* 'contents, the core or essence, (virtually:) the ornament, ideal of ...' Zoetmulder.

In the Kāraṇḍavyūha, the Hindu Trinity and other gods come out of the body of Avalokiteśvara: Candra (Moon) and Āditya (Sun) from the eyes, Maheśvara from the forehead, Brahmā etc. from the shoulders, Nārāyaṇa from the heart, Sarasvatī from the teeth, Vāyu from the mouth, Earth from the feet, and Varuṇa from the stomach (Sinha 1992:179).

[3] The phrase *saṅ hyaṅ arca pratimā pĕṭa śākali* (54a) has the enigmatic word *śakali*. There are three possible meanings:

i. *śakaly-eṣin* 'desiring fragments of wood, devouring or licking (as a flame of fire)' is cited by MW from the Atharvaveda 1.25.2. Can *śakali* refer to the fire rites of homa?

ii. *śakalin* in Amarakośa 64.31 is translated into Tibetan as *go.cha.can* 'one who is armoured'. The Tibetan word *go.cha.can* also renders *kañcukin* in Amarakośa 192.8. Thus *śakalī* can mean a kavacamantra to fortify the devotee against evil forces. But the OJ context requires an object.

iii. *śakalī* can be *sakalin* from *sakala* 'all', on the pattern of *sarvaka* from *sarva* 'all'. In the Ādikarma-pradīpa *sarvaka* means a caitya. The ritual of making clay caityas is termed sarvaka-tāḍana-vidhi (Poussin 1898:193). Sarvaka-tāḍana is clarified by the text as *mṛc-caity-ādikaṁ kuryāt* (ib.217). The word *tāḍana* is smiting with water *(mantra-varṇān samālikhya tāḍayec candan-āmbhasā/ pratyekaṁ vāyu-bījena tāḍanaṁ tad udāhṛtaṁ*), and Śāradā-tilaka ch.5 f.20b: *tāḍanaṁ darbhaiḥ* (ib.218). The text Caityapuṅgava makes it clear that sarvaka-tāḍana is inseparable from caitya-vidhi (ib.219). Thus for the present I would prefer to translate *śakali* as a votive stūpa.

We can also compare the earlier passage (33b) which enjoins the worship of stūpa and Tathāgata-images, alongwith all kinds of ritual including homa: *stūpopakaraṇa, maṅarĕmbha saṅ hyaṅ stūpa tathāgata-pratibimba, maṅarcanākna sarvopakriyā, mahoma...* . The present passage also refers to the worship of images and śakalī (=stūpa) and conducting the pañcopacāra rites. Zoetmulder has not entered *śakali*, but has *sakalikaraṇa* "all required ceremonies? (Balinese comm. sakala-mārga, all ways); or: making material?" from the Rāmāyana 1.26 *sakalīkaraṇa ginave āvāhana len pratiṣṭhā.*

[4] The five skandhas and nāma-rūpa are coextensive terms. Nāma denotes all mental or internal phenomena and rūpa all physical or external phenomena. Nāma includes the four skandhas: vedanā/feeling, saṁjñā/notion, saṁskāra/mental disposition and vijñāna/clear consciousness, discrimination. Rūpa comprehends the four elements (*mahābhūtāni)*: earth, water, fire, air, and every from springing from them (Kern 1898:51). The enumeration of AS concurs with the usual enumeration of Mahāyāna.

"The quinary grouping of images is significant from the doctrinal and psychological standpoints. They correspond to the five constituent elements of human personality (pañcaskandhas); they further correspond to five members of the holy pentad—Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi, just as the macrocosm corresponds to the microcosm, so that external quinary complex corresponds to internal, spiritual quinary principle" (Joshi 1967:291).

[5] *Hetu* and *pratyaya* are distinguished by metaphysical writers in various ways: "Abhidharma-kośa, La Vallée-Poussin 9.241 n.3 vyākhyā:*hetur āsannaḥ pratyayaḥ, viprakṛṣṭas tu pratyaya eva; janako hetuḥ, pratyayas tv ālambanamātram ity apare; paryāyāv etāv ity apare,* hetu is the proximate cause (pratyaya), the remote one is pratyaya rather; others say hetu is what generates (produces), pratyaya only the underlying condition; others say the two are synonyms" (for details see Edgerton 375).

Nihan krama niṅ vījākṣara[1] maṅdadyakĕn pañca tathāgata: aḥ, hūṁ, traṁ, hrīḥ, aḥ.

Vairocanas tu aḥkāraṁ, hūṁkāram Akṣobhyas tathā /
traṁkāraṁ Ratnasambhavo, hrīḥkārañ ca Amitābhaḥ //

ka: Aḥ-kāra vījākṣara ḍaṅ hyaṅ Vairocana, hūṁkāra vījākṣara ḍaṅ hyaṅ Akṣobhya, traṁ-kāra vījākṣara ḍaṅ hyaṅ Ratnasambhava, hrīḥ-kāra vījākṣara ḍaṅ hyaṅ Amitā[55b]bha, aḥ-kārām Amoghasiddhiḥ, a-kāra vījākṣara ḍaṅ hyaṅ Amoghasiddhi. Nahan vījākṣarāmijilakĕn pañcabuddha.

Nāhan tiṅkah bhaṭāra buddha makāvak trikhala. Trikhala ṅaranya: rāga dveṣa moha, kāntarbhāverikā taṅ dambha, īrṣyā, mātsaryya.

rāgo 'mitābho vijñeyo, dveṣaś cākṣobhyo bajradhṛk /
moho Vairocanaś cāpi, trirupabhavantatataḥ //

ka: ikaṅ rāga ḍaṅ hyaṅ Amitābha tatva nira, ikaṅ dveṣa ḍaṅ hyaṅ Akṣobhya tatva nira, ikaṅ moha Vairocana tatva nira[2], ya ta sinaṅgah trikhala de saṅ yogīśvara. Kāraṇa niṅ valvi-valvi riṅ tribhava[3] ikaṅ rāga dveṣa moha; tribhava ṅaranya bhavacakra.[4]

arthaḥ Śākyamunir diṣṭaḥ, kāmo Lokeśvarocyate /
śabdo Bajrapāṇir jñeyas, trimalaṁ yogisammatam //

ka: artha śrī Śākya[56a]muni tatva nira, kāma śrī Lokeśvara tatva nira, śabda śrī Bajrapāṇi tatva nira. Ikaṅ artha kāma śabda ya ta inajarakĕn trimala de saṅ yogīśvara.

rāgadveṣamoho Buddhaḥ arthakāmaśabdātmakaḥ /
dharmmasu smṛtibhāvāya smṛteḥ syāt duḥkhadhāraṇā //

ka: bhaṭāra Buddha[5] sira makatatva ṅ rāga dveṣa moha, makāvak artha kāma śabda sira, ka: trikhala sira trimala sira. Paran don ira n makāvak trikhala trimala? Makadon dadya ni smṛti, marmma niṅ dharmma, makanimitta smṛti riṅ dharmma, dadi makasaṅkan kadhāraṇān iṅ duḥkha,

ya ta hetu nira n patĕmahan trikhala trimala,[6] duḥkha hetu nika, marapvan ikaṅ rāt kabeh mahyun aṅulahakna ṅ dharmma, sādhananyan umaṅgihakna ṅ inak a[56b]mbĕk.

BĪJĀKṢARAS OF THE FIVE TATHĀGATAS

The system of bījākṣara that become the Five Tathāgatas is as follows: aḥ, hūṁ, traṁ, hrīḥ, aḥ.

Vairocanas tu aḥkāraṁ, hūṁkāram Akṣobhyas tathā /
traṁkāraṁ Ratnasambhavo, hrīḥkārañ ca Amitābhaḥ //

i.e. āḥ is the bījākṣara of holy Vairocana, hūṁ is the bījākṣara of holy Akṣobhya, traṁ is the bījākṣara of holy Ratnasambhava, hrīḥ is the bījākṣara of holy Amitābha, *aḥkāraṁ Amoghasiddhiḥ,* aḥ is the bījākṣara of holy Amoghasiddhi. In this way the bījākṣaras bring forth the Five Tathāgatas.

TRIKHALA

The way in which bhaṭāra Buddha is embodied in the trikhala is as follows: trikhala means rāga, dveṣa, moha. Included in them are dambha (deceit), īrṣyā (envy), and mātsaryya (jealousy).

rāgo 'mitābho vijñeyo, dveṣaś cākṣobhyo vajradhṛk /
moho Vairocanaś cāpi, trirupabhavantatataḥ //

i.e. rāga is the essence (tatva) of holy Amitābha, dveṣa is the essence of holy Akṣobhya, moha is the essence of Vairocana. These are called trikhala by yogīśvaras. The cause of returning again and again to tribhāva are these rāga, dveṣa and moha. Tribhāva means bhavacakra or cycle of rebirths.

TRIMALA

The essence (tatva) of the trimala to a yogīśvara is as follows:

arthaḥ Śākyamunir diṣṭaḥ, kāmo Lokeśvarocyate /
śabdo Vajrapāṇir jñeyas, trimalaṁ yogisammatam //

i.e. artha is the essence of Śākyamuni, kāma is the essence of Lokeśvara, śabda is the essence of Bajrapāṇi. These artha, kāma and śabda are taught by a yogīśvara as being the trimala.

rāgadveṣamoho Buddhaḥ artha-kāma-śabdātmakaḥ /
dharmmasu smṛti-bhāvāya, smṛteḥ syāt duḥkhadhāraṇā //

i.e. bhaṭāra Buddha has the essence of rāga, dveṣa, moha and the body of artha, kāma, śabda, that is: he is both trikhala and trimala. For what purpose does he embody himself in trikhala and trimala? The purpose is the creation of smṛti (law-codes), the vital core of dharma. Because of smṛti in dharma it becomes the means of sustaining suffering (duḥkha). This is the reason that he transforms into trikhala and trimala, suffering is its cause, so that the whole world wants to practise dharma, the means by which peace of mind can be obtained.

[1] The Five Tathāgatas emanate from the bījākṣaras (55a). Bijākṣaras become the Four Devīs (61a). Advayavajra says: *śūnyatābodhito bījaṁ, bījād bimbaṁ prajāyate* "From the realization of voidness proceeds the germ-syllable; from the germ-syllable, the image of the deity" (Wayman 1984:449 n.21).

The names of the Five Tathāgatas are from the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, alongwith the bījākṣaras of three of them. Bījākṣaras of the remaining two Tathāgatas (āḥ, aḥ) are derived from the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala which has separate names and separate bījas of the Five Tathāgatas.

Vajradhātu-maṇḍala		AS	Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala	
Vairocana	vaṁ	āḥ	Vairocana	āḥ
Akṣobhya	hūṁ	hūṁ	Ratnaketu	a
Ratnasambhava	trāḥ	traṁ	Saṁkusumitarāja	ā
Amitābha	hrīḥ	hrīḥ	Amitāyus	aṁ
Amoghasiddhi	aḥ	aḥ	Divya-dundubhi-megha-nirghoṣa	aḥ
(Sawa, index p.22)			(Tajima 1959:74)	

The bījākṣaras of Vairocana in the AS is āḥ, which is from the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala. The bīja of Amoghasiddhi in AS is *aḥ*, which is again derived from the Garbhadhātu where it is the bīja of his counterpart Divya-dundubhi-megha-nirghoṣa. The order of bījas in the Garbhadhātu is in alphabetic sequence: a ā aṁ aḥ āḥ.

[2] A *moho Vairocana tatva tatva nira.*

[3] *tribhava* 'the triple states of existence (kāma, rūpa and arūpa)' Edgerton. This word occurs only here (Zoetmulder).

[4] *bhavacakra* 'wheel of existence, cycle of rebirths'. In the Tibetan representation of the bhavacakra, the wheel around which the suffering of continuous rebirths revolves, the three vices are represented as a pigeon, a snake, and a boar.

[5] Buddha as the prime mover of Dharma, becomes the embodiment of trimala and trikhala, the causes of suffering in the world created by him. But he also has the responsiblity of liberating the world from suffering. He is the source of both *sat*/good and *asat*/evil, *sad-asac cāhaṁ* as said in the Bhagavad-Gītā. Smṛti are created as the quintessence of dharma, they are the smṛtis for dharma. They become the means of averting miseries, as the entire world desires to practise dharma for happiness of the mind (*inak ambĕk*), for bliss or ānanda. If there were no miseries, the world would not engage in dharma.

[6] The three cardinal blemishes are rāga (lust, passion), dveṣa (hatred, illwill), moha (delusion, infatuation). They are the 'three fires' which burn in the mind, and have to be extinguished before nirvāṇa is attained. In the yoga-tantras "the great commentary on the Śrī-Paramādya (i.e. the Śrī-Paramādiṭikā, Toh. 2512, by Anandagarbha) states that

the reciter and evoker of the five Tathāgatas has a good nature and acts with the three poisons in equal parts; the evoker of the Tathāgata Family has a preponderance of lust (rāga); the candidate of the second section has a preponderance of hatred (dveṣa); the candidate of the third one, delusion (moha) or wayward views (mithyā-dṛṣṭi); the candidate of the fourth, avarice (mātsarya). For this reason, there are four different mental series (saṁtāna) of persons" (Lessing/Wayman 1968:221). These correspondences can be tabulated as follows:

Section of Fundamental Tantra	Family	Lord	Persons' Consciousness
1. Diamond Realm	Tathāgata	Vairocana	lust
2. Victory over the Three Worlds	Vajra	Akṣobhya	hatred
3. Training the Living Beings	Padma	Amitābha	delusion
4. Achieving the Objective	(Ratna	Ratnasambhava)	avarice
	(Karma	Amoghasiddhi)	

In the AS the three poisons occur in several passages:

12a: prapañca is the embodiment of rāga dveṣa moha

16a: Bajrasattva is śuddha-svabhāva, he has no rāga dveṣa moha

18a: One should exert for the well-being of others (kaparārthān), without being soiled by rāga dveṣa moha.

26a: Attachment to music, dance, etc. destroys equanimity and induces rāga, dveṣa, moha

32a: To accomplish good deeds, the mind (*citta*) should not have excessive rāga, no great dveṣa, no moha.

40b: Śānti-bhāvanā means: concentration on the cessation of rāga. Ūṣmī-bhāvanā means: concentration on the cessation of dveṣa. Ūrddhva-bhāvanā means: concentration on the cessation of moha. Agra-bhāvanā means: concentration on the cessation of the above three afflictions (kleśa).

55b: Buddha embodies the trikhala which are rāga, dveṣa, moha.

56a: Buddha is the essence (tattva) of rāga, dveṣa, moha.

Buddho Śākyamunir vidvān, dharmmo Lokeśvaraḥ prabhuḥ /
saṅgho Bajrapāṇir jñeyas, triratnan tu vidhīyate//

ka: Ḍaṅ hyaṅ[1] śrī Śākyamuni paramārtha ḍaṅ hyaṅ Buddha tatva nira, śrī Lokeśvara ḍaṅ hyaṅ Dharmma tatva nira, śrī Bajrapāṇi āryya saṅgha tatva nira. Sira ta sinaṅgah bhaṭāra ratnatraya ṅaran ira. Vairocana, Amitābha, Akṣobhya ratnatraya ṅaran ira. Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amoghasiddhi ratnatraya sira muvah.

Nihan tatva niṅ trikāya: kāya, vāk, citta.

kāyo Vairocanaś cāpi, vāk cĀmitābho vijñeyaḥ /
cittam Akṣobhyabajraś ca, trikāya-nāmnā sammatāḥ//

ka: Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Vairocana kāya; sarvvamudrā sarvvalakṣaṇa, ya kāya ṅaranya.
Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Ami[57a]tābha vāk. Vāk ṅaranya: sarvvaśabda makādi mantra vījākṣara, ya vāk ṅaranya.
Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Akṣobhya citta. Sarvvajñāna ya citta ṅaranya.
Ya ta mataṅnyan bhaṭāra ratnatraya sira trikāya, liṅ saṅ yogīśvara.

Nihan tatva niṅ triparārtha[2] kavruhana, triparārtha ṅaranya: asih, puṇya, bhakti.

asih Vairocaño jneyaḥ, puṇyaś cĀmitābhas tathā /
bhaktiś cĀkṣobhyo vajradhṛk, triparārthā nigadyante //

ka: Bhaṭāra Vairocana sira asih. Asih ṅaranya: saṅ kumavaśāken catur pāramitā, ya asih ṅaranya.
Bhaṭārāmitābha puṇya. Ikaṅ kumavaśāken ṣaṭ pāramitā, ya puṇya ṅaranya.
Bhaṭārākṣobhya si(ra) bhakti. Ikaṅ lumaku satatānūt rasa niṅ āgama, ma[57b]tĕguh rumakṣa tapa brata saṅskāra mvaṅ buddhaśāsana tan kavanĕhan maṅulahaken dharmma, ya sinaṅguh bhakti ṅaranya.

Ikaṅ asih puṇya bhakti, ya triparārtha paramārtha ṅaranya, makatatva ṅ ratnatraya.

RATNATRAYA

Buddho Śākyamunir vidvān, dharmmo Lokeśvaraḥ prabhuḥ /
saṅgho Vajrapāṇir jñeyas, triratnan tu vidhīyate //

The holy Śākyamuni has, in truth, the holy Buddha as his essence (tatva), Śrī Lokeśvara has the holy Dharma as his essence, Bajrapāṇi has the venerable Saṅgha as his essence. They are called bhaṭāra Ratnatraya. Vairocana, Amitābha and Akṣobhya are called Ratnatraya. Vairocana, Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi are also Ratnatraya.

TRIKĀYA

The essence (tatva) of the trikāya is: kāya, vāk, citta:

kāyo Vairocanaś cāpi, vāk cĀmitābho vijñeyaḥ /
cittam Akṣobhyavajraś ca, trikāya-nāmnā sammatāḥ //

i.e. the holy Vairocana is kāya. All the mudrās and characteristics (lakṣaṇas) are called kāya. The holy Amitābha is vāk. Vāk means all speech, beginning with mantras and bījākṣaras. The holy Akṣobhya is citta. Omniscience (sarvajñāna) is citta. Therefore bhaṭāra Ratnatraya is also trikāya, say yogīśvaras.

TRIPARĀRTHA

The essence of triparārtha is to be known as follows. Triparārtha means asih (karuṇā), puṇya (virtue), and bhakti (devotion).

asih Vairocano jñeyaḥ, puṇyaś cĀmitābhas tathā /
bhaktiś cĀkṣobhyo bajradhṛk, triparārthā nigadyante //

i.e. bhaṭāra Vairocana is asih. Asih means one who has mastered the four pāramitas. Bhaṭāra Amitābha is puṇya. The mastery of the six pāramitās is called Puṇya. Bhaṭāra Akṣobhya is bhakti. Always conducting in accord with the tenor of the āgama, firmly practising tapa, brata, saṁskāra and Buddha's religion, never careless in dharma, he is

called bhakti. The triparārtha of asih, puṇya and bhakti are called the highest reality (paramārtha), whose essence is the Ratnatraya.

[1] Note the use of *ḍaṅ hyaṅ* with Buddha and Dharma and *ārya* with Saṅgha as the original trinity.

[2] Triparārtha "the three highest virtues? or: the three virtues which are related to others?" Zoetmulder. They are three philanthropic virtues related to others, and in the altruistic sense they are the highest reality (paramārtha) and as such the essence of the Trinity.

Undefiled knowledge *(nirābhāsa-prajñā-gocara)* develops the desire of boundless altruism (*aparimita-sattvārtha*). Parārtha (altruism) and paramārtha (absoluteness, absolute knowledge) are both present in the world of becoming. Because of puṇya-sambhāra a Bodhisattva does good to the world, but by his jñāna-sambhāra he is not defiled by the kleśas (Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra, Chatterjee 1962:226).

Nihan tatva niṅ pañcadhātu ri saṅ yogīśvara. Pañcadhātu[1] ṅaranya: pṛthivī, āpaḥ, teja, bāyu, ākāśa.

pṛthivīdhātur Buddhaś ca, abdhātū Ratnasambhavaḥ /
tejodhātuś cĀmitābho, vāyuś cĀmoghasiddhidaḥ /
ākāśadhātur Akṣobhya, etāni pañcadhātūni /
satvena pāñcadehāś ca pañcatathāgatātmakāḥ //

ka: Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Vairocana sira buddha, sira pṛthivīdhātu. Ikaṅ abvat ya pṛthivī ṅaranya.

Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Ratnasambhava āpaḥdhātu. Ikaṅ drava svabhā[58a]**va, ya āpaḥ ṅaranya.**

Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Amitābha tejadhātu. Ikaṅ laghu svabhāva, ya tejadhātu ṅaranya.

Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Amoghasiddhi sira bāyudhātu. Ikaṅ cala[2] svabhāva, ya bāyudhātu ṅaranya.

Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Akṣobhya ākāśadhātu. Ikaṅ taya svabhāva, ya ākāca ṅaranya.

Nahan krama ḍaṅ hyaṅ pañcatathāgata matĕmahan pañcadhātu.

Ikaṅ pañcadhātu ya ta pañcadeha[3] deniṅ sarbbasatva, lvirnya: pṛthivī pinakadagiṅ, kulit, otvat, tahulan. Āpaḥ pinakarāh, vuduk, sumsum, reta, śleṣma. Teja pinakapanon. Bāyu pinaka uśvāsa. Ākāśa pinakalĕpa niṅ śarīra, pinakaroma. Maṅkana lvir niṅ pañca mahābhūta pinakāvak niṅ sarbbasatva; saha kalāvan guṇanya pina[58b]**kaśarīra: Pṛthivī makaguṇa ṅ gandha, āpaḥ makaguṇa ṅ rasa, teja makaguṇa ṅ rūpa, bāyu makaguṇa ṅ sparśa, ākāśa makaguṇa ṅ śabda. Ya ta hetu niṅ puruṣa kinahanan deniṅ rūpa, rasa, gandha, sparśa, śabda, āpan makāvak pañcadhātu.**

Nihan krama ḍaṅ hyaṅ tathāgata patĕmahan pañca rūpaskandha. Pañca rūpaskandha ṅaranya: kalala, arvuda, ghana, peśi, praśākha.

kalalaṁ Bajrasatvaś[4] ca, arvudo Ratnasambhavaḥ /
ghanĀmitābho vijñeyaḥ, peśī Amoghasiddhidaḥ /
Vairocanaḥ praśākhāyāṁ, pañcarūpātmasambhavāḥ/
pañcākārābhisambodheḥ pañca tathāgatā matāḥ //

ka: Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Akṣobhya kalala. Kalala ṅaranya: pila-pilū[5].

Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Ratnasambhava arvuda. Aruda ṅa[59a]**ranya: vĕrĕh.**

Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Amitābha ghana. Ghana ṅaranya: dagiṅ akandĕl, kadyaṅganiṅ goh gavayādi.

Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Amoghasiddhi peśī. Peśī ṅaranya: dagiṅ alaměd, kadyaṅganiṅ pipīlikādi.

Ḍaṅ hyaṅ Vairocana praśākha. Praśākha ṅaranya: mataṅan, masuku, mahulu, kadyaṅga niṅ mānuṣa devatādi.

Nahan krama ḍaṅ hyaṅ pañcatathāgata patĕmahan pañca-rūpaskandha, ya pañcākārābhisambodhi[6].

PAÑCADHĀTU

The essence (tattva) of the five elements (*pañca-dhātu*) is as follows according to yogīśvaras. The five elements are: earth, water, fire, wind, ether.

pṛthivīdhātur Buddhaś ca, abdhātū Ratnasambhavaḥ/
tejodhātuś cĀmitābho, vāyuś cĀmoghasiddhidaḥ/
ākāśadhātur Akṣobhya, etāni pañcadhātūni/
satvena pañcadehāś ca pañcatathāgatātmakāḥ//

i.e. the holy Vairocana is the Buddha, he is the earth element. Whatever has weight is called earth. The holy Ratnasambhava is the water element. Whatever is liquid by nature is called water. The holy Amitābha is the fire element. Whatever is light by nature is called the fire element. The holy Amoghasiddhi is the wind element. Whatever is moving by nature is called the wind element. The holy Akṣobhya is the ether element. Whatever is empty by nature is called ether. This is the way in which the holy Five Tathāgatas become the five elements.

The five elements are the five bodies (*pañca-deha*) of all beings. The earth serves for flesh, skin, veins, bones. Water serves for blood, fat, marrow, semen virile, phlegm. Fire serves for eye. Wind serves for breath. Ether serves for the more delicate parts of the body such as body hair. Such is the manifestation of the five gross elements (pañca-mahābhūta) serving bodies of all beings. Besides they embody their own qualities. The earth has smell as quality, water has taste as quality, fire has form as quality, wind has touch as quality, ether has sound as quality. That is why a human being is gifted with form, taste, smell, touch and speech for he embodies the five elements.

PAÑCA-RŪPASKANDHA

This is the manner in which the Five Tathāgatas become the five skandhas of form (*pañca-rūpa-skandha*). The five are: kalala, arvuda, ghana, peśī, praśākhā:

kalalaṁ Vajrasatvaś ca, arvudo Ratnasambhavaḥ /
ghanĀmitābho vijñeyaḥ, peśī Amoghasiddhidaḥ /
Vairocanaḥ praśākhāyāṁ, pañcarūpātmasambhavāḥ /
pañcākārābhisambodheḥ pañca tathāgatā matāḥ //

i.e. holy Akṣobhya is kalala. Kalala means slimy liquid. Holy Ratnasambhava is arvuda. Arvuda means foam. Holy Amitābha is ghana, Ghana means thick flesh like that of a cow, wild bull and the like. Holy Amoghasiddhi is peśī. Peśi means soft flesh like that of ants and the like. Holy Vairocana is praśākhā. Praśākhā means possessing hands, feet

and head, like human beings, gods and others. This is the way in which the holy Five Tathāgatas pass into the five rūpa-skandha. This is the fivefold abhisambodhi.

[1] The five elements (pañcadhātu) are correlated to the Five Tathāgatas in the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (Tajima 1959:71). In the AS the correlations are:

	AS	Waddell	Hodgson	Groeneveld
Vairocana	earth/weight	space	ākāśa/vision	earth/vision
Akṣobhya	ether/empty	air	air/hearing	water/hearing
Ratnasambhava	water/liquid	earth	afire/smell	fire/smell
Amitābha	fire/light	light	water/taste	air/taste
Amoghasiddhi	wind/moving	water	earth/feeling	space/feeling

The correspondences of the Five Tathāgatas with the five elements and their qualities or the senses differ in the various sources. The above table is from Kats 1910:186.

[2] The nature of bāyu is *cala*. The reading *vala* of Kats has been corrected to *cala*. See Tajima 1936:243 "Le vent se déplace et agite tout".

[3] In Pañcadeha, *deha* refers to the components of the body. The five elements become parts of the body and their qualities become the human senses.

The Five Tathāgatas are correlated to the five stages in the embryonic development of a human being. Kats clarifies this paragraph with a quotation from Wassiljew 260: *kalala, arbuda, peśi* and *ghana* are called the first periods of conception of the foetus in the womb. *Kalala* means mixing, pollution (compare, however, Böhtlingk), the period of the first week, in which the mass of the body-to-be looks like curdled milk. *Arbuda* 'bladder' is the period of the second week, in which a shape shows like something thinning. *Peśi* "thickening" (in Skt. egg). *Ghana* "hardening", the period of the third and fourth week. Only in the second Chinese translation there is a fifth, the period called praśāka: the formation of hands and feet".

kalala	Akṣobhya	slimy liquid
arbuda	Ratnasambhava	foam
ghana	Amitābha	thick flesh
peśi	Amoghasiddhi	soft flesh
praśākha	Vairocana	hands, feet, head

[4] *Vajrasattva* is translated as Akṣobhya in the Old Javanese commentary.

[5] *pila-pilū* 'a slimy liquid' Zoetmulder.

[6] *visambodhi* (as read by Kats) is also entered in Zoetmulder's Dictionary

(p.2295), cited only from the present passage. He renders it as 'perfect enlightenment'. The reading has been corrected to *abhisambodhi*.

Nihan krama niṅ pañcatathāgata jñāna ri saṅ hyaṅ kamahāyānikan.

śāśavatajñānaṁ Buddhaś ca, ādarśajñānam Akṣobhyaḥ /
samatā Ratnasambhavaḥ, kṛtyañ cāmoghasiddhidaḥ /
pratyavekṣaṇā vijñeyo Lokeśvaraḥ paraṁ sukhaṁ /
etāni pañcajñānāni guhyāni parikīrtyante //

[59b]ka: Ikaṅ niṣprapañca-jñāna[2] kinatayan deniṅ ātmanīyābhiniveśa[1], yatika śāśvata jñāna ṅaran ika, jñāna bhaṭāra Vairocana ika.

Ikaṅ prabhāsvara-jñāna, jñāna lumĕṅ kadi teja saṅ hyaṅ āditya, ya ādarśa-jñāna ṅaranya, jñāna bhaṭārākṣobhya ikā.

Ikaṅ jñāna grāhya-grāhaka-rahita, tanpa ṅgĕgö, tanpa ṅgĕgö avaknya, ya ākāśasama ta jñāna ṅaranya jñāna bhaṭāra Ratnasambhava ikā.

Ikaṅ jñāna sarbbadharmmanairātmya, humiḍĕp śūnyatā niṅ sarbbadharmma nityadā (AB nityatvadi), ya pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna ṅaranya, jñāna bhaṭārāmitābha ikā.

Ikaṅ jñāna vyāpāra riṅ sarbbakriyā sarbba hana taya, ṅūniveh byāpāra polah niṅ avak yatikā kṛtyānuṣṭhāna jñāna ṅaranya, jñāna bha[60a]ṭārāmoghasiddhi ika. Mataṅnyan karmmakulī ṅaran ḍaṅ hyaṅ Amoghasiddhi ri de nira n byāpāra ri sarbbakarmma.

Nahan prabheda niṅ pañcajñāna de saṅ yogīśvara, parama rahasya ikā.

Nihan krama niṅ pañcatathāgatadevī, lvir nira: bharālī[3] Dhātvīśvarī, bharālī Locanā, bharālī Māmakī, bharālī Pāṇḍaravāsinī, bharālī Tārā. Nahan pratyeka nira n pañca.

Dhātvīśvarī mahādevī Vairocanapatir jñeyā /
Locanākṣobhyapatiś ca Dhātvīśvarī Locanekā /
Māmakī Ratnasambhava, Pāṇḍaravāsinī devī /
Amitābhapatir jñeyā, Tārāmoghasiddhipriyā //

ka: Bharālī Dhātvīśvarī sira ta devī lĕvih makasvāmi bhaṭāra Vairocana. Bharālī Locanā[60b] makasvāmi bhaṭārākṣobhya. Bharālī Dhātvīśvarī mvaṅ bharālī Locanā tuṅgal tatva nira, ya ta mataṅnyan caturdevī, ikaṅ devī sumahākāryya ni(ra) bhaṭāra Vairocana, makajñāna śāśvatajñāna, sarvvajñārūpa, lvir nira: Satvabajrī, Ratnabajrī, Dharmmabajrī, Karmmabajrī. Nahan lvir niṅ caturdevī parivāra bhaṭāra Virocana. Sira ta kavaśākna kasevitan ira de saṅ sādhaka, marapvan eṅgal kapaṅgih ikaṅ kavairocanan. Bharālī Māmakī devī bhaṭāra Ratnasambhava. Bharālī Pāṇḍaravāsinī devī bhaṭārāmitābha. Bharālī Tārā devī bhaṭārāmoghasiddhi. Nahau krama bhaṭāra pañcatathāgata saha devī.

PAÑCA-TATHĀGATA-JÑĀNA

The Five Tathāgata-jñāna in holy Mahāyāna are as follows:

śāśvatajñānaṁ Buddhaś ca, ādarśajñānam Akṣobhyaḥ /
samatā Ratnasambhavaḥ, kṛtyañ cāmoghasiddhidaḥ /
pratyavekṣaṇā vijñeyo Lokeśvaraḥ paraṁ sukhaṁ /
etāni pañcajñānāni guhyāni parikīrtyante //

i.e. the niṣprapañca-jñāna, devoid of attachment to what pertains to self, is śāśvata-jñāna, it is the jñāna of bhaṭāra Vairocana. The prabhāsvara-jñāna (shining jñāna), the jñāna as

brilliant as the glow of the sun, is called ādarśa-jñāna, it is the jñāna of bhaṭāra Akṣobhya. The grāhya-grāhaka-rahita jñāna, beyond subject and object (not to be grasped and not grasping), is called ākāśa-samatā-jñāna, it is the jñāna of bhaṭāra Ratnasambhava. The sarvva-dharmma-nairātmya-jñāna, which senses the emptiness (śūnyatā) of all dharmas at all times, is called pratyavekṣaṇā-jñāna, it is the jñāna of bhaṭāra Amitābha. The jñāna that is engaged in all actions, in everything existing and not existing, and is further occupied with the activities of the body, is called kṛty-ānuṣṭhāna-jñāna, it is the jñāna of bhaṭāra Amoghasiddhi. Therefore the holy Amoghasiddhi is called karmakulī, since he is engaged in all kinds of actions. Thus the distinctions of the five jñāna (pañca-jñāna) are made by a yogīśvara. This is the supreme secret (parama-rahasya)

The five Tathāgata-devīs are as follows: bharālī Dhātvīśvarī, bharālī Locanā, bharālī Māmakī, bharālī Pāṇḍaravāsinī, bharāli Tārā. Each of the five are:

Dhātvīśvarī mahādevī Vairocanapatir jñeyā /
Locanākṣobhyapatiś ca Dhātvīśvarī Locanekā /
Māmakī Ratnasambhavā, Pāṇḍaravāsinī devī /
Amitābhapatir jñēyā, Tārāmoghasiddhipriyā //

i.e. bharālī Dhātvīśvarī is the highest goddess, whose consort is bhaṭāra Vairocana. Bharālī Locanā has bhaṭāra Akṣobhya as consort. Bharālī Dhātvīśvarī and bharālī Locanā are one in essence (tatva), therefore there are Four Devīs (*catur-devī).* The devīs who perform the major work of bhaṭāra Vairocana, whose jñāna is śāśvata-jñāna, the form of omniscience, are: Satvabajrī, Ratnabajrī, Dharmmabajrī and Karmmabajrī. These are the four Devīs surrounding bhaṭāra Vairocana. They must be attained and served by an aspirant (sādhaka) so that he may soon attain Vairocanahood. Bharālī Māmakī is the devī of bhaṭāra Ratnasambhava. Bharālī Pāṇḍaravāsinī is the devī of bhaṭāra Amitābha. Bharālī Tārā is the devī of Amoghasiddhi. Thus is the sequence of the Five Tathāgatas with their devīs.

[1] *ātmanīyābhiniveśa* 'attachment to what belongs to oneself' (Zoetmulder). The correct form is *ātmātmīya* (=Pali *attatanĭya*), which occurs as *attāttamīya* in the gāthā at Daśabhūmika 16(352).6. It means 'the self, and what pertains to the self'. The compound in prose is *ātmātmīya-vigata* Dbh.43.13, *ātmātmīya-rahita* Dbh.50.29. These prose passages of the Daśabhūmika with *vigata* and *rahita* prove that *kinatayan,* the reading of ms A, is correct and need not be emended to *kinahanan* as done by Kats.

[2] A Ikaṅ nisprapañcañana, jñāna bhaṭāra Vairocana, jñāna kinatayan deniṅ atmammiyābhiniveśa, yatikā śaśvatajñāna ṅaranya. B Ikaṅ nisprapañcā jñāna, jñāna kinanhānan de ni hātmayanabhiniveṣa, yatika saśvakājñāna ṅaran ika, jñāna bhaṭāra verocana hika

niṣprapañca-jñāna occurs in OJ only in this passage, as per Zoetmulder. For various contexts, see *prapañca* in Edgerton.

In Japanese Mantrayāna/Shingon, the two maṇḍalas of Vairocana are distinguished by belonging to the dharmakāya of tattva and of jñāna. Tajima 1959:50 says that the central image of Vairocana in the Mahākaruṇā-garbha-maṇḍala belongs to tattva-dharmaparyāya. The principal image of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala pertains to the jñāna-dharmaparyāya. *Tattva* is rendered as reason (Jap. *ri*) and *jñāna* as knowledge (Jap.*chi).* The Five Tathāgatas and their jñānas in the two maṇḍalas (Tajima 1959:74, 261-62, 266) are as follows:

	Garbhadhātu-m.	jñāna	Vajradhātu-m.	jñāna
C	Vairocana	dharmadhātu-svabhāva-j.	Vairocana	as in col.3
E	Ratnaketu	ādarśa-j.	Akṣobhya	as in col.3
S	Saṁkusumitarāja	samatā-j.	Ratnasambhava	as in col. 3
W	Amitāyus	pratyavekṣaṇā-j.	Amitābha	as in col. 3
N	Dundubhinirghoṣa	dharmadhātu-svabhāva-j.	Amoghasiddhi	kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-j.

Also see Tajima 1936:113, Chatterjee 1962:228.

In AS the schema is as follows:

Buddha i.e. Vairocana	śāśvata-jñāna, niṣprapañca-j.
Akṣobhya	ādarśa-j., prabhāsvara-j.
Ratnasambhava	samatā-j., grāhya-grāhaka-rahita-j., ākāśa-samatā-j.
Lokeśvara (=Amitābha)	pratyavekṣaṇā, sarva-dharma-nairātmya-j.
Amoghasiddhi	kṛtya, kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-j.

Amoghasiddhi is karmakulī in AS, as he belongs to the family of karma in the system of five families. The Vajradhātu has five families, while the Garbhadhātu has only three families (Buddha, padma, and vajra). The present section pertains to the Vajradhātu. Amoghasiddhi has the kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna, while his counterpart in the Garbhadhātu, Dundubhinirghoṣa has dharmadhātu-svabhāva-jñāna.

Ādarśajñāna, the knowledge of the mirror, is pure and complete (Tajima 1959:261): hence its qualification as prabhāsvara-jñāna. The samatā-jñāna is ākāśa-samatā-jñāna in AS, because it is of the equality of nature (Tajima 262). The reading in ms A is *ākāśa samatā,* Zoetmulder takes it as *ākāśa-mata* "ether-thought"? considered as being ether?

[3] The Prakrit form *bharālī* precedes the names of the Five Goddesses, while the Sanskrit *bhaṭāra* is the epithet of the Five Tathāgatas. The Prakrit adjective for the Goddesses has a parallel in Sanskrit dramas, where women speak only in Prakrit. The words *bharāla* and *bharālī* occur only in the AS according to Zoetmulder. They precede the names of deities of the Candi Jago statues and may indicate the introduction of a new

text into Indonesia.

The four goddesses in the retinue (caturdevī parivāra) of Vairocana are:

AS	Vajradhātu-maṇḍala	Gobu-shingan
Sattvavajrī	Vajrapāramitā	Vajravajrī
Ratnavajrī	Ratnapāramitā	Ratnavajrī
Dharmavajrī	Dharmapāramitā	Dharmavajrī
Karmavajrī	Karmapāramitā	Karmavajrī
	(Tajima 1959:167)	(Lokesh Chandra 1986: 39, 132f, STTS.101)

Nihan taṅ vījākṣara maṅdadyakĕn [61a] **caturdevī: e, vaṁ, ma, yā.**

ekāraṁ Māmakī jñeyā, vaṁkāraṁ Ratnasambhavā /
makāraṁ Tārā ca smṛtā, yākāraṁ Locanā punaḥ //

ka: e-kāra vījākṣara bharālī Māmakī, vaṁkāra vījākṣara bharālī Pāṇḍaravāsinī, makāra vījākṣara bharālī Tārā, yākāra vījākṣara bharālī Locanā, punaḥ muvah ikaṅ ya-kāra vījākṣara bharālī Dhātvīśvarī. Nahan krama niṅ caturdevī vījākṣara.

maitrī Locanā vijñeyā, Māmakī karuṇā matā /
muditā Pāṇḍaravāsā, upekṣā Tārā ca smṛtā //[2]

ka: Bharālī Locanā metri tatva nira. Ikaṅ āmbĕk asih tan makasaṅkan pratyupakāra ya maitrī ṅaranya. Bharālī Māmakī karuṇā tatva nira. Ikaṅ āmbĕk duḥkha mulat ri la[61b]**ra niṅ sarbbasatva, luměkas ta ya manuluṅ, ya karuṇā ṅaranya. Bharālī Pāṇḍaravāsinī muditā tatva nira. Ikaṅ āmbĕk sukha tumon sukha niṅ sarbbasatva, ya muditā ṅaranya. Bharālī Tārā upekṣā tatva nira. Ikaṅ āmbek nirmmala maṅanumoda sukha nikaṅ sarbbasatva, tan meṅĕt vehana sukha, mvaṅ arvā pūjāstuti deniṅ satva manĕmu sukha, tan meṅĕt, tan melik, tan gĕmyan, kevala huměnĕṅ mulat juga niṣparigraha jāti nikā, ya upekṣā ṅaranya, yatikā makatatva ṅ bharālī Tārā. Nā maitri karuṇā muditā upekṣā caturdevī tatva nira, liṅ saṅ yogīśvara.**

evaṁ bodhisamādhayor antaḥ sarbbamudrās tathā /
suguhyatopi taj jñeyo buddhacaryyāvicakṣaṇaiḥ //

ka: [62a] **Ikaṅ kājaran iṅ bodhi samādhi mvaṅ ikaṅ sarbba-mudrā**[3] **pinakalakṣaṇanta mvaṅ ikaṅ tathāgata inaṅĕn-aṅĕnta, mvaṅ ikaṅ paramaguhya tathāgata niyata ikā kavruhana de saṅ buddhacaryyāvicakṣaṇa, ka, ikaṅ mahābodhi, ikaṅ samādhi, ikaṅ sarbbamudrā-mantra yoga-bhāvanā mvaṅ kavicakṣaṇan**[4] **yatikāvak niṅ caturdevī Locanā, Pāṇḍaravāsinī, Māmakī, Tārā. Iti caturdevī kavruhana hayva tan prayatna, paḍa pavitra nira mvaṅ bhaṭāra hyaṅ buddha, apan tan kapaṅgih bhaṭāra hyaṅ Buddha yan ta kapaṅgih pāvak niṅ caturdevī de saṅ yogīśvara.**

//Ĭ// Iti saṅ hyaṅ kamahāyānan[5] **//Ĭ//**

BĪJĀKṢARAS OF FOUR DEVĪS

Thus the bījākṣaras become the Four Devīs: e, vaṁ, ma, yā.

ekāraṁ Māmakī jñeyā, vaṁkāraṁ Ratnasambhavā /
makāraṁ Tārā ca smṛtā, yākāraṁ Locanā punaḥ //

i.e. The letter *e* is the bījākṣara of bharālī Māmakī. The letter *vaṁ* is the bījākṣara of Pāṇḍaravāsinī. The letter *ma* is the bījākṣara of bharāli Tārā. The letter *yā* is the bījākṣara

of bharālī Locanā. *Punaḥ* [means]: and the letter *yā* is also the bījākṣara of bharālī Dhātvīśvarī. This is the system of the bījākṣaras of the Four Devīs.

MAITRĪ, KARUṆĀ, MUDITĀ, UPEKṢĀ AND THE FOUR DEVĪS

maitrī Locanā vijñeyā, Māmakī karuṇā matā /
muditā Pāṇḍaravāsā, upekṣā Tārā ca smṛtā //

i.e. Bharālī Locanā has maitrī as tatva. The disposition that loves without a thought of reward is maitrī. Bharālī Māmakī has karuṇā as tatva. The disposition that senses misery on seeing the sufferings of all beings, and sets out to help, that is called karuṇā. Bharālī Pāṇḍaravāsinī has muditā as tatva. The disposition that rejoices on seeing the happiness of all beings, that is called muditā. Bharālī Tārā has upekṣā as tatva. The immaculate disposition that rejoices in the happiness of all beings, that does not contemplate receiving happiness, homage or praise from the one enjoying happiness, that does not remember (earlier kindness done), does not nurture hatred, is not thrifty (with his compassion), only watches in silence without detachment, that is called upekṣā, and that is the tatva of bharālī Tārā. Thus maitrī, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā are the tatvas of the Four Devīs, as propounded by yogīśvaras.

evam bodhisamādhayor antaḥ sarvamudrās tathā/
suguhyatopi taj jñeyo buddhacaryyāvicakṣaṇaiḥ//

i.e. whatever has been taught about enlightenment (bodhi), samādhi, and about all the mudrās (goddesses), accept them as your insignia, reflect on the Tathāgatas. The paramaguhya of the Tathāgatas should surely be studied by one proficient in Buddha's way (*caryā*), to wit, mahābodhi, samādhi, all the mudrās, mantras, yoga, bhāvanā, and sagacity *(kavicakṣaṇan)* which is the embodiment of the Four Devīs Locanā, Pāṇḍaravāsinī, Māmakī and Tārā. One should know these Four Devīs, one should not be negligent. They are as purifying as bhaṭāra Buddha. A yogīśvara will not attain bhaṭāra Buddha unless he has attained the embodiment of the Four Devīs.

//Ĭ// This is sacred Mahāyāna //Ĭ//

[1] Ratnasambhavā of the Sanskrit stanza corresponds to Pāṇḍaravāsinī in the Old Javanese commentary. In the following stanza the form is Pāṇḍaravāsā (metri causa). Pāṇḍaravāsinī means the goddess wearing white dress (*vāsa*, besides *vāsas*, see MW 947b). The goddesses are correlated to the opening phrase of the sutras; *evam mayā śrutaṁ*, wherein *śrutaṁ* gave the Buddhist sūtras the sanctity of Vedic *śruti*. Kats' translation (p.189) of *vāsinī* 'female ruler' has to be corrected.

[2] The stanza beginning *maitrī Locanā....* has already been cited on folio 39b.

[3] *mudrā* in the final Sanskrit stanza and its commentary refers to the goddesses. They are integral to the culmination of bodhi and samādhi: all the mudrās are the finale

of bodhi and samādhi (*bodhi-samādhayor antaḥ sarva-mudrāḥ*). The supreme non-duality comprises the coalescence, the harmonisation of jñāna and yoga, the union of the mother and father element:

bodhi	advaya-jñāna	Prajñāpāramitā	mother-element
samādhi	advaya-yoga	—	father-element

[4] The AS ends with the five embodiments (*avak, pāvak*) of the Four Devīs, namely, mahābodhi, samādhi, sarva-mudrā-mantra, yoga-bhāvanā and kavicakṣaṇan. These five embodiments (*avak*) of the goddesses are their 'substance'.

The fifth krama of yuganaddha is reflected in the injunction of AS that a yogīśvara cannot attain the Supreme Buddha unless he has attained the embodiment of the Four Devīs. In naddhayuga, saṁsāra and nirvṛti are one (6.2 p.46) where one gets the siddhi of mahāmudrā according to the Pañcakrama (6.28 p.47).

mahāmudrātmikāṁ siddhiṁ sadasat-pakṣa-varjitāṁ /
anenaiva gatā buddhā gaṅgāyāḥ sikatopamāḥ //28//
ghaṭamāno mahāyogī yuganaddha-pade sthitaḥ /
bhāvayed yuganaddhaṁ tu caryām cāpi tadanvayām //29//

[5] The colophon of ms. B is very important: *iti saṅ hyaṅ kamahāyānikan advaya-sādhana parisamāpta.* It clearly shows that the title of this text is Advaya-sādhana, which fully accords with its contents.

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This volume is devoted to the art, history and literature; inscriptions, statues and thought; maṇḍalas, epics and legends of Classical Indonesia, out of her long silence and magnificent resilience, that have triumphed over time. The energy of her culture is prompted by dynamic imagination. Its evidence is written on her rocks, her palmleaves, her bronzes, in eternal sculptures, on constellations of architecture, and in live wayang wong performances. The pure landscapes of her soul dream in the ensuing undernotes to awakening tones.

The very first topic, Sanskrit studies in Indonesia, deals with Kṛtabhāṣā genre, which are fragments of Sanskrit works, but of significance in preserving versions more ancient than the available texts. They shed light on the origins of the prose and poesy of Classical Indonesia.

The second chapter on the contacts of Abhayagiri of Srilanka with Indonesia shows the role of Srilanka in the spread of Vajrayāna. The Tantric texts translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra were also procured from Srilanka.

The next three papers detail the manifestations of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in the very architecture of the Sevu and Borobudur temples, Pavon as a sanctuary of homa rites, and the Mendut as an expression of the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala.

The bronzes from Ñañjuk and Surocolo pertain to the maṇḍalas of Vajradhātu, Vajrasattva and Sixteen-armed Hevajra. The article of N.J. Krom on the Ñañjuk hoard has been translated from Dutch into English and appended for its detailed descriptions. Mantrayāna has Vairocana in the Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu-maṇḍalas, while Vajrasattva is the main deity of the Nayasūtra which is still recited thrice a day in Japan. As a scripture of daily recitation, its maṇḍala is crucial. The paper points out the centrality of Vajrasattva which had eluded earlier scholars and identifies the bronzes of his maṇḍala. The remaining statuettes of Surocolo are from the seventeen-deity maṇḍala of Hevajra.

The Jaka Dolog inscription of King Kṛtanagara has been re-interpreted, and related passages of the Nāgarakṛtāgama have been translated afresh. The image of Śiva in Candi Jajava as described in the Nāgarakṛtāgama had an Akṣobhya in the crown; it prompts a new rendering of the verses of the chronicle.

The goddesses at Chandi Plaosan Lor have led to the exploration of the extant dhāraṇī-maṇḍala at Alchi.

The copperplate inscription of Hārīti has been translated anew in its functional context. Recently we have discovered this dhāraṇī in Japan written in the Siddham script as well as transcribed into Chinese characters by Amoghavajra.

The eternal Yogīśvara is a perceptive peep into the landscape of his spirit.

Notes on Kuñjarakarṇa bring to light the evolution of Rocana into Vairocana and thence into Mahāvairocana, the prominence of Pratisarā among the Five Protective Goddesses, and the meaning of vihāra as a philosophical term.

Nyai Lara Kidul, the Goddess of the Southern Seas, still venerated by the Sultans of Yogyakarta, symbolises and sustains the State.

The Śailendras of Java re-examines the Ligor Stele, and leads to the conclusion that Śrīvijaya and Śailendras were separate political entities.

Bima Buṅkus is a lakon story in Kawi muda in Javanese metres.

Illustrations of Balinese mudrās, sketched for Prof. RaghuVira in 1951 by two artists in Bali, have been reproduced for a precise comprehension of ritual.

The Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan (SHK) has been translated and annotated extensively. It is a compendium of initiation rites and philosophical thought. It is explicitly structured in four stages of mahāmārga, paramamārga, mahāguhya, and paramaguhya. The SHK has been analysed and interpreted in the light of Chinese and Tibetan texts, which give the whole a coherence of thought and incisiveness of life.

Prof. Lokesh Chandra is a renowned scholar of Tibetan, Mongolian and Sino-Japanese Buddhism. He has to his credit over 360 works and text editions. Among them are classics like his *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary, Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature, Budhist Iconography of Tibet,* and his ongoing *Dictionary of Buddhist Art* in about 20 volumes. Prof. Lokesh Chandra was nominated by the President of the Republic of India to the Parliament in 1974–80 and again in 1980–86. He has been a Vice-President of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, and Chairman of the Indian Council of Historical Research. Presently he is Director, International Academy of Indian Culture.

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